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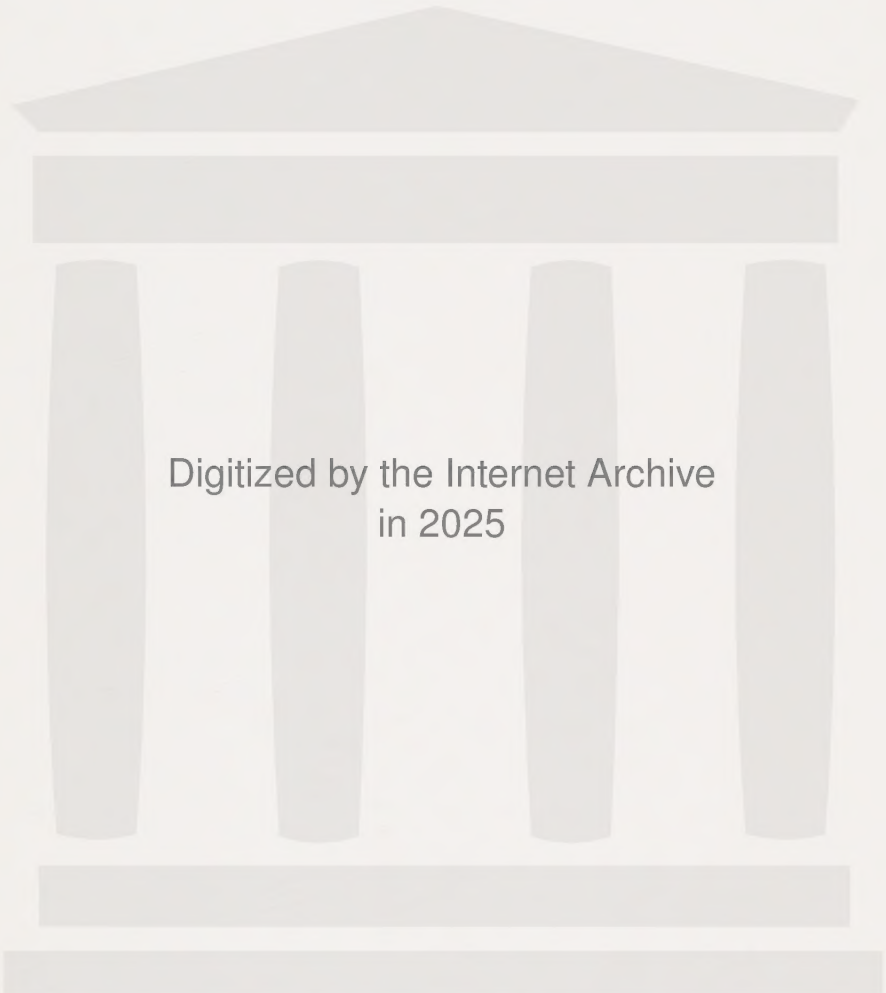
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THE

Jewish Encyclopedia

A DESCRIPTIVE RECORD OF

THE HISTORY, RELIGION, LITERATURE, AND CUSTOMS OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

Prepared by More than Four Hundred Scholars and Specialists

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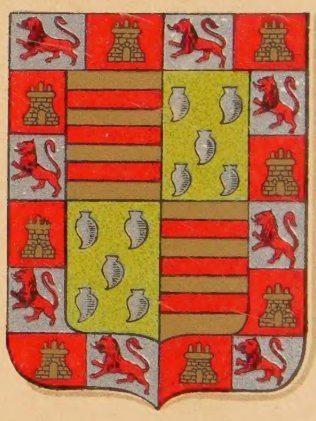

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EVANGELICAL THEOLOGY

SYSTEMS OF TRANSLITERATION AND OF CITATION OF PROPER NAMES*

A.—Rules for the Transliteration of Hebrew and Aramaic.

1. All important names which occur in the Bible are cited as found in the authorized King James version; *e.g.*, *Moses*, not Mosheh; *Isaac*, not Yiẓḥaḳ; *Saul*, not Sha'ul or Shaül; *Solomon*, not Sheiomoh, etc.

2. Names that have gained currency in English books on Jewish subjects, or that have become familiar to English readers, are always retained and cross-references given, though the topic be treated under the form transliterated according to the system tabulated below.

3. Hebrew subject-headings are transcribed according to the scheme of transliteration; cross-references are made as in the case of personal names.

4. The following system of transliteration has been used for Hebrew and Aramaic:

א *Not noted at the beginning or the end of a word; otherwise' or by dieresis; e.g., Ze'eb or Meïr*				
ב *b*	ז *z*	ל *l*	פּ *with dagesh, p*	שׁ *sh*
ג *g*	ח *ḥ*	מ *m*	פ *without dagesh, f*	שׂ *s*
ד *d*	ט *ṭ*	נ *n*	צ *ẓ*	ת *t*
ה *h*	י *y*	ס *s*	ק *ḳ*	
ו *w*	כ *k*	ע *'*	ר *r*	

NOTE: The presence of dagesh lene is not noted except in the case of *pe*. Dagesh forte is indicated by doubling the letter.

5. The vowels have been transcribed as follows:

◌ַ *a*	◌ֻ *u*	◌ָ *a*	◌ֵ *e*	◌ֹ *o*
◌ַ *e*	◌ֻ *e*	◌ָ *o*	◌ִי *i*	
◌ִ *i*	◌ְ *e*	◌ָ *a*	◌ֻ *u*	

Ḳamez ḥaṭuf is represented by *o*.

The so-called "Continental" pronunciation of the English vowels is implied.

6. The Hebrew article is transcribed as *ha*, followed by a hyphen, without doubling the following letter. [Not *hak-Kohen* or *hak-Cohen*, nor *Rosh ha-shshanah*.]

B.—Rules for the Transliteration of Arabic.

1. All Arabic names and words except such as have become familiar to English readers in another form, as *Mohammed*, *Koran*, *mosque*, are transliterated according to the following system:

أ *a*	خ *kh*	ش *sh*	غ *gh*	ن *n*
ب *b*	د *d*	ص *ṣ*	ف *f*	ه *h*
ت *t*	ذ *dh*	ض *ḍ*	ق *ḳ*	و *w*
ث *th*	ر *r*	ط *ṭ*	ك *k*	ي *y*
ج *j*	ز *z*	ظ *ẓ*	ل *l*	
ح *ḥ*	س *s*	ع *'*	م *m*	

2. Only the three vowels—a, i, u—are represented:

◌َ *a* or *ā* ◌ِ *i* or *ī* ◌ُ *u* or *ū*

No account has been taken of the *imālah*; *i* has not been written *e*, nor *u* written *o*.

* In all other matters of orthography the spelling preferred by the STANDARD DICTIONARY has usually been followed. Typographical exigencies have rendered occasional deviations from these systems necessary.

3. The Arabic article is invariably written *al;* no account being taken of the assimilation of the *l* to the following letter; *e.g.*, *Abū al-Salt*, not *Abu-l-Salt; Nafīs al-Daulah*, not *Nafīs ad-Daulah.* The article is joined by a hyphen to the following word.

4. At the end of words the feminine termination is written *ah;* but, when followed by a genitive, *at; e.g.*, *Risālah dhāt al-Kursiyy*, but *Hī'at al-Aflāk.*

5. No account is taken of the overhanging vowels which distinguish the cases; *e.g.*, *'Amr*, not *'Amru* or *'Amrun; Ya'aḳūb*, not *Ya'aḳūbun;* or in a title, *Kitāb al-Amānāt wal-I'tiḳādāt.*

C.—Rules for the Transliteration of Russian.

All Russian names and words, except such as have become familiar to English readers in another form, as *Czar*, *Alexander*, *deciatine*, *Moscow*, are transliterated according to the following system:

А а	*a*	Н н	*n*	Щ щ	*shch*
Б б	*b*	О о	*o*	Ъ ъ	mute
В в	*v*	П п	*p*	Ы ы	*y*
Г г	*h*, *v*, or *g*	Р р	*r*	Ь ь	half mute
Д д	*d*	С с	*s*	Ѣ ѣ	*ye*
Е е	*e* and *ye* at the beginning.	Т т	*t*	Э э	*e*
Ж ж	*zh*	У у	*u*	Ю ю	*yu*
З з	*z*	Ф ф	*f*	Я я	*ya*
И и І і	*i*	Х х	*kh*	Ѳ ѳ	*F*
К к	*k*	Ц ц	*tz*	Ѵ ѵ	*œ*
Л л	*l*	Ч ч	*ch*	Й й	*i*
М м	*m*	Ш ш	*sh*		

Rules for the Citation of Proper Names, Personal and Otherwise.

1. Whenever possible, an author is cited under his most specific name; *e.g.*, Moses Nigrin under *Nigrin;* Moses Zacuto under *Zacuto;* Moses Rieti under *Rieti;* all the Ḳimḥis (or Ḳamḥis) under *Ḳimḥi;* Israel ben Joseph Drohobiczer under *Drohobiczer.* Cross-references are freely made from any other form to the most specific one; *e.g.*, to Moses *Vidal* from Moses *Narboni;* to Solomon Nathan *Vidal* from Menahem *Meïri;* to Samuel *Kansi* from Samuel Astruc *Dascola;* to Jedaiah *Penini*, from both *Bedersi* and *En Bonet;* to *John* of Avignon from Moses de *Roquemaure.*

2. When a person is not referred to as above, he is cited under his own personal name followed by his official or other title; or, where he has borne no such title, by "of" followed by the place of his birth or residence; *e.g.*, *Johanan* ha-Sandlar; *Samuel* ha-Nagid; *Judah* ha-Ḥasid; *Gershom* of Metz, *Isaac* of Corbeil.

3. Names containing the word *d'*, *de*, *da*, *di*, or *van*, *von*, *y*, are arranged under the letter of the name following this word; *e.g.*, de Pomis under *Pomis*, de Barrios under *Barrios*, Jacob d'Illescas under *Illescas.*

4. In arranging the alphabetical order of personal names *ben*, *da*, *de*, *di*, *ha-*, *ibn**, *of* have not been taken into account. These names thus follow the order of the next succeeding capital letter:

Abraham of Augsburg	Abraham de Balmes	Abraham ben Benjamin Aaron
Abraham of Avila	Abraham ben Baruch	Abraham ben Benjamin Ze'eb
Abraham ben Azriel	Abraham of Beja	Abraham Benveniste

* When Ibn has come to be a specific part of a name, as Ibn Ezra, such name is treated in its alphabetical place under "I."

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

[Self-evident abbreviations, particularly those used in the bibliographies, are not included here.]

Ab	Abot, Pirke
Ab. R. N.	Abot de-Rabbi Natan
'Ab. Zarah	'Abodah Zarah
ad loc.	at the place
A.H	in the year of the Hegira
Allg. Zeit. des Jud.	Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums
Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.	American Jewish Historical Society
Am. Jour. Semit. Lang.	American Journal of Semitic Languages
Anglo-Jew. Assoc.	Anglo-Jewish Association
Apoc.	Apocalypse
Apocr	Apocrypha
Apost. Const.	Apostolical Constitutions
'Ar	'Arakin (Talmud)
Arch. Isr.	Archives Israélites
A. T.	Das Alte Testament
A. V.	Authorized Version
b	ben *or* bar *or* born
Bab	Babli (Babylonian Talmud)
Bacher, Ag. Bab. Amor.	Bacher, Agada der Babylonischen Amoräer
Bacher, Ag. Pal. Amor.	Bacher, Agada der Palästinensischen Amoräer
Bacher, Ag. Tan.	Bacher, Agada der Tannaiten
Bar	Baruch
B. B.	Baba Batra (Talmud)
B.C	before the Christian era
Bek	Bekorot (Talmud)
Benzinger, Arch.	Benzinger, Hebräische Archäologie
Ber	Berakot (Talmud)
Berliner's Magazin	Berliner's Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums
Bik	Bikkurim (Talmud)
B. K.	Baba Kamma (Talmud)
B. M.	Baba Mezi'a (Talmud)
Bibl. Rab.	Bibliotheca Rabbinica
Boletin Acad. Hist.	Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid)
Brüll's Jahrb.	Brüll's Jahrbücher für Jüdische Geschichte und Litteratur
Bulletin All. Isr.	Bulletin of the Alliance Israélite Universelle
c	about
Cant.	Canticles (Song of Solomon)
Cat. Anglo-Jew. Hist. Exh.	Catalogue of Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition
Cazès, Notes Bibliographiques	Cazès, Notes Bibliographiques sur la Littérature Juive-Tunisienne
C.E	common era
ch.	chapter or chapters
Cheyne and Black, Encyc. Bibl.	Cheyne and Black, Encyclopædia Biblica
I Chron.	I Chronicles
II Chron.	II Chronicles
Chwolson Jubilee Volume	Recueil des Travaux Rédigés en Mémoire du Jubilé Scientifique de M. Daniel Chwolson, 1846–1896
C. I. A.	Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum
C. I. G.	Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum
C. I. H.	Corpus Inscriptionum Hebraicarum
C. I. L.	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
C. I. S.	Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum
Col	Colossians
comp	compare
Cor	Corinthians
d.	died
D	Deuteronomist
Dan	Daniel
De Gubernatis, Diz. Biog.	De Gubernatis, Dizionario Biografico degli Scrittori Contemporanei
De Gubernatis, Ecrivains du Jour	De Gubernatis, Dictionnaire International des Ecrivains du Jour
Dem	Demai (Talmud)
Derenbourg, Hist.	Derenbourg, Essai sur l'Histoire et la Géographie de la Palestine, etc.
Deut	Deuteronomy
E	Elohist
Eccl	Ecclesiastes
Ecclus. (Sirach)	Ecclesiasticus
ed.	edition
'Eduy	'Eduyot (Talmud)
Encyc. Brit.	Encyclopædia Britannica
Eng	English
Eph	Ephesians
Epiphanius, Hæres.	Epiphanius, Adversus Hæreses
'Er	'Erubin (Talmud)
Ersch and Gruber, Encyc.	Ersch and Gruber, Allg. Encyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste
Esd	Esdras
Esth	Esther
et seq.	and following
Eusebius, Hist. Eccl.	Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica
Ex	Exodus
Ezek	Ezekiel
Frankel, Mebo	Frankel, Mebo Yerushalmi
Fürst, Bibl. Jud.	Fürst, Bibliotheca Judaica
Fürst, Gesch. des Karäert.	Fürst, Geschichte des Karäerthums
Gal	Galatians
Gaster, Hist. of Bevis Marks	Gaster, Bevis Marks Memorial Volume
Geiger, Urschrift.	Geiger, Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel in Ihrer Abhängigkeit von der Inneren Entwicklung des Judenthums
Geiger's Jüd. Zeit.	Geiger's Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben
Geiger's Wiss. Zeit. Jüd. Theol.	Geiger's Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für Jüdische Theologie
Gem	Gemara
Gen.	Genesis
Gesch.	Geschichte
Gesenius, Gr.	Gesenius, Grammar
Gesenius, Th.	Gesenius, Thesaurus
Gibbon, Decline and Fall.	Gibbon, History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire
Ginsburg's Bible.	Ginsburg's Masoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible
Giṭ	Giṭṭin (Talmud)
Graetz, Hist.	Graetz, History of the Jews
Grätz, Gesch.	Grätz, Geschichte der Juden
Hab	Habakkuk
Hag	Haggai
Ḥag	Ḥagigah (Talmud)
Ḥal	Ḥallah (Talmud)
Hamburger, R. B. T.	Hamburger, Realencyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud
Hastings, Dict. Bible	Hastings, Dictionary of the Bible
Heb.	Epistle to the Hebrews
Hebr.	Masoretic Text
Herzog-Plitt or Herzog-Hauck, Real-Encyc.	Real-Encyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche (2d and 3d editions respectively)
Hirsch, Biog. Lex.	Hirsch, Biographisches Lexikon der Hervorragenden Aerzte Aller Zeiten und Völker
Hom	Homiletics *or* Homily
Hor	Horayot (Talmud)
Ḥul	Ḥullin (Talmud)
ib.	same place
idem	same author
Isa	Isaiah
Isr. Letterbode	Israelitische Letterbode
J	Jahvist
Jaarboeken	Jaarboeken voor de Israeliten in Nederland
Jacobs, Sources.	Jacobs, Inquiry into the Sources of Spanish-Jewish History
Jacobs and Wolf, Bibl. Anglo-Jud.	Jacobs and Wolf, Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica
Jahrb. Gesch. der Jud.	Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Juden und des Judenthums
Jastrow, Dict.	Jastrow, Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmudim, and Midrashim
Jellinek, B. H.	Jellinek, Bet ha-Midrash
Jer	Jeremiah
Jew. Chron.	Jewish Chronicle, London
Jew. Encyc	The Jewish Encyclopedia
Jew. Hist. Soc. Eng.	Jewish Historical Society of England
Jew. Quart. Rev. J. Q. R.	Jewish Quarterly Review
Jew. World	Jewish World, London
Josephus, Ant.	Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews
Josephus, B. J.	Josephus, De Bello Judaico
Josephus, Contra Ap.	Josephus, Contra Apionem
Josh	Joshua
Jost's Annalen	Jost's Israelitische Annalen
Jour. Bib. Lit.	Journal of Biblical Literature
Justin, Dial. cum Tryph	Justin, Dialogus cum Tryphone Judæo
Kaufmann Gedenkbuch	Gedenkbuch zur Erinnerung an David Kaufmann
Kayserling, Bibl. Esp.-Port.-Jud.	Kayserling, Biblioteca Española-Portugueza-Judaica
Ker	Keritot (Talmud)
Ket	Ketubot (Talmud)
K. H. C.	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament, ed. Marti
Kid	Kiddushin (Talmud)
Kil	Kilayim (Talmud)
Kin	Kinnim (Talmud)
Kohut Memorial Volume	Semitic Studies in Memory of A. Kohut

Krauss, Lehnwörter	Krauss, Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter, etc.
Lam	Lamentations
Larousse, Dict.	Larousse, Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIXe Siècle
l.c.	in the place cited
Lev.	Leviticus
Levy, Chal. Wörterb.	Levy, Chaldäisches Wörterbuch, etc.
Levy, Neuhebr. Wörterb.	Levy, Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch, etc.
lit.	literally
Löw, Lebensalter	Löw, Die Lebensalter in der Jüdischen Literatur
LXX	Septuagint
m	married
Ma'as.	Ma'aserot (Talmud)
Ma'as. Sh.	Ma'aser Sheni (Talmud)
Macc.	Maccabees
Mak.	Makkot (Talmud)
Maksh	Makshirin (Talmud)
Mal.	Malachi
Mas.	Masorah
Massek.	Masseket
Matt.	Matthew
McClintock and Strong, Cyc.	McClintock and Strong, Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature
Meg.	Megillah (Talmud)
Me'i.	Me'ilah (Talmud)
Mek.	Mekilta
Men.	Menahot (Talmud)
Mid.	Middot (Talmud)
Midr.	Midrash
Midr. Teh.	Midrash Tehillim (Psalms)
Mik.	Mikwaot (Talmud)
M. K.	Mo'ed Katan (Talmud)
Monatsschrift.	Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums
Mortara, Indice.	Mortara, Indice Alfabetico
MS.	Manuscript
Müller, Frag. Hist. Græc.	Müller, Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum
Murray's Eng. Dict.	A. H. Murray, A New English Dictionary
Naz.	Nazir (Talmud)
n.d.	no date
Ned.	Nedarim (Talmud)
Neg.	Nega'im
Neh.	Nehemiah
Neubauer, Cat. Bodl. Hebr. MSS.	Neubauer, Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. in the Bodleian Library
Neubauer, G. T.	Neubauer, Géographie du Talmud
N. T.	New Testament
Num.	Numbers
Obad.	Obadiah
Oest. Wochenschrift.	Oesterreichische Wochenschrift
Oh.	Ohalot (Talmud)
Onk.	Onkelos
Orient, Lit.	Literaturblatt des Orients
O. T.	Old Testament
P.	Priestly code
Pagel, Biog. Lex.	Pagel, Biographisches Lexikon Hervorragender Aerzte des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts
Pal. Explor. Fund.	Palestine Exploration Fund
Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyc.	Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft
Pes.	Pesahim (Talmud)
Pesh.	Peshito, Peshitta
Pesik.	Pesikta de-Rab Kahana
Pesik. R.	Pesikta Rabbati
Phil.	Philippians
Pirke R. El.	Pirke Rabbi Eliezer
Prov.	Proverbs
Ps.	Psalm *or* Psalms
R.	Rab *or* Rabbi *or* Rabbah
Rahmer's Jüd. Lit.-Blatt.	Rahmer's Jüdisches Litteratur-Blatt
Regesty	Regesty i Nadpisi
Rev. Bib.	Revue Biblique
Rev. Et. Juives. R. E. J.	Revue des Etudes Juives
Rev. Sém.	Revue Sémitique
R. H.	Rosh ha-Shanah (Talmud)
Rios (Amador de los), Estudios.	Estudios Históricos, Políticos y Literarios, etc.
Rios (Amador de los), Hist.	Historia . . . de los Judios de España y Portugal
Ritter, Erdkunde.	Ritter, Die Erdkunde im Verhältnis zur Natur und zur Geschichte des Menschen
Roest, Cat. Rosenthal. Bibl.	Roest, Catalog der Hebraica und Judaica aus der L. Rosenthal'schen Bibliothek
Rom.	Romans
R. V.	Revised Version
Salfeld, Martyrologium	Salfeld, Das Martyrologium des Nürnberger Memorbuches
I Sam.	I Samuel
II Sam.	II Samuel
Sanh.	Sanhedrin (Talmud)
S. B. E.	Sacred Books of the East
S. B. O. T.	(Sacred Books of the Old Testament) Polychrome Bible, ed. Paul Haupt
Schaff-Herzog, Encyc.	Schaff-Herzog, A Religious Encyclopædia
Schrader, C. I. O. T.	Schrader, Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament, Eng. trans.
Schrader, K. A. T.	Schrader, Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament
Schrader, K. B.	Schrader, Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek
Schrader, K. G. F.	Schrader, Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung
Schürer, Gesch.	Schürer, Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes
Sem.	Semahot (Talmud)
Shab.	Shabbat (Talmud)
Sheb.	Shebi'it (Talmud)
Shebu.	Shebu'ot (Talmud)
Shek.	Shekalim (Talmud)
Sibyllines	Sibylline Books
Smith, Rel. of Sem.	Smith, Lectures on Religion of the Semites
Stade's Zeitschrift	Stade's Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
Steinschneider, Cat. Bodl.	Steinschneider, Catalogue of the Hebrew Books in the Bodleian Library
Steinschneider, Hebr. Bibl.	Steinschneider, Hebräische Bibliographie
Steinschneider, Hebr. Uebers.	Steinschneider, Hebräische Uebersetzungen
Suk.	Sukkah (Talmud)
s.v.	under the word
Ta'an.	Ta'anit (Talmud)
Tan.	Tanhuma
Targ.	Targumim
Targ. Onk.	Targum Onkelos
Targ. Yer.	Targum Yerushalmi *or* Targum Jonathan
Tem.	Temurah (Talmud)
Ter.	Terumot (Talmud)
Thess.	Thessalonians
Tim.	Timothy
Toh.	Tohorot
Tos.	Tosafot
Tosef.	Tosefta
transl.	translation
Tr. Soc. Bibl. Arch.	Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology
T. Y.	Tebul Yom (Talmud)
'Uk.	'Ukzin (Talmud)
Univ. Isr.	Univers Israélite
Virchow's Archiv	Virchow's Archiv für Pathologische Anatomie und Physiologie, und für Klinische Medizin
Vulg.	Vulgate
Weiss, Dor.	Weiss, Dor Dor we-Dorshaw
Wellhausen, I. J. G.	Wellhausen, Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte
Winer, B. R.	Winer, Biblisches Realwörterbuch
Wisdom	Wisdom of Solomon
Wolf, Bibl. Hebr.	Wolf, Bibliotheca Hebræa
W. Z. K. M.	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
Yad.	Yadayim (Talmud)
"Yad"	Yad ha-Hazakah
Yalk.	Yalkut
Yeb.	Yebamot (Talmud)
Yer.	Yerushalmi (Jerusalem Talmud)
YHWH	Yahweh, Jehovah
Zab.	Zabim (Talmud)
Z. D. M. G.	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
Zeb.	Zebahim (Talmud)
Zech.	Zechariah
Zedner, Cat. Hebr. Books Brit. Mus.	Zedner, Catalogue of the Hebrew Books in the British Museum
Zeit. für Assyr.	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
Zeit. Deutsch. Paläst. Ver.	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
Zeit. für Hebr. Bibl.	Zeitschrift für Hebräische Bibliographie
Zeitlin, Bibl. Post-Mendels.	Zeitlin, Bibliotheca Hebraica Post-Mendelssohniana
Zeph.	Zephaniah
Zunz, G. S.	Zunz, Gesammelte Schriften
Zunz, G. V.	Zunz, Gottesdienstliche Vorträge
Zunz, Literaturgesch.	Zunz, Literaturgeschichte der Synagogalen Poesie
Zunz, Ritus.	Zunz, Die Ritus des Synagogalen Gottesdienstes
Zunz, S. P.	Zunz, Synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters
Zunz, Z. G.	Zunz, Zur Geschichte und Literatur

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Subjects on which further information is afforded elsewhere in this work are indicated by the use of capitals and small capitals in the text; as, Abba Arika; Pumbedita; Vocalization.

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[The following is a list of sources from which the figures shown on the plate "Costumes of Jews" have been derived: Figs. 1, 3, 11, 12, 21—Hottenroth, "Les Costumes des Peuples Anciens et Modernes"; figs. 2 and 7—Kretschmer, "Trachten der Völker"; fig. 4—a painting by Sano de Pietro at Sienna; fig. 5—a fresco in the Hermitage at Padua; fig. 6—a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; figs. 8 and 9—a manuscript chronicle of Ulrich von Reichthal, in the Town Hall at Basel; fig. 10—an illuminated missal of the Van Eyck School, in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris; figs. 13, 14, 15—Hottenroth, "Deutsche Volkstrachten"; fig. 16—Picart; figs. 17 and 18—Kirchner, "Jüdisches Ceremoniel," 1726; fig. 19—"Costumes of Turkey," London, 1802; figs. 20, 25, 27—Racinet; figs. 22, 23, 24, 26, 29—photographs; figs. 28 and 30—"Les Peuples de la Russie."]

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6379
EVANGELICAL
OF THEOLOGY

THE JEWISH ENCYCLOPEDIA

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CHAZARS: A people of Turkish origin whose life and history are interwoven with the very beginnings of the history of the Jews of Russia. The kingdom of the Chazars was firmly established in most of South Russia long before the foundation of the Russian monarchy by the Varangians (855). Jews have lived on the shores of the Black and Caspian seas since the first centuries of the common era. Historical evidence points to the region of the Ural as the home of the Chazars. Among the classical writers of the Middle Ages they were known as the "Chozars," "Khazirs," "Akatzirs," and "Akatirs," and in the Russian chronicles as "Khwalisses" and "Ugry Byelyye."

The Armenian writers of the fifth and following centuries furnish ample information concerning this people. Moses of Chorene refers to the invasion by the "Khazirs" of Armenia and Iberia at the beginning of the third century: "The chaghan was the king of the North, the ruler of the Khazirs, and the queen was the chatoun" ("History of Armenia," ii. 357). The Chazars first came to Armenia with the Basileans in 198. Though at first repulsed, they subsequently became important factors in Armenian history for a period of 800 years. Driven onward by the nomadic tribes of the steppes and by their own desire for plunder and revenge, they made frequent invasions into Armenia. The latter country was made the battle-ground in the long struggle between the Romans and the Persians. This struggle, which finally resulted in the loss by Armenia of her independence, paved the way for the political importance of the Chazars. The conquest of eastern Armenia by the Persians in the fourth century rendered the latter dangerous to the Chazars, who, for their own protection, formed an alliance with the Byzantines. This alliance was renewed from time to time until the final conquest of the Chazars by the Russians. Their first aid was rendered to the Byzantine emperor Julian, in 363. About 434 they were for a time tributary to Attila—Sidonius Apollinaris relates that the Chazars followed the banners of Attila—and in 452 fought on the Catalanian fields in company with the Black Huns and Alans. The Persian king Kobad (488–531) undertook the construction of a line of forts through the pass between Derbent and the Caucasus, in order to guard against the invasion of the Chazars, Turks, and other warlike tribes. His son Chosroes Anoshirvan (531–579) built the wall of Derbent, repeatedly mentioned by the Oriental geographers and historians as Bab al-Abwab (Justi, "Gesch. des Alten Persiens," p. 208).

Early History.

In the second half of the sixth century the Chazars moved westward. They established themselves in the territory bounded by the Sea of Azov, the Don and the lower Volga, the Caspian Sea, and the northern Caucasus. The Caucasian Goths (Tetraxites) were subjugated by the Chazars, probably about the seventh century (Löwe, "Die Reste der Germanen am Schwarzen Meere," p. 72, Halle, 1896). Early in that century the kingdom of the Chazars had become powerful enough to enable the chaghan to send to the Byzantine emperor Heraclius an army of 40,000 men, by whose aid he conquered the Persians (626–627). The Chazars had already occupied the northeastern part of the Black Sea region. According to the historian Moses Kalonkataci, the Chazars, under their leader Jebu Chaghan (called "Ziebel Chaghan" by the Greek writers), penetrated into Persian territory as early as the second campaign of Heraclius, on which occasion they devastated Albania ("Die Persischen Feldzüge des Kaisers Herakleios," in "Byzantinische Zeitschrift," iii. 364). Nicephorus testifies that Heraclius repeatedly showed marks of esteem to his ally, the chaghan of the Chazars, to whom he even promised his daughter in marriage. In the great battle between the Chazars and the Arabs near Kizliar 4,000 Mohammedan soldiers and their leader were slain.

In the year 669 the Ugrians or Zabirs freed themselves from the rule of the Obrians, settled between the Don and the Caucasus, and came under the dominion of the Chazars. For this reason the Ugrians, who had hitherto been called the "White" or "Independent" Ugrians, are described in the chronicles ascribed to Nestor as the "Black," or "Dependent," Ugrians. They were no longer governed by their own princes, but were ruled by the kings of the Chazars. In 735, when the Arab leader Mervan moved from Georgia against the Chazars, he attacked the Ugrians also. In 679 the Chazars subjugated the Bulgars and extended their sway farther west between the Don and the Dnieper, as far

as the head-waters of the Donetz in the province of Lebedia (K. Grot, "Moravia i Madyary," St. Petersburg, 1881; J. Danilevski and K. Grot, "O Puti Madyar s Urala v Lebediyu," in "Izvyestiya Imperatorskavo Russkavo Geograficheskavo Obshchestva," xix.). It was probably about that time that the chaghan of the Chazars and his grandees, together with a large number of his heathen people, embraced the Jewish religion. According to A. Harkavy ("Meassef Niddaḥim," i.), the conversion took place in 620; according to others, in 740. King Joseph, in his letter to Ḥasdai ibn Shaprut (about 960), gives the following account of the conversion:

Embrace Judaism.

"Some centuries ago King Bulan reigned over the Chazars. To him God appeared in a dream and promised him might and glory. Encouraged by this dream, Bulan went by the road of Darlan to the country of Ardebil, where he gained great victories [over the Arabs]. The Byzantine emperor and the calif of the Ishmaelites sent to him envoys with presents, and sages to convert him to their respective religions. Bulan invited also wise men of Israel, and proceeded to examine them all. As each of the champions believed his religion to be the best, Bulan separately questioned the Mohammedans and the Christians as to which of the other two religions they considered the better. When both gave preference to that of the Jews, that king perceived that it must be the true religion. He therefore adopted it" (see Harkavy, "Soobshchenija o Chazarakh," in "Yevreiskaya Biblioteka," vii. 153).

Map Showing the Distribution of Religions in Europe in the Tenth Century, C.E., Indicating Extent of the Kingdom of the Chazars.
(After Schrader, "Atlas de Géographie Historique.")

This account of the conversion was considered to be of a legendary nature. Harkavy, however (in "Bilbasov" and "Yevreiskaya Biblioteka"), proved from Arabic and Slavonian sources that the religious disputation at the Chazarian court is a historical fact. Even the name of Sangari has been found in a liturgy of Constantine the Philosopher (Cyrill). It was one of the successors of Bulan, named Obadiah, who regenerated the kingdom and strengthened the Jewish religion. He invited Jewish scholars to settle in his dominions, and founded synagogues and schools. The people were instructed in the Bible, Mishnah, and Talmud, and in the "divine service of the ḥazzanim." In their writings the Chazars used the Hebrew letters (Harkavy, "Skazaniya," etc., p. 241). Obadiah was succeeded by his son Hezekiah; the latter by his son Manasseh; Manasseh by Ḥanukkah, a brother of Obadiah; Ḥanukkah by his son Isaac; Isaac by his son Moses (or Manasseh II.); the latter by his son Nisi; and Nisi by his son Aaron II. King Joseph himself was a son of Aaron, and ascended the throne in accordance with the law of the Chazars relating to succession. On the whole, King Joseph's account agrees generally with the evidence given by the Arabic writers of the tenth century, but in detail it contains a few discrepancies. According to Ibn Faḍlan, Ibn Dastah, and others, only the king and the grandees were followers of Judaism. The rest of the Chazars were Christians, Mohammedans, and heathens; and the Jews were in a great minority (Frähn, "De Chazaris," pp. 13–18, 584–590). According to Mas'udi ("Les Prairies d'Or," ii. 8), the king and the Chazars proper were Jews; but the army consisted of Mohammedans, while the other inhabitants, especially the Slavonians and Russians, were heathens. From the work "Kitab al-Buldan," written about the ninth century (p. 121; cited by Chwolson in "Izvyestiya o Chazarakh," etc., p. 57), it appears as if all the Chazars were Jews and that they had been converted to Judaism only a short time before that book was written. But this work was probably inspired by Jaihani; and it may be assumed that in the ninth century many Chazar heathens became Jews, owing to the religious zeal of King Obadiah. "Such a conversion in great masses," says Chwolson (*ib.* p. 58), "may have been the reason for the embassy of Christians from the land of the Chazars to the Byzantine emperor Michael. The report of the embassy reads as follows: 'Quomodo nunc Judæi, nunc Saraceni ad suam fidem eos molirentur convertere'" (Schlözer, "Nestor," iii. 154).

Succession of Kings.

The history of the kingdom of the Chazars undoubtedly presents one of the most remarkable features of the Middle Ages. Surrounded by wild, nomadic peoples, and themselves leading partly a nomadic life, the Chazars enjoyed all the privileges of civilized nations, a well-constituted and tolerant government, a flourishing trade, and a well-disciplined standing army. In a time when fanaticism, ignorance, and anarchy reigned in western Europe, the kingdom of the Chazars could boast of its just and broad-minded administration; and all

Internal Administration and Commercial Relations.

who were persecuted on the score of their religion found refuge there. There was a supreme court of justice, composed of seven judges, of whom two were Jews, two Mohammedans, and two Christians, in charge of the interests of their respective faiths, while one heathen was appointed for the Slavonians, Russians, and other pagans (Mas'udi, *l.c.* ii. 8–11).

The Jewish population in the entire domain of the Chazars, in the period between the seventh and tenth centuries, must have been considerable. There is no doubt that the Caucasian and other Oriental Jews had lived and carried on business with the Chazars long before the arrival of the Jewish fugitives from Greece, who escaped (723) from the mania for conversion which possessed the Byzantine emperor Leo the Isaurian. From the correspondence between King Joseph and Ḥasdai it is apparent that two Spanish Jews, Judah ben Meïr ben Nathan and Joseph Gagris, had succeeded in settling in the land of the Chazars, and that it was a German Jew, Isaac ben Eliezer "from the land of Nyemetz" (Germany), who carried Ḥasdai's letter to the king. Saadia, who had a fair knowledge of the kingdom of the Chazars, mentions a certain Isaac ben Abraham who had removed from Sura to Chazaria (Harkavy, in Kohut Memorial Volume, p. 244). Among the various routes enumerated by the Arabic geographer Ibn Khurdadhbah (860–880) as being used by the Rahdanite Jewish merchants, there is one leading from Spain or France, via Allemania, through the land of the Slavonians, close by Atel, the capital of the Chazars, whence they crossed the Sea of the Chazars (Caspian Sea) and continued their voyage, via Balkh, Transoxania, and the land of the Tagasga, to India and China. These merchants, who spoke Arabic, Persian, Greek, Spanish, French, and Slavonic, "traveled continuously from west to east from east to west by sea and by land." They carried eunuchs, serving-maids, boys, silks, furs, swords, imported musk, aloes, camphor, cinnamon, and other products of the Far East (Harkavy, "Skazaniya Musulmanskikh Pisatelei o Slavyanakh i Russkikh," pp. 48, 53; "Journal Asiatique," 1865).

Ḥasdai ibn Shaprut, who was foreign minister to 'Abd al-Raḥman, Sultan of Cordova, in his letter to King Joseph of the Chazars (about 960), relates that the first information about that kingdom was communicated to him by envoys from Khorassan, and that their statements were corroborated by the ambassadors from Byzantium. The latter told him that the powerful Chazars were maintaining amicable relations with the Byzantine empire, with which they carried on by sea a trade in fish, skins, and other wares, the voyage from Constantinople occupying fifteen days. Ḥasdai determined to avail himself of the services of the Byzantine embassy to transmit his letter to the king of the Chazars, and with that view he despatched Isaac ben Nathan with valuable gifts to the emperor, requesting him to aid Isaac in his journey to Chazaria. But the Greeks interposed delays, and finally sent Isaac back to Cordova. Ḥasdai then decided to send his message by way of Jerusalem, Nisibis, Armenia, and Bardaa, but the envoys of the king of the Gebalim (Boleslav I. of Bohemia), who had then just arrived in Cordova, and among whom were two Jews, Saul and Joseph, suggested a different plan. They offered to send the letter to Jews living in "Hungarin" (Hungary), who, in their turn, would transmit it to "Russ" (Russia), and thence through "Bulgar" (probably the country of the Bulgarians on the Kuban) to its destination (Atel, the capital of Chazaria). As the envoys guaranteed the safe delivery of the message, Ḥasdai accepted the proposal. He further expressed his thankfulness that God in His mercy had not deprived the Jews of a deliverer, but had preserved the remnant of the Jewish race.

Taking a keen interest in everything relating to the kingdom of the Chazars, Ḥasdai begs the king to communicate to him a detailed account of the geography of his country, of its internal constitution, of the customs and occupations of its inhabitants, and especially of the history of his ancestry and of the state. In this letter Ḥasdai speaks of the tradition according to which the Chazars once dwelt near the Seir (Serir) Mountains; he refers to the narrative of Eldad ha-Dani, who thought he had discovered the Lost Ten Tribes; and inquires whether the Chazars know anything concerning "the end of the miracles" (the coming of the Messiah). As to Eldad ha-Dani's unauthenticated account of the Lost Ten Tribes on the River Sambation, it may be interesting to note that, according to Idrisi, the city of Sarmel (Sarkel-on-the-Don) was situated on the River Al-Sabt (Sambat), which is the River Don. The name for Kiev, as given by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, is also Sambatas (Σαμβάτας). These appellations of the River Don and of the city of Kiev point evidently to Jewish-Chazar influences (Westberg, "Ibrahim ibn Ya'ḳub's Reisebericht über die Slavenlande aus dem Jahre 965," p. 134, St. Petersburg, 1898).

The Chazarian Letters.

A complete account of the correspondence between Ḥasdai and King Joseph has been written by A. Harkavy ("Yevreiskaya Biblioteka," viii. 135), one of the leading authorities on the history of the Chazars, from which the following is, in substance, an extract:

The Chazarian correspondence was first published in the work "Ḳol-Mebasser" of Isaac 'Aḳrish (Constantinople, 1577), into whose hands these documents came while on a voyage from Egypt to Constantinople. He published them with the view of proving that even after the destruction of Jerusalem the Jews still had their own country, in accordance with the well-known passage in Genesis (xlix. 10), "the scepter shall not depart from Judah."

Among European scholars Johann Buxtorf, the son, was the first to become interested in the Chazarian letters, which he printed together with the text of 'Aḳrish in his Latin translation of "Cuzari" (Basel, 1660).

Buxtorf believed that the letters themselves and the entire history of the Chazarian kingdom were but fable, for the reason that no seafarers, merchants, or other travelers had brought any information concerning such a flourishing kingdom as that of the Chazars was reputed to be. The learned Orientalist D'Herbelot ("Bibliothèque Orientale," ii. 455, Paris, 1697), misled by a wrong conception of the "Cuzari" and its relation to the conversion of the Chazars to Judaism, leaves the authenticity of the correspondence an open question.

One of the greatest scholars of the 17th century, Samuel Bochart, in his derivation of the name of the Chazars, introduces the account of Joseph ben Gorion (Yosippon), and in his notes to the "Yuḥasin" of Zacuto gives information about the Chazarian kingdom and the Sea of the Chazars obtained from the "Geographia Nubiensis" of the Arabian writer Idrisi (12th century; see "Geographia Sacra," 1646, p. 226). Bochart's views, however, are not important because he had no knowledge of the "Cuzari" or of the Chazarian letters. All the skeptics of that

time and those mentioned below had no knowledge of the facts concerning the Chazars and Chazarian Judaism as contained in Slavonic Russian sources, or of the "Acta Sanctorum," which discusses those sources. It is therefore not surprising that the first author of a comprehensive history of the Jews, Basnage, who in his "Histoire des Juifs," v. 446, Rotterdam, 1707, prints the Chazarian letters, has the boldness to declare as idle fancy, not only the kingdom of the Chazars, but even the existence of the Chazarian people, which was invented, he considers, by Jewish boastfulness.

About the same time Dom Augustine Calmet issued his Biblical researches, part of which treats of "the country whither the Ten Tribes were led away and where the said tribes now live." Calmet considers Media near the Caspian Sea to be "the country," and that it is also identical with "the country of the Chazars," which was glorified so much in the rabbinical writings. According to them the czar of the Chazars adopted the Jewish religion in the eighth century. Calmet, however, considers the whole story a fiction (Calmet, "Biblische Untersuchungen, Uebersetzt von Mosheim," iv. 406–407, Bremen, 1743).

BARATIER, "the remarkable child," also considered the story of the Chazars to be only a pleasing novel; but it may serve as an excuse for his opinion that when he wrote his work he was only eleven years of age (Baratier, "Voyage de R. Benjamin Fils de Jona de Tudela," ii. 285, Amsterdam, 1734). The Danish historiographer Frederick Suhm, who in 1779 wrote a remarkable work, for that time, on the Chazars, and who could not free himself from the view of the Hebraists of the time with regard to the letter of King Joseph, was the first to give a decided opinion in favor of the genuineness of the letter of Ḥasdai (Suhm, "Samlede Skrifter"). The ignorance of these writers is accounted for by the fact that only at the end of the eighteenth century were translations of the old Arabic writers, Mas'udi, Istakhri, Ibn Ḥauḳal, etc., on the Chazars, issued. The first to make use of the testimony of the Arabic writers to corroborate the accounts of the Jewish writers on the Chazars, was the Lithuanian historian Tadeusz CZACKI, who had the advantage of using copies of the Arabic manuscripts relating to the subject in the Library of Paris ("Rosprawa o Zydach," pp. 68–69, Wilna, 1807). The Russian historian Karamsin also made use of Mas'udi's information, given in the "Chrestomathy" of Silvestre de Sacy, and of Abulfeda's researches published in the fifth volume of Busching's "Historical Magazine."

The Russian academician Ch. Frähn and the Swedish scholar D'Ohsson collected and published, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, all the Arabic testimony on the subject of the Chazars known at that time. The authenticity of the letter of King Joseph has, however, since been fully established by the very material which those scholars had at their disposal. Frähn acknowledges the genuineness of Ḥasdai's letter, but not that of King Joseph. In the same way D'Ohsson, although he found the information of the Arabic and Byzantine writers in conformity with the contents of the Chazar letters, could not help doubting its genuineness ("Peuples du Caucase," p. 205). This may be explained by the fact that as they did not understand Hebrew they did not care to commit themselves on a question which lay outside of their field of investigation.

But the Jewish scholars had no doubts whatever as to the genuineness of the Chazarian documents, especially since the beginning of the critical school of Rapoport and Zunz. They were made use of by many writers in Spain in the twelfth century; as, for instance, by Judah ha-Levi (1140), who displayed a close acquaintance with the contents of King Joseph's epistle (Cassel, "Das Buch Kusari," pp. 13-14, Leipsic, 1869), and by the historian Abraham ibn Daud of Toledo (1160), who distinctly refers to the same letter ("Sefer ha-Ḳabbalah," p. 46b, Amsterdam, 1711).

Later on, with the persecutions which ended with the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, the Chazarian documents, together with many other treasures of medieval Jewish literature, were lost to the learned, and were not recovered until the end of the sixteenth century, when they were found in Egypt by Isaac 'Aḳrish. The Jews of that time took little interest, however, in the history of the past, being absorbed by the cheerless events of their own epoch. The first reference, therefore, to the Chazar letters is by Rabbi Bacharach of Worms, in 1679, who discovered proofs of the genuineness of Ḥasdai's letter in an acrostic in the poem which served as a preface, and which reads as follows: "I, Ḥasdai, son of Isaac, son of Ezra ben Shaprut" (see "Ḥut ha-Shani," p. 110b, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1769).

This acrostic, however, again remained unnoticed until it was rediscovered by Frensdorf, independently of Bacharach, in 1836 ("Zeitschrift für Jüdische Theologie," ii. 513). Four years later (1840) the genuineness of Ḥasdai's letter was absolutely proved by Joseph Zedner. He also acknowledged the authenticity of the chaghan's letter, but did not submit proofs ("Auswahl Historischer Stücke aus der Jüdischen Literatur," pp. 26–36, Berlin, 1840). At the same time Solomon Munk gave his opinion in favor of the genuineness of both letters ("Orient, Lit." i. 136; "Archives Israélites," 1848, p. 343; "Mélanges de Philosophie Juive et Arabe," p. 483, Paris, 1859). Since then most of the Jewish scholars have adopted his view, including Lebrecht, 1841; Michael Sachs, 1845; S. D. Luzzatto, 1846–50; Z. Frankel, 1852; D. Cassel and H. Jolovicz, 1853, 1859, 1872; Leop. Löw, 1855–74; Hartog, 1857; Jost, 1858; Steinschneider, 1860; Grätz, 1860 and 1871; Harkavy, beginning with 1864; Geiger, 1865; Kraushar, 1866; D. Kaufmann, 1877; and many others. A comparison of Jewish with other sources, especially with Arabic, as far as they were then known, must be credited to E. Carmoly. He began his work with the comparison of the various sources in his "Revue Orientale" (1840–44). He completed it in 1847 ("Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte," pp. 1–110, Brussels, 1847). Some useful supplements to Carmoly's works were presented by Paulus Cassel in 1848 and 1877 ("Magyarische Alterthümer," pp. 183–219, Berlin, 1848; "Der Chazarische Königsbrief aus dem 10. Jahrhundert," Berlin, 1877).

The results of these investigations were accepted by the following Christian scholars: Grigoryev, 1834; Schafarik, 1848; Lelevel, 1851-60; Vivien de San Martin, 1851; S. Solovyov, 1851–1874; Byelevski, 1864; Brun, 1866–77; Bilbasov, 1868–71; Kunik, 1874 and 1878; and many others. Still there were some writers who were misled by the earlier opinions, and on the strength of them spoke skeptically of the documents; as Jacob Goldenthal (1848); Dobryakov (1865); and even the historian Ilovaiski (1876).*

The Capital of Chazaria.

In 960 Atel (or Itil), at that time the capital of the kingdom of the Chazars, was situated about eight miles from the modern Astrakhan, on the right bank of the lower Volga, which river was also called "Atel" or "Itil." The meaning of "Atel" in the Gothic language is "father" or "little father," that of "Itil" in the Turanian language is "river"; it is difficult to decide which of these two words gave the river its name. The western part of the city was surrounded by a wall pierced by four gates, of which one led to the river, and the others to the steppes. Here was situated the king's palace, which was the only brick building in the city. According to Mas'udi, the city was divided into three parts, the palace of the chaghan standing on an island. The king had twenty-five wives, all of royal blood, and sixty concubines, all famous beauties. Each one dwelt in a separate tent and was watched by a eunuch. The authority of the chaghan was so absolute that during his absence from the capital, even his viceroy, or coregent (called "isha," or "bek," or "pech"), was powerless. The viceroy had to enter the chaghan's apartments barefooted and with the greatest reverence. He held in his right hand a chip of wood, which he lit when he saluted the chaghan, whereupon he took his seat to the right of the latter, on the throne, which was of gold. The walls of the palace were also gilded, and a golden gate ornamented the palace.

All the other dwellings of the then populous city were insignificant mud huts or felt tents. The position of the chaghan of the Chazars was evidently similar to that of the former mikados of Japan, while the bek, his military coregent, corresponded

* The translation of the letters given by Harkavy is from a manuscript in the St. Petersburg Public Library. The genuineness of the St. Petersburg manuscript has been demonstrated by him (against P. Cassel, Vambéry, etc.), in the "Russische Revue" and in "Meassef Niddaḥim," i., No. 10, pp. 149 *et seq.*

to the shoguns of the latter. Emperor Heraclius in 626 concluded a treaty with the chaghan of the Chazars, and Constantine Copronymus, in his description of the embassy of the Chazars (834), states that it was sent by the "*chaghan* and the pech." Ibn Faḍlan relates that the king of the Chazars was called the "great chaghan," and his deputy "chaghan-bhoa" ("bey," "beg," or "bek"). The bek led the army, administered the affairs of the country, and appeared among the people; and to him the neighboring kings paid allegiance. It will thus be seen that the extent of the powers of the bek varied with the times. When the chaghan wanted to punish any one, he said, "Go and commit suicide"—a method resembling the Japanese custom of hara-kiri.

The mother of the chaghan resided in the western part of the city, whose eastern part, called "Chazaran," was inhabited by merchants of various nationalities. The city and its environs were heavily shaded by trees. The Turkish and the Chazar languages predominated. The entourage of the chaghan, numbering 4,000 men, consisted of representatives of different nationalities. The White Chazars were renowned for their beauty; and according to Demidov, the mountaineers of the Crimea contrasted very favorably with the Nogay Tatars, because they were considerably intermixed with the Chazars and with the equally fine race of the Kumans. Besides the White Chazars, there were also Black Chazars (who were almost as dark as the Hindus), Turkish immigrants, Slavonians, Hunno-Bulgars, Jews, who lived mostly in the cities, and various Caucasian tribes, such as the Abghases, Kabardines, Ossetes, Avares, Lesghians, etc.

The Chazars cultivated rice, millet, fruit, grains, and the vine. They had important fisheries on the Caspian Sea, and the sturgeon constituted the main article of food. The Arabic writer Al-Maḳdisi remarks: "In Chazaria there are many sheep, and Jews, and much honey" ("Bibl. Geograph. Arabic." iii., Leyden, 1877). From the upper Volga they brought down from the Mordvines and Russians honey and valuable furs, which they exported to Africa, Spain, and France. They supplied the market of Constantinople with hides, furs, fish, Indian goods, and articles of luxury. The chaghan and his suite resided in the capital only during the winter months. From the month of Nisan (April) they led a nomadic life in the steppes, returning to the city about the Feast of Ḥanukkah (December). The estates and vineyards of the chaghan were on the island on which his palace was situated. Another city of the Chazars, Semender, between Atel and Bab al-Abwab, was surrounded by 40,000 vines. It was identical with the modern Tarku, near Petrovsk, which is now inhabited by Jews and Kumyks. The latter are supposed to be descended from the Chazars (Klaproth, "Mémoire sur les Khazars," in "Journal Asiatique," 1823, iii.).

Trade and Commerce.

At the Byzantine court the chaghan was held in high esteem. In diplomatic correspondence with him the seal of three solidi was used, which marked him as a potentate of the first rank, above even the pope and the Carlovingian monarchs. Emperor Justinian II., after his flight from Kherson to Doros, took refuge during his exile with the chaghan, and married the chaghan's daughter Irene, who was famous for her beauty (702) (Nicephorus, "Breviarium," ed. Bonn, 1837, p. 46). Emperor Leo IV., "the Chazar" (775–780), the son of Constantine, was thus a grandson of the king of the Chazars. From his mother he inherited his mild, amiable disposition. Justinian's rival, Bardanes, likewise sought an asylum in Chazaria. Chazarian troops were among the body-guard of the Byzantine imperial court; and they fought for Leo VI. against Simeon of Bulgaria in 888.

Relations with Byzantium.

King Joseph in his letter to Ḥasdai gives the following account of his kingdom:

> "The country up the river is within a four months' journey to the Orient, settled by the following nations who pay tribute to the Chazars: Burtas, Bulgar, Suvar, Arissu, Tzarmis, Ventit, Syever, and Slaviyun. Thence the boundary-line runs to Buarasm as far as the Jordjan. All the inhabitants of the seacoast that live within a month's distance pay tribute to the Chazars. To the south Semender, Bak-Tadlu, and the gates of the Bab al-Abwab are situated on the seashore. Thence the boundary-line extends to the mountains of Azur, Bak-Bagda, Sridi, Kiton, Arku, Shaula, Sagsar, Albusser, Ukusser, Kiadusser, Tzidlag, Zunikh, which are very high peaks, and to the Alans as far as the boundary of the Kassa, Kalkial, Takat, Gebul, and the Constantinian Sea. To the west, Sarkel, Samkrtz, Kertz, Sugdai, Aluss, Lambat, Bartnit, Alubika, Kut, Mankup, Budik, Alma, and Grusin—all these western localities are situated on the banks of the Constantinian (Black) Sea. Thence the boundary-line extends to the north, traversing the land of Basa, which is on the River Vaghez. Here on the plains live nomadic tribes, which extend to the frontier of the Gagries, as innumerable as the sands of the sea; and they all pay tribute to the Chazars. The king of the Chazars himself has established his residence at the mouth of the river, in order to guard its entrance and to prevent the Russians from reaching the Caspian Sea, and thus penetrating to the land of the Ishmaelites. In the same way the Chazars bar enemies from the gates of Bab al-Abwab."

Chazarian Territories.

Even the Russian Slavonians of Kiev had, in the ninth century, to pay as yearly tax to the Chazars a sword and the skin of a squirrel for each house.

At the end of the eighth century, when the Crimean Goths rebelled against the sovereignty of the Chazars, the latter occupied the Gothic capital, Doros. The Chazars were at first repulsed by the Gothic bishop Joannes; but when he had surrendered, the Goths submitted to the rule of the Chazars (Braun, "Die Letzten Schicksale der Krimgothen," p. 14, St. Petersburg, 1890; Tomaschek, "Die Gothen in Taurien," Vienna, 1881).

War with Goths.

In the second quarter of the ninth century, when the Chazars were often annoyed by the irruptions of the Petchenegs, Emperor Theophilus, fearing for the safety of the Byzantine trade with the neighboring nations, despatched his brother-in-law, Petron Kamateros, with materials and workmen to build for the Chazars the fortress Sarkel on the Don (834). Sarkel ("Sar-kel," the white abode; Russian, "Byelaya Vyezha") served as a military post and as a commercial depot for the north.

In the second half of the ninth century the apostle of the Slavonians, Constantine (Cyril), went to the Crimea to spread Christianity among the Chazars (Tomaschek, *l. c.* p. 25). At this time the kingdom of the Chazars stood at the height of its power, and was constantly at war with the Arabian califs and

their leaders in Persia and the Caucasus. The Persian Jews hoped that the Chazars might succeed in destroying the califs' country (Harkavy, in Kohut Memorial Volume, p. 244). The high esteem in which the Chazars were held among the Jews of the Orient may be seen in the application to them—in an Arabic commentary on Isaiah ascribed by some to Saadia, and by others to Benjamin Nahawandi—of Isa. xlviii. 14: "The Lord hath loved him." "This," says the commentary, "refers to the Chazars, who will go and destroy Babel"—*i.e.*, Babylonia—a name used to designate the country of the Arabs (Harkavy, in "Ha-Maggid," 1877, p. 357).

Jewish Sympathies.

The chaghans of the Chazars, in their turn, took great interest in and protected their coreligionists, the Jews. When one of the chaghans received information (*c.* 921) that the Mohammedans had destroyed a synagogue in the land of Babung (according to Harkavy the market of Camomile in Atel is meant), he gave orders that the minaret of the mosque in his capital should be broken off, and the muezzin executed. He declared that he would have destroyed all the mosques in the country had he not been afraid that the Mohammedans would in turn destroy all the synagogues in their lands (Ibn Faḍlan, in Frähn, "De Chazaris," p. 18). In the conquest of Hungary by the Magyars (889) the Chazars rendered considerable assistance. They had, however, settled in Pannonia before the arrival of the Magyars. This is evident from the names of such places as Kozar and Kis-Kozard in the Nógrad, and Great-Kozar and Ráczkozar in the Baranya district (Karl Szabó, "Magyar Akademiai Ertesitö," i. 132, cited by Vambéry in his "Ursprung der Magyaren," p. 132; compare Kohn, "A Zsidók Története Magyarországon"—The History of the Jews in Hungary—i. 12 *et seq.*).

Mas'udi relates the following particulars concerning the Chazars in connection with Russian invasions of Tabaristan and neighboring countries:

War with Russians.

"After the year 300 of the Hegira (913-914), five hundred Russian [Northmen's] ships, every one of which had a hundred men on board, came to the estuary of the Don, which opens into the Pontus, and is in communication with the river of the Chazars, the Volga. The king of the Chazars keeps a garrison on this side of the estuary with efficient, warlike equipment to exclude any other power from its passage. The king of the Chazars himself frequently takes the field against them if this garrison is too weak.

"When the Russian vessels reached the fort they sent to the king of the Chazars to ask his permission to pass through his dominions, promising him half the plunder which they might take from the nations who lived on the coast of this sea. He gave them leave. They entered the country, and continuing their voyage up the River Don as far as the river of the Chazars, they went down this river past the town of Atel and entered through its mouth into the sea of the Chazars. They spread over el-Jil, ed-Dailem, Tabaristan, Aboskum, which is the name for the coast of Jordjan, the Naphtha country, and toward Aderbijan, the town of Ardobil, which is in Aderbijan, and about three days' journey from the sea. The nations on the coast had no means of repelling the Russians, although they put themselves in a state of defense; for the inhabitants of the coast of this sea are well civilized. When the Russians had secured their booty and captives, they sailed to the mouth of the river of the Chazars and sent messengers with money and spoils to the king, in conformity with the stipulations they had made. The Larissians and other Moslems in the country of the Chazars heard of the attack of the Russians, and they said to their king: 'The Russians have invaded the country of our Moslem brothers; they have shed their blood and made their wives and children captives, as they are unable to resist; permit us to oppose them.' The Moslem army, which numbered about 15,000, took the field and fought for three days. The Russians were put to the sword, many being drowned, and only 5,000 escaping. These were slain by the Burtas and by the Moslems of Targhiz. The Russians did not make a similar attempt after that year" (Mas'udi [tr. by Sprenger], in "Historical Encyc.," pp. 416-420).

Notwithstanding the assertions of Mas'udi, the Russians invaded the trans-Caucasian country in 944, but were careful in this expedition to take a different route.

This seems to have been the beginning of the downfall of the Chazar kingdom. The Russian Varangians had firmly established themselves at Kiev, while the powerful dominions of the Chazars had become dangerous to the Byzantine empire, and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in his instructions on government written for his son, carefully enumerates the Alans, the Petchenegs, the Uzes, and the Bulgarians as the forces on which he must rely to check the influence of the Chazars.

Decline and Fall of the Chazars.

Five years after the correspondence between the king of the Chazars and Ḥasdai ibn Shaprut (965), the Russian prince Swyatoslaw made war upon the Chazars, apparently for the possession of Taurida and Taman. The Russians had already freed from the rule of the Chazars a part of the Black Bulgars, and had established a separate Russian duchy under the name of "Tmutrakan"; but in the Crimean peninsula the Chazars still had possessions, and from the Caucasian side the Russian Tmutrakan suffered from the irruption of the Kossogian and Karbardine princes, who were tributary to the chaghan of the Chazars. The fortress of Sarkel and the city of Atel were the chief obstacles to Russian predatory expeditions on the Caspian Sea. After a hard fight the Russians conquered the Chazars. Swyatoslaw destroyed Sarkel, subdued also the tribes of the Kossogians and Yass (Alans), and so strengthened the position of the Russian Tmutrakan. They destroyed the city of Bulgar, devastated the country of the Burtas, and took possession of Atel and Semender.

Four years later the Russians conquered all the Chazarian territory east of the Sea of Azov. Only the Crimean territory of the Chazars remained in their possession until 1016, when they were dispossessed by a joint expedition of Russians and Byzantines. The last of the chaghans, George Tzula, was taken prisoner; some of the Chazars took refuge in an island of the Caspian, Siahcouye; others retired to the Caucasus; while many were sent as prisoners of war to Kiev, where a Chazar community had long existed. Many intermingled in the Crimea with the local Jews; the Krimtschaki are probably their descendants—perhaps some of the Subbotniki also ("Voskhod," 1891, iv.–vi.). Some went to Hungary, but the great mass of the people remained in their native country. Many members of the Chazarian royal family emigrated to Spain. Until the thirteenth century the Crimea was known to European travelers as "Gazaria," the Italian form of "Chazaria."

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1869; Frähn, *De Chazaris*; *Excerpta de Scriptoribus Arabicis*, St. Petersburg, 1821; idem, *Ibn Foszlan* (Fadlan), St. Petersburg, 1823; Grigoryev, *Rossia i Asia*, St. Petersburg, 1876; Harkavy, *Soobshcheniya o Chazarakyа*, in *Yevreiskaya Biblioteka*, viii., St. Petersburg, 1880; idem, *Chazarskia Pisma*, in *Yevreiskaya Biblioteka*, vii., St. Petersburg, 1879; *idem*, in Geiger's *Jüd. Zeit.* iii., Breslau, 1865; *idem*, in *Razsvyet*, 1880, No. 4; idem, *Nyekotoryya Dannyya*, in *Trudy k. Archeologicheskavo Syezda v Kazani*, Kazan, 1884; *idem*, in *Russische Revue*, 1875, 1877; Hirschfeld, *Das Buch Al-Chazari*, Breslau, 1885; Klaproth, *Mémoire sur les Khazars*, in *Journal Asiatique*, ser. 1, vol. iii.; Neumann, *Die Völker des Südlichen Russlands*, Leipsic, 1847; C. d'Ohsson, *Les Peuples du Caucase*, Paris, 1828; Sprenger, Al-Mas'udi's *Meadows of Gold*, i., London, 1841; Vambéry, *Der Ursprung der Magyaren*, Leipsic, 1882; Vivien de St. Martin, *Sur les Khazars*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, 1851; Bacher, *La Conversion des Khazars d'après un Ouvrage Midraschique*, in *Rev. Et. Juives*, xx. 144–146; and works mentioned in the text. See, also, ARMENIA, CAUCASUS, and CRIMEA.

H. R.

CHEBAR: Name of a Babylonian river or canal, by the side of which Ezekiel "saw visions" (Ezek. i. 1, 3; iii. 15, 23; x. 15 *et seq.*). The Hebrew "nahar" (נהר), usually rendered "river," was evidently used also for "canal" (= Babylonian "naru"; compare Ps. cxxxvii. 1, "naharoth Babel"; that is, "canals of Babylon"). In Babylonian, "Naru Kabaru" means, literally, "great canal." The river has usually been identified with the Chabor, a tributary discharging its waters into the Euphrates at Circesium; a mistake not to be justified in view of the definite statement that it was in the land of Chaldea. The stream intended is undoubtedly the Kabaru, a large navigable canal near Nippur, twice mentioned in an inscription recovered by the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania (see Hilprecht and Clay, "Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania," ix. 50).

J. JR. R. W. R.

CHECHELNIK: Town in the government of Podolia, Russia, having (1898) a population of about 7,000, including 1,967 Jews. Their principal occupation is commerce; but 352 are engaged in various handicrafts, and 96 are journeymen. About 200 Jews earn a livelihood as farm-laborers; and 41 are employed in the local factories. There are no charitable organizations, and poverty among the Jewish inhabitants is general. A private school for boys with 100 pupils, and 23 ḥadarim with 367 pupils, constitute the Jewish educational institutions of Chechelnik.

H. R. S. J.

CHECHERSK: Town in the government of Mohilev, Russia, with a population (in 1898) of 2,819, including 1,692 Jews. The latter are principally engaged in commerce, but 323 follow various handicrafts. Of these 158 own shops, 60 are wage-workers, and 105 are apprentices. Shoemaking is the predominant industry, 120 persons being engaged in it. There are, besides, 31 day-laborers. The charitable organizations consist of a Gemilut Ḥasadim, a Lehem Ebyonim and a Bikḳur Ḥolim. Over 40 families apply yearly for aid for the Passover holidays. The educational institutions include an elementary government school with 80 pupils, 15 being Jews, and 15 ḥadarim, with 140 scholars. When the uprising under Bogdan Chmielnicki broke out in 1648, Chechersk was taken by the Cossacks, who massacred all the Jews there.

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H. R. S. J.

CHEDORLAOMER.—Biblical Data: Name of a king of Elam (Gen. xiv. 1), who made conquests as far west as Canaan and exercised supremacy over its southeastern part. After paying tribute to him for twelve years, the five local kings, or princes, rebelled in the thirteenth year, and in the fourteenth were assailed and reduced by Chedorlaomer, assisted by AMRAPHEL, King of Shinar; ARIOCH, King of Ellasar, and Tidal, King of Goyim.

——Critical View: The name "Chedorlaomer" has long been the subject of controversy, that has increased, rather than diminished, since the discovery of native Elamite and Babylonian documents. The first clue to an identification of the name is found in the fact, everywhere now regarded as established, that the name is a correct Elamite compound. Its first half, "Chedor" (= "Kudur," "servant of," or "worshiper of"), is found frequently in Elamite proper names, such as "Kudur-nanḥundi" ("naḥḥunte" in Susian or Elamite) and "Kudur-mabuk." The latter half of the name, "la'omer," (= "lagamaru"), is the name of an Elamite deity, mentioned by Assurbanipal.

Apart from these certain facts, all else is matter of controversy. Scheil believed that he had found the name on a tablet of Hammurabi in the form "Ku-du-la-uḫ-ga-mar" ("Revue Biblique," 1896, p. 600), but the name is now proved to be "Inuḫshammar." Pinches has found the name "Kudur-ku-kumal" in a tablet dating probably from the period of the Arsacidæ. In spite of the difficulty of the reading and the late date of the text, it is possible that the person intended is really the same as the Chedorlaomer of Genesis, though most scholars are opposed to this view. The tablet in question is couched in a florid, poetical style, and little material of historical value can be gleaned from it. For the present the records give only the rather negative result that from Babylonian and Elamite documents nothing definite has been learned of Chedorlaomer. It is, however, a matter of some consequence in estimating the character of the narrative in Gen. xiv. to have learned that the name of Chedorlaomer is not a fiction.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schrader, *Keilinschriften des Alten Testaments*, 2d ed., pp. 135 *et seq.*; (compare paper read by Pinches before the Victoria Institute) Jan. 20, 1896; L. W. King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, 1898, vol. i.

J. JR. R. W. R.

CHEESE: The curd of milk run into molds and allowed to coagulate. This article of food was known to the ancient Hebrews. Three expressions seem at least to indicate that various kinds and forms of cheese were in use: **1.** "Gebinah" (Job x. 10) denotes the ordinary article, prepared in Biblical times as it is to this day in Syria. Milk is passed through a cloth, and the curd, after being salted, is molded into disks about the size of the hand and dried in the sun. From such cheese a cool, acid drink is made by stirring it in water. **2.** "Harize he-ḥalab" (I Sam. xvii. 18) appears to have been made of sweet milk, and to have been something like cottage-cheese. It is not certain what "she fot baḳar" (II Sam. xvii. 29) signifies. Perhaps the Masoretic reading is corrupt. If not, "cream"

or "cheese" may be its meaning. **3.** "Ḥem'ah," ordinarily "cream," signifies "cheese" in Prov. xxx. 33.

In post-Biblical days the manufacture of cheese was in the hands of a distinct gild. Josephus ("B. J." v. 4, § 1), at all events, mentions "the valley of the cheese-makers," and many are the references in the Talmudic writings to the preparation of hard cheese (Shab. 96a; Tosef., Shab. x.; Yer. Shab. vii. 10a, end; Yer. Ma'as. ii. 3a; Yer. B. M. vii. 11b). Yer. Shek. vii. 3c mentions a disk ("iggul") of cheese. Cheese and water are mentioned as constituting a very poor meal (Yer. M. K. iii. 83b; Yer. Ned. v. 40d, beginning).

Cheese was one of the articles included in the list of eighteen prohibitions enacted at the famous meeting in the upper chamber of Hananiah ben Hezekiah ben Garon (Shab. i. 7), which could never be revoked because they who had adopted them gave their lives for them (Yer. Shab. i. 7; 3c. The Mishnah does not enumerate them specifically; in the Gemara there are long debates concerning them; but a Baraita in the name of R. Simeon ben Yoḥai (*ib.*) furnishes the particulars. According to this war measure, Jews were forbidden to buy bread, oil, cheese, wine, vinegar, etc., from an idolater. In the Mishnah ('Ab. Zarah, ii. 5, 29a) cheese from Bet Oneiki (= Bithnica; Yer. reading ותירייקי; Tosefta has here הניקיא; according to Rapoport, "Erek Millin," Veneca in Media is referred to) is declared to be "issur" (interdicted), Rashi explaining that cheese from any other locality may be eaten. According to R. Meïr this issur carries with it the prohibition against using cheese for other purposes than eating, an opinion not accepted by the Rabbis. R. Joshua is reported as accounting for the prohibition by the fact that the makers of cheese, who were all either pagans (נוכרים) or Bithynians (see Pliny, "Historia Naturalis," xi. 97; Wiesner, in "Ben Chananja," 1866, col. 75), placed the cheese (to ripen it) in the rennet-bag of an animal that had died of disease. Another of the reasons advanced is that most of the Bithynian calves whose stomachs were used in the manufacture of cheese, were slaughtered for idolatrous rites ('Ab. Zarah 34b). Besides this, the fact of the contact of the rennet with the cheese would class the mixture, if made, under the general prohibition that forbade the mixing of milk with meat.

The later religious practise has been to interdict all cheese made by non-Jews suspected of idolatry. Cheese made by Jews from the milk of animals originally destined for idolatry seems also to have been forbidden, and so was cheese of heathen manufacture, even if kept in leaves or herbs (see Shulḥan 'Aruk, Yoreh De'ah, 115, 2; "Yad," Ma'akalot Asurot, iii.).

So strictly was this prohibition observed that for a long time the Jews of England used to get their cheese from Holland so as to be certain that it had been prepared according to Jewish custom.

E. G. H.

CHELLUS (Χέλους; Codex Sinaiticus, Χισλους; Syriac version, כלון): Place mentioned in Judith i. 9 as lying before Kadesh and the River of Egypt. Reland ("Palæstina ex Monumentis Veteribus Illustrata," p. 717) is probably correct in identifying it with the city of Elusa (according to the Targum, חלוצה), which was situated on the south of Beersheba, and was noted for its particular cult. Less probable is the supposition of Movers, according to which Chellus is the Biblical "Halhul," mentioned in Joshua xv. 58. The name does not occur in the O. T., but is found in the form "Alusa" in Josephus ("Ant." xiv. 1, § 4); not identical with "Allus," mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome ("Onomasticon," pp. 85, 6; 211, 3). The modern name is "Chalasa," and the place contains only ruins.

E. G. H. F. Bu.

CHELM or **CHOLM**: Town in the government of Kovno, Russia. It has a population of about 4,200, all of whom, with the exception of about 300, are Jews. Most of them are engaged in mercantile pursuits, only 549 being artisans. The town has a considerable trade in leather, wool, flax, hemp, bristles, and lumber, shipping these products to commercial centers, such as Königsberg, Riga, and Libau. About 30 Jews find employment in the local factories, corn mills, and sawmills; 80 are journeymen, draymen, and porters; 30 are engaged in gardening, cultivating a tract of 30 deciatines, which they partly own and partly hold on lease; and 8 live by dairying. In the vicinity of the town are several settlements inhabited by Jewish agriculturists.

The charitable institutions include societies for the visitation of the sick, for the relief of the poor, and for affording temporary shelter to the destitute. The only educational institutions are the ḥadarim.

H. R. S. J.

CHELM, EPHRAIM B. JOSEPH. See Ephraim b. Joseph Chelm.

CHELM, SOLOMON B. MOSES. See Solomon b. Moses Chelm.

CHELOD: A name occurring in Judith i. 6b, and designating apparently the Chaldeans. In place of the rendering of the A. V., "many nations of the sons of Chelod assembled themselves to battle in the plain of Arioch in the days of Nebuchadnezzar and Arphaxad," it is perhaps better to translate—following the Greek version—"there came together many nations unto the array of the sons of Chelcul." The Syriac renders "to fight against the Chaldeans." And while it is true that Nebuchadnezzar is called "king of the Assyrians" in Judith, and not "of the Chaldeans," it is to be remembered that the term "Chaldeans" is used in the late Book of Daniel as a race-name for the Babylonians of the time of Nebuchadnezzar (see Prince, "Daniel," pp. 59–61). The text of Judith seems to imply that the "sons of Chelod" were Nebuchadnezzar's army. Although it is not impossible that "Chelod" or "Chelcul" comes from a corrupt Aramaic form denoting "Chaldeans," the whole matter is very uncertain.

The idea that Calneh is meant is quite as improbable as the theory that the word is from the Hebrew "holed" (mole), and that "children of the mole" is an opprobrious term for the Syrians (Ewald, "Gesch. des Volkes Israel," iii. 543).

J. JR. J. D. P.

CHELUB: A Hebrew word meaning a cage, as in Jer. v. 27. It is also the name of two men: (1) The brother of Shuah and father of Mehir of the tribe of Judah (I Chron. iv. 11). In the Septuagint Χαλῶβ. (2) The father of David's chief gardener, Ezri (I Chron. xxvii. 26), 1014 B.C. In the Septuagint Χελοήβ.

E. G. H. J. D. B.

CHELUBAI: This is probably another form of the name CALEB. It occurs in I Chron. ii. 9.

E. G. H. G. B. L.

CHEMARIM: Plural of כמר; occurs as transliteration of the Hebrew in the English translation of Zeph. i. 4, and also as the marginal reading both in A. V. and R. V. to II Kings xxiii. 5 and Hosea x. 5, where the text renders the Hebrew by "idolatrous priests" and "priests." In Zeph. i. 4 the Septuagint omits it, and this in connection with the parallelism goes far to indicate that there it is an interpolation. But Wellhausen and others have, by emending the passage in Hosea iv. 4, ועמך כמריבי, to read ועמי כבמריו (my people like its idolatrous priests), claimed for the word another passage in old Hebrew writings.

The meaning of the word is well assured to be "priests." It occurs with certainty in this acceptation in Semitic inscriptions (Halévy, in "Rev. Sém." 1896, pp. 280, 282; "C. I. S." ii. 170), and possibly as "kamiru" on the El-Amarna tablets (Bezold, "Oriental Dipolmacy," p. 92). In the Aramaic and in the Peshiṭta "kumra" stands for "priest" without tinge of evil sense. In Neo-Hebrew כומר designates a Catholic priest and monk. In the passages quoted above, the term without doubt carries a by-flavor of disrepute. It is the "idol-worshiping priest" that is so denominated. And in this sense the appellation is very frequent in the Talmud (נעשה כומר לעבדה זרה, 'Ar. 30b; יתרו היה כומר לעבדה זרה, Pesiḳ. R. 65c).

The etymology, however, is not so clear. Usually it is associated with the verb "kamar," to be black. Ḳimḥi, among others, is of this opinion, and derives the meaning "priest" from the circumstance that the "priests wore black garments." Others connect the root with the idea to be sad, "kumra" being a sad person; *i.e.*, an ascete, monk, priest. Delitzsch, in "Assyrisches Handwörterbuch," holds it to have sprung from "kamaru," to overthrow, to prostrate, the "priest" being he who prostrates himself before the idol. Perhaps the meaning of כמר in the Nif'al ("to grow hot") best explains the transition to "priest" with a by-sense of "reprobate." The old Semitic idols were without exception worshiped by intemperate (sexual) excesses. The "hot" "exciting man" was the priest *κατ' ἐξοχήν*.

E. G. H.

CHEMEROVTZY: Small town in the government of Podolia, Russia, with (in 1898) an almost exclusively Jewish population of 1,282. About 160 Jews follow various trades, but the bulk of the population is engaged in mercantile pursuits. Hair sacks form the principal article of commerce, being exported to the value of 100,000 rubles annually.

Poverty is increasing to such a degree that the scanty funds of the two existing charitable organizations can barely meet the needs of the poorer part of the community. The educational institutions include a Talmud Torah, with 10 pupils, and 10 ḥadarim (which are subdivided into 3 primary, 3 middle, and 4 higher departments), with 178 pupils.

H. R. S. J.

CHEMNITZ: Town in Saxony, with a Jewish population of 1,150. Jews first settled there in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In 1874 they organized a congregation, although on feast-days religious services had been held since 1871. The ḥebra ḳaddisha and the Jewish Women's Association were founded in 1876. On March 29, 1878, the prayer-house was consecrated; and in 1879 a cemetery was secured. The first rabbi of the congregation was Abraham Chatiner (d. 1882); he was succeeded by Jacob Mühlfelder, who is still officiating (1902). The congregation was granted corporate rights Oct. 12, 1885. In 1899 the building of a new synagogue, with a seating capacity of 685, was completed. The dedication took place March 7, 1899. In the same year the Max and Selma Bergmann's Widows and Orphans' Charitable Institution was founded. The congregation maintains a school with three teachers and two hundred pupils.

Chemnitz is the seat of the Saxonia Lodge XLIV., 497 I. O. B. B., established May 27, 1899.

E. C. S. So.

CHEMOSH: The national god of the Moabites. He became angry with his people and permitted them to become the vassals of Israel; his anger passed, he commanded Mesha to fight against Israel, and Moabitish independence was reestablished (Moabite Stone, lines 5, 9, 14 *et seq.*). A king in the days of Sennacherib was called "Chemoshnadab" ("K. B." ii. 90 *et seq.*; see JEHONADAB). Chemosh was a god developed out of the primitive Semitic mother-goddess Athtar, whose name he bears (Moabite Stone, line 17; compare Barton, "Semitic Origins," iv.). Peake wrongly holds that Ashtar-Chemosh was a deity distinct from Chemosh, while Moore and Bäthgen ("Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte," p. 14) regard "Ashtar" in this name as equivalent to "Astarte," who they believe was worshiped in the temple of Chemosh. "Ashtar" is more probably masculine here, as in South Arabia, and another name for Chemosh, the compound "Ashtar-Chemosh" being formed like "YHWH-Elohim" or "YHWH-Sebaoth." There seems to be no good reason for denying that Chemosh was a "baal," and that the names "Baal-maon" (Moabite Stone, line 30) and "Baal-peor" (Num. xxv. 3; Hosea ix. 10) apply to what was practically the same god as Chemosh. The way Mesha brings Baal-maon into his inscription identifies the latter with Chemosh; for when Baal-maon is pleased Chemosh speaks to Mesha (Moabite Stone, lines 30, 31). Whatever differences of conception may have attached to the god at different shrines, there is no adequate reason for doubting the substantial identity of the gods to whom these various names were applied. Hosea ix. 10 is proof that at some period (according to Wellhausen, at the time of the prophet himself) the impure cult of the Semitic goddess was practised at Baal-peor (compare Wellhausen, "Kleine Propheten"; Nowack's Commentary; and G. A. Smith, "Twelve Prophets," *ad loc.*). Chemosh, therefore,

was in general a deity of the same nature as Baal. On critical occasions a human sacrifice was considered necessary to secure his favor (compare II Kings iii. 27), and when deliverance came, a sanctuary might be built to him (Moabite Stone, line 3). An ancient poem, twice quoted in the Old Testament (Num. xxi. 27–30; Jer. xlviii. 45, 46), regards the Moabites as the children of Chemosh, and also calls them "the people of Chemosh."

The etymology of "Chemosh" is unknown. The name of the father of Mesha, Chemosh-melek ("Chemosh is Malik," or "Chemosh is king"; compare Moabite Stone, line 1), indicates the possibility that Chemosh and Malik (or Moloch) were one and the same deity. Judges xi. 24 has been thought by some to be a proof of this, since it speaks of Chemosh as the god of the Ammonites, while Moloch is elsewhere their god (compare I Kings xi. 7, 33). Several critics rightly regard the statement in Judges as a mistake; but such an error was not unnatural, since both Chemosh and Moloch were developed, in different environments, from the same primitive divinity, and possessed many of the same epithets.

Solomon is said to have built a sanctuary to Chemosh on the Mount of Olives (I Kings xi. 7, 33), which was maintained till the reform of Josiah (II Kings xxiii. 13). This movement by Solomon was no doubt to some extent a political one, but it made the worship of Chemosh a part of the religious life of Israel for nearly 400 years.

J. JR. G. A. B.

CHENAANAH: Feminine form of "Canaan"; the name of two men: (1) The fourth-named of the seven sons of Bilham, son of Jediael, of the tribe of Benjamin, a leading warrior in the time of David (I Chron. vii. 10). (2) The father of the false prophet Zedekiah, who encouraged Ahab against Micaiah (I Kings xxii. 11, 24; II Chron. xviii. 10, 23).

Fürst ("Bibl. Jud.") attributes the existence of such names as this and "Tarshish" and "Cush" among the Benjamites to their intermarriages with the earlier races. The hostilities which the Benjamites had to endure during the civil war (see Judges xxi.) might have compelled them to establish alliances with their Phenician neighbors.

E. G. H. J. D. B.

CHENANIAH (literally, "established by God," I Chron. xv. 27; also found in the longer form "Chenanyahu," I Chron. xv. 22): A Levite of the family of Izharites (I Chron. xxvi. 29) and chief of the Temple singers who conducted the musical service when the Ark was removed from the house of Obed-edom to Jerusalem (I Chron. xv. 27).

E. G. H. J. D. B.

CHENSTOCHOV (Polish, **Czenstochowa**): City in the government of Petrokow, Russian Poland, the Jewish inhabitants of which in 1897 numbered 12,500 in a total population of 45,130. Most of the Jews are merchants, only 2,155 being artisans. Of the latter, 801 are tailors and 228 are shoemakers. Seven estates in the environs of Chenstochov are owned by Jews. In 1898 Jews owned 57 factories with 397 operatives.

Originally the Jewish factories of Chenstochov mostly manufactured medallions with pictures of the Virgin, and other articles of Christian worship, for the numerous pilgrims visiting the city; but when this industry was forbidden to the Jews, they turned to the manufacturing of toys, in which fifteen factories are now occupied, 80 per cent of the factory laborers being Jews.

After the establishment of the liquor monopoly by the Russian government eighty families remained without occupation. In 1898 about 460 Jewish families received fuel from charitable institutions. Poverty is increasing among the Jewish population, as may be seen from the following figures of families applying for help at Passover: 553 in 1894; 581 in 1895; 607 in 1896; 639 in 1897; 708 in 1898. Taking the average of five for a family, it appears that 3,500 persons, or 29 per cent of the Jewish population, have applied for charity, and in relieving distress the efforts of about ten charitable institutions are taxed to the utmost.

The Jewish children receive their education in the general schools as well as in special Jewish schools. Among the latter are a Talmud Torah with an industrial department, and 29 ḥadarim with 531 male and 90 female pupils.

In September, 1902, Chenstochov was the scene of an uprising on the part of the Jews, which, however, was soon suppressed by the authorities.

H. R. S. J.

CHEPHIRAH: City belonging originally to the Gibeonites (Josh. ix. 17), but which, in the apportionment of the land, fell to the lot of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 26). Men of this city returned with Zerubbabel from the captivity in Babylon (Ezra ii. 25; Neh. vii. 29: in both instances the town is mentioned in connection with Kirjath-jearim [= arim] and Beeroth). In I Esd. v. 19 the place is called "Caphira." It is, perhaps, to be identified with the ruins now called "Kefire." The word "Kephirim" of Neh. vi. 2 may refer to Chephirah (F. Buhl, "Geographie des Alten Palästina," p. 169).

E. G. H. G. B. L.

CHERAN: A name occurring in the genealogy of Seir the Horite (Gen. xxxvi. 26), and in the corresponding list in I Chron. i. 41. Dillmann (commentary on Gen. xxxvi. 26) suggests that it comes from "kar" (a lamb). The names in the lists are clan-names; and a number of the clans have animal designations, such as Dishon, Ayyah, Shobal.

E. C. G. B. L.

CHEREI: A small town in the government of Mohilev, Russia, with (1898) about 3,000 inhabitants, of whom 1,300 are Jews. The principal occupations of the latter are commerce and handicrafts. The total number of artisans is 298, 189 being shop-owners, 35 wage-workers, and 74 apprentices. The predominating trades are shoemaking and tailoring, in which altogether 146 persons are engaged. About 61 Jews earn a livelihood as journeymen. There are, besides, 4 Jewish families occupied in agricultural pursuits, 8 families engaged in gardening, and 24 families who keep dairies. There are 20 ḥadarim, with 120 scholars; to the

elementary school of the town. Jewish children are admitted only upon payment of a fee, while others are granted free tuition.

H. R. S. J.

CHERETHITES or **CHERETHIM.**—**Biblical Data:** Probably the name of a part of the Philistines; usually, however, designating the whole nation, as in Zeph. ii. 5, where "the nation of the Cherethites" evidently means the Philistines in general. Similarly, Ezek. xxv. 16 and xxx. 5 belong here. A. V. translates "the children of the land [that is in] league." But the true reading after the Ethiopic and partly after the LXX. (which omits the word "land") is: "the children of the Kerethi" (compare Cornill's "Ezekiel"). In Ezek. xxx. 5, where "the children of the land that is in league" are mentioned among the allies of Egypt, the whole of the Philistines must be meant. For the original special meaning compare the earliest passage, I Sam. xxx. 14, which mentions the Cherethites as living in a strip in the southwest of Palestine (the Negeb), near the territory of Judah and of Ziklag. This strip is called the "South" (Negeb) of the Cherethites. From verse 16, where the same district is designated as "the land of the Philistines," it may be inferred that the Cherethites belonged to the Philistines, or that the two terms were used promiscuously.

The name is also found in the frequent phrase "Cherethites and Pelethites." By this phrase was designated the *corps d'élite* and body-guard (thus correctly, Josephus, "Ant." vii. 5, § 4) of David; compare II Sam. viii. 18 (= I Chron. xviii. 17), xv. 18 (with "the Gittites"; *i.e.*, men from Gath), xx. 7 (among "all the mighty men"), *ib.* verse 23 (Ket., הכרתים); I Kings i. 38, 44 (escorting Solomon to his coronation). If the Carites and Cherethites (II Kings xi. 4) are identical, the same troop was still in existence in the time of Athaliah (see CARITES). It is evident, especially from II Sam. xv. 18, that this troop consisted of mercenaries recruited from the warlike Philistines. They are different from the special guards (Hebrew, "runners"; mentioned in Saul's time, I Sam. xxii. 17) of the kings (I Kings xiv. 27 = II Chron. xii. 10); compare "Carites" in II Kings xi. 4, R. V. The threat against "those that leap over the threshold" at the king's court (Zeph. i. 9) is usually explained as referring to soldiers and officials of Philistine blood (compare on their superstitious custom I Sam. v. 5), but see the commentaries for different explanations of that passage. "Pelethi" = "Pelethite" is now generally considered as a shortened form of "Pelishti" = "Philistine," adapted to the Hebrew (according to Ewald). This seems to establish a difference between the Cherethites and the majority of the Philistines. The Septuagint, in the Prophets, translates "Cherethite" by "Cretans," and the tradition is found that the "Palestinians" (Stephen of Byzanz; Tacitus, "Historiæ," v. 2, erroneously of the Jews) had come from Crete. This tradition seems to have sprung from the Septuagint; however, see CAPHTOR on the question of the origin of the Philistines from the "island [of Caphtor?]" and the frequent identification of "Caphtor" with "Crete." Less probable is the explanation of the two names of nations, "Cherethites" and "Pelethites" as appellative nouns; for instance, by Gesenius, "executioners and runners"; or by Targum (Pesh., some Greek MSS.), "bowmen and slingers"; by the Hexapla in Zephaniah, "corrupted people," for "Cherethites"; by Halévy, "the exiles excluded from their nation," etc.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. R. Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, ii. 262; Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, p. 172; Kittel, *Hist. of the Hebr.* ii. 153, No. 164.

E. G. H. W. M. M.

—In Rabbinical Literature: The Haggadah, which always endeavors to idealize the ancient history of Israel, takes the כרתי ופלתי to be not David's heathen body-guard, but a designation for the Great Sanhedrin, to which a very early date is thus ascribed. Hence "kereti" (כרתי) is interpreted as derived from כרת ("to cut off") in the sense of גזר ("to cut off," "to decree"), the men of the Sanhedrin rendering legal decisions. Similarly, פלתי, from פלא, meaning "the elect," or those eminent through their doctrines (Ber. 4a, above; Sanh. 16b, above; on the correct reading compare Rabbinowicz, "Dikduḳe Soferim," to the passage and Midr. Teh. iii.). Pseudo-Jerome, on II Sam. xx. 23, follows the Jewish tradition, according to which "kereti and peleti" means literally "accidentes et vivificantes," and is used to designate the "congregatio Dei." The Targum's rendering of the passage, "archers and slingers," is adopted by Ḳimḥi also, who adds that there were two families so called, who excelled in the use of those weapons of war (commentary on II Sam. xv. 18). L. G.

CHERIKOV: Town in the government of Mohilev, Russia. According to the last census (1897) it has 5,250 inhabitants, including 2,700 Jews. Most of the latter are small tradesmen; 12 are engaged in horticulture, and 10 in gardening. In the whole district of Cherikov 60 Jewish families follow agricultural pursuits. Out of 255 artisans (consisting of 155 shop-owners, 10 wage-workers, and 90 apprentices) 115 are tailors. There are, besides, 25 journeymen, and 8 Jews who find employment in the local Dutch tile-factory. Two associations lend money to the poor without interest. The educational institutions consist of a government elementary Jewish school with 73 pupils, one Talmud Torah with 70 pupils, and 20 ḥadarim.

In 1648 Ladislaus, King of Poland, granted the Jews of Cherikov a charter by which they were allowed to deal in liquors, grain, and other articles of trade, to acquire immovable property, and to have their own synagogue and cemetery, which should be exempted from taxation. By this charter the Jews of Cherikov were placed on an equal footing with the other Jewish communities of the grand duchy of Lithuania. In the same year (1648) the Jews of Cherikov were massacred by the Cossacks.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Regesty*, i. 399, 411, St. Petersburg, 1899.

H. R. S. J.

CHERITH: The name of a brook or wadi near the Jordan, where Elijah, in the time of drought and famine, was told to hide himself, and there find

water and food (I Kings xvii. 3, 5). When the brook dried up he was sent to Zarephath. In the verses cited from Kings the expression "before Jordan" (literally, "by the face of the Jordan") certainly points to the eastern side; hence Robinson's proposed identification with the Wadi al-Ḳalt, apart from philological difficulties, is impossible. Cheyne proposes Reḥoboth, which he explains as worn down into "Cherith," and further suggests that "Egypt" be substituted for "Jordan." Buhl ("Geog. des Alten Palästina," p. 121) argues for the identification of Cherith with Wadi al-Ḥimar, on the supposition that Tishbi is Khirbat Istib. None of the modern attempts at identification is satisfactory.

E. G. H. G. B. L.

CHERKASSY (Polish, **Czerkasy**): District town in the government of Kiev, Russia, situated on the right bank of the Dnieper, about 126 miles from Kiev.

The date of the establishment of the Jewish community of Cherkassy is not known. Being the chief town of the Cossacks since the beginning of the sixteenth century, including the time of Chmielnicki (1648-52), it may be surmised that only a few Jews, leaseholders, lived there. The census of 1765 gives only one Jew in Cherkassy, this one being "the farmer of taxes, who paid 10,000 florins for the general taxes and 400 florins for the saltpeter-factory." In 1789, of 561 houses, 14 belonged to Jews; and in 1797, after the annexation of Cherkassy by Russia (1795), the town had 783 Jewish inhabitants.

In 1870 there were 20,492 Jews in the district and town; which figures, by 1897, had increased to 29,982, or 9.75 per cent of the total population; and in 1898, out of a total population of 26,165 in the town alone, 5,884 were Jews. The majority of the latter are small traders, artisans, and day-laborers, while some are employed in the sugar- and tobacco-factories, and in the flour-mills. A great part of the Jews belong to the Ḥasidim, and are followers of the local "ẓaddiḳ," called by them the "gute Rov" (good rabbi) of Cherkassy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Semenov Geograficheskо-Statisticheski Slovar*, v., *s.v.*

H. R. M. R.

CHERNEVTZY: Town in the government of Podolia, Russia; it has (1898) a population of about 15,000, including about 2,000 Jews. Of the latter, 267 are artisans, but most of them earn a livelihood as small tradesmen. In the local sugar-refinery, which employs 400 men, only 14 Jews find work. There are, besides, 17 journeymen and 20 agricultural laborers. The number of Jewish poor in Chernevtzy is very considerable. In 1898 there were 60 families who received fuel from charitable organizations.

H. R. S. J.

CHERNIGOV: A city in Russia; capital of the government of the same name. The Jewish settlement at Chernigov is one of the oldest of the Ukraine. In the thirteenth century a rabbi, Isaac (Itze) of Chernigov, is mentioned, who spoke the Russian language. (Harkavy, "Yevrei i Slavyanskie Yazyky," p. 11). In 1623 King Ladislaus banished the Jews from the "voyevodstvos" (military districts) of Chernigov and Syeversk. The cause was probably jealousy on the part of the Christian merchants and tradesmen; the edict declaring that the Jews caused great damage to their business. However, soon after 1623 the Jews again came to Chernigov. In 1648, at the time of Chmielnicki's revolt, the whole Jewish population of Chernigov was exterminated by the Cossacks.

In the later histories of Chernigov indications are found of the hostility of the people toward the Jews. Thus, in 1665 the noblemen of Chernigov sent an embassy to the Council of Warsaw, mentioning in their instructions that justice called for the expulsion of the dishonest Jews from the country, or at least for the imposition of a Jewish poll-tax.

According to the census of 1897 there were in the town of Chernigov about 11,000 Jews in a total population of 27,006. The chief occupations of the Jews are industrial and commercial. In the neighborhood many tobacco-plantations and fruit-gardens are owned by Jews. There are in Chernigov 1,321 Jewish artisans, including 404 tailors and seamstresses, but the demand for artisan labor is limited to the town. There are 69 Jewish day-laborers, almost exclusively teamsters. But few are engaged in the factories.

The small charitable institutions of Chernigov were combined, in 1899, in the Committee of Relief for the Jewish Poor; but the different trade groups of the Jewish population have their own charitable institutions also. Thus the bakers, storekeepers, teamsters, tailors, and "melammedim" (teachers of Hebrew) have separate funds from which loans without interest, and, in cases of necessity, gratuitous help, are obtained.

The Jewish educational establishments include a Talmud Torah (115 pupils); a primary school for boys (40 pupils); a private school for girls (57 pupils); and there are 45 ḥadarim, where about 450 boys and 70 girls are taught Hebrew.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Regesty i Nadpisi*, i. 403, 404, 466; *Budushchnost*, 1900, No. 42.

H. R. S. J.

CHERNIGOV: A government of Little Russia (Ukraine), with a Jewish population (1897) of 114,630 in a total population of 2,298,834, or nearly 5 per cent. In 1881 the Jewish inhabitants formed only 2.5 per cent of the total. By districts, the Jews in the government of Chernigov are distributed as follows: Chernigov 12,006 in a total population of 162,036 =7.41 per cent (in 1881 only 4.2 per cent); Borzna 3,542 in 146,730 =2.41 per cent (in 1881 1.6 per cent); Glukhov 5,493 in 142,814 =3.85 per cent (in 1881 about 5.1 per cent); Gorodnya 8,913 in 153,020 =5.82 per cent (in 1881 only 1.6 per cent); Kozeletz 4,741 in 135,101 =3.51 per cent (in 1881 1.5 per cent); Konotop 7,091 in 156,502 = 4.53 per cent (in 1881 1.7 per cent); Krolevetz 3,896 in 131,009 =2.97 per cent (in 1881 1.5 per cent); Mglin 10,014 in 139,357 =7.18 per cent (in 1881 3.2 per cent); Novgorod Syeversk 6,328 in 146,394 =4.32 per cent (in 1881 2.5 per cent); Novozybkov 8,852 in 164,789 =5.37 per cent (in 1881 1.0 per cent); Nyezhin 9,987 in 168,883 =5.91 per cent (in 1881 3.3 per cent); Oster 6,188 in 150,556 =4.11 per cent (in 1881 2.3 per cent); Sosnitza 7,525 in

170,268 = 4.41 per cent (in 1881 2.3 per cent); Starodub 9,975 in 144,704 = 6.89 per cent (in 1881 2.8 per cent); Surazh 10,078 in 188,596 = 5.4 per cent (in 1881 2.9 per cent).

The history of the Jews in the government will be treated under LITTLE RUSSIA, and under the respective cities. M. R.

Comparative statistics of population in the cities, towns, and villages in the government of Chernigov are given below:

Name.	Total Population, 1897.	Jewish Population, 1897.	Name.	Total Population, 1897.	Jewish Population, 1897.
Bakalan	4,000	300	Novgorod Syeversk	9,185	2,700
Bakhmach	8,000	500	Novoe Myesto	1,496	60
Baturin	3,580	383	Novozybkov	15,480	1,220
Berezna	9,921	1,333	NovyeBorovichi	—	31
Bobrovitzy	5,000	400	Novy Ropsk	860	80
Borzna	12,458	1,400	Nyezhin	32,108	10,000
Brovary	5,166	1,344	Oster	5,384	1,100
Chernigov	27,006	11,000	Padul	7,900	348
Churovichi	4,092	252	Pochep	9,000	3,900
Dmitrovka	3,197	592	Pogar	4,982	1,150
Glukhov	14,856	3,807	Ponurovka	3,509	295
Gorodnya	4,197	—	Ryepski	—	783
Gorsk	—	25	Seredina Bude	6,090	450
Klintzy	12,000	2,200	Snovsk Kornevka	5,000	1,004
Konotop	19,404	4,000	Sosnitza	7,095	1,832
Korop	6,268	1,000	Starodub	12,451	4,500
Kozeletz	5,160	1,568	Stolna	7,374	168
Krolevetz	10,375	1,000	Unecha	615	212
Lyubech	2,091	273	Ushcherpye	2,000	150
Mglin	7,631	4,200	Voronezh	5,500	385
Mitkovka	3,600	48			
Myena	5,881	1,618			

H. R. S. J.

CHERNOBYL: Town in the government of Kiev, Russia; it has (1898) a population of 10,759, including 7,189 Jews. Of the latter, 651 are artisans, of whom 419 own shops 192 are wage-workers, and 40 are apprentices. The predominating trade is tailoring, in which 165 persons are engaged; 167 Jews are journeymen, and 120 are employed in a paper-mill. Several ḥadarim, and a Talmud Torah with 45 pupils, are the only educational institutions.

Bobrik and Bobry, situated at a distance of 60 versts (40 English miles) from Chernobyl, are Jewish colonies, in which 47 families cultivate 618 deciatines of land. S. J.

CHERUB (כרוב; plural, **Cherubim**).—**Biblical Data:** The name of a winged being mentioned frequently in the Bible. The prophet Ezekiel describes the cherubim as a tetrad of living creatures, each having four faces—of a lion, an ox, an eagle, and a man—the stature and hands of a man, the feet of a calf, and four wings. Two of the wings extended upward, meeting above and sustaining the throne of God; while the other two stretched downward and covered the creatures themselves. They never turned, but went "straight forward" as the wheels of the cherubic chariot, and they were full of eyes "like burning coals of fire" (Ezek. i. 5–28, ix. 3, x., xi. 22). Ezek. xxviii. 13–16 is manifestly a true account of a popular tradition, distinct from that in Gen. ii., iii.

Ezek. xli. 18–25 and other passages show that the number and form of the cherubim vary in different representations. The books of Kings and Chronicles contain, in the main, a description of the cherubim of Solomon's Temple. The Ark was placed between the two colossal figures of cherubim, carved in olive-wood and plated with gold, ten cubits high, standing in the adytum (דביר) and facing the door. The distance between the points of their outstretched wings was ten cubits; the right wing of the one touching the point of the left wing of the other, while the outer wings extended to the walls (I Kings vi. 23–28; viii. 6, 7; II Chron. iii. 10–13, v. 7–8). II Chron. iii. 14 states that they were woven in the veil of the adytum; and in Ex. xxvi. 1, 31 and xxxvi. 8, 35 they are also referred to as wrought into the curtains and veil of the Temple. In Ex. xxv 18–22, xxxvii. 7–9; Num. vii. 89 mention is made by the priestly writer of two cherubim of solid gold, upon the golden slab of the כפרת, facing each other. Their outstretched wings came together above, constituting a throne on which the glory of YHWH appeared, and from whence He spoke.

In the Temple.

In the early days of Israel's history the cherubim became the divine chariot, the bearer of the throne of YHWH in its progress through the worlds (I Sam. iv. 4; II Sam. vi. 2; I Chron. xiii. 6). The cherubim of the Ark of the Covenant seem to be meant here, and this is probably also the case in II Kings xix. 15; Isa. xxxvii. 16; Ps. lxxx. 1, xcix. 1 (see Rahlfs, "ענו und ענו in den Psalmen," 1892, pp. 36 *et seq.*). At an earlier period the cherubim were the living chariot of the theophanic God, possibly identical with the storm-winds (Ps. xviii. 11; II Sam. xxii. 11: "And he rode upon a cherub and did fly: and he was seen upon the wings of the wind"). Here is a conception similar to that of the Babylonians, where the cherubim originally symbolized the winds.

E. G. H. W. M.-A.—J. F. Mc C.

——**In Rabbinical and Apocryphal Literature:** The cherubim placed by God at the entrance of paradise (Gen. iii. 24) were angels created on the third day, and therefore they had no definite shape; appearing either as men or women, or as spirits or angelic beings (Gen. R. xxi., end). According to another authority, the cherubim were the first objects created in the universe (Tanna debe Eliyahu R., i. beginning); while in the Slavonic Book of Enoch they are said to dwell in both the sixth and seventh heavens. The passage referring to the sixth heaven is as follows (xix. 6): "In the midst of them [the archangels] are seven phenixes, and seven cherubim, and seven six-winged creatures [seraphim], being as one voice and singing with one voice. It is not possible to describe their singing; and they rejoice before the Lord at His footstool." Enoch then (xx. 1) describes how he saw in the seventh heaven "cherubim and seraphim and the watchfulness of many eyes" (= ofannim). The Ethiopian Book of Enoch also mentions these three classes of angels as those that never sleep, but always watch the throne of God (lxx. 7; compare also lxi. 10). In another passage of this book Gabriel is designated

as the archangel who is set over the serpents, the garden (= paradise), and the cherubim (xx. 7).

In the passages of the Talmud that describe the heavens and their inhabitants, the seraphim, ofannim, and ḥayyot are mentioned, but not the cherubim (Ḥag. 12b); and the ancient liturgy also mentions only these three classes.

The following sentence of the Midrash is characteristic: "When a man sleeps, the body tells to the neshamah ["the soul"] what it has done during the day; the neshamah then reports it to the nefesh ["the spirit"], the nefesh to the angel, the angel to the cherub, and the cherub to the seraph, who then brings it before God [Lev. R. xxii.; Eccl. R. x. 20]. When Pharaoh pursued Israel at the Red Sea, God took a cherub from the wheels of His throne and flew to the spot—for He inspects the heavenly worlds while sitting on a cherub. The cherub, however, is דבר שאין בו ממש ["something not material"], and is carried by God, not vice versa (Midr. Teh. xviii. 15; Cant. R. i. 9). Maimonides ("Yad," Yesode ha-Torah, ii. 7) enumerates ten classes of angels, the cherubim being the ninth; while the cabalistic "Masseket Aẓilut" designates the cherubim as the third class of angels, with a leader named Kerubiel (כרוביאל; Jellinek, "Auswahl Kabbalistischer Mystik," p. 3). In the Zohar, where also ten classes of angels are enumerated, the cherubim are not mentioned as a special class (compare Zohar, Ex. Bo, 43a).

As regards the representations of the cherubim in the Temple, Josephus holds that no one knows or can even guess what form they had ("Ant." viii. 3, § 3); Philo thinks they represented the two supreme attributes of God, goodness and authority ("De Cherubim," x.; "De Vita Moysis," iii. 8; ed. Mangey, ii. 150); he says, however, that some authorities took the cherubim to represent the two hemispheres ("De Cherubim," vii.). The rabbinical sources evince an archeological rather than a theological interest in the cherubim. Onkelos, the proselyte (beginning of the second century C.E.), says that "the cherubim had their heads bent backward, like a pupil who is going away from his master" (B. B. 99a); this is intended to explain the somewhat ambiguous verse referring to the cherubim in the Tabernacle (Ex. xxv. 20), meaning that the faces of the cherubim were bent downward toward the cover (פרכת) of the Ark, but still with their eyes turned toward each other. Onkelos' view is also given in the Targ. O. on the passage, while the Targ. Yer. thinks that the faces of both the opposite cherubim were turned downward toward the cover (compare Friedmann, "Onkelos und Akylas," pp. 98–99).

The Cherubim of the Temple.

Concerning the form of these cherubim, an authority of the end of the third century says that they had the form of youths (כרוב, derived from כ = "like," and רוב = "youth"; Suk. 5b; Ḥag. 13b). The last-named passage says that the cherubim which Ezekiel saw in his vision (Ezek. x. 1) also had this form, adding that the four creatures at the throne of God were originally man, lion, bull, and eagle, but that Ezekiel implored God to take a cherub instead of a bull; Ezekiel desiring that God should not always look upon a bull, which would continually remind Him of Israel's worship of that animal. It seems that the Talmud had noticed that Ezekiel's conception of the heavenly creatures differed from the traditional one.

It is recorded as a miracle that when Israel was worshiping the Lord, the cherubim lovingly turned their faces toward each other (B. B. *l.c.*), and even embraced like a loving couple. On these occasions the curtain was raised so that the Jews who had come on pilgrimage might convince themselves how much God loved them (Yoma 54a). At the destruction of the Temple the heathen found the cherubim in this posture; and they mocked the Jews because of their obscene worship, thinking the cherubim to be the objects of it (Yoma 54b). This conception of the cherubim, as representing the union of Israel with God, has been further developed by the Cabala, the cherubim being taken to represent the mysterious union of the earthly with the heavenly (see Baḥya b. Asher to Ex. xxv. 20; Zohar, Terumah, ii. 176a). The symbolical interpretation of the Alexandrians, mentioned above, is also found in rabbinical sources. Midr. Tadshe (ed. Epstein, p. 15), like Philo, takes the cherubim to symbolize the two names of God, YHWH and Elohim, by which rabbinical theology (see, for example, Sifre, Deut. 26) designates the two attributes רחמים ("goodness") and דין ("justice"). Another Midrash (Num. R. iv.) compares the cherubim with heaven and earth, as do the Alexandrians mentioned by Philo ("De Cherubim," vii.). Maimonides says ("Moreh Nebukim," iii. 45) that the figures of the cherubim were placed in the sanctuary only to preserve among the people the belief in angels, there being two in order that the people might not be led to believe that they were the image of God. There were no cherubim in the Temple of Herod; but according to some authorities, its walls were painted with figures of cherubim (Yoma 54a). L. G.

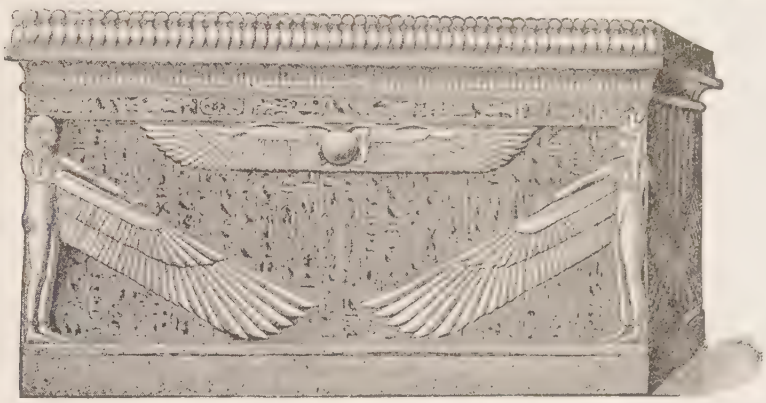
Communion of Israel with God.

——**Critical View:** Primitive Hebrew tradition must have conceived of the cherubim as guardians of the Garden of Eden (Gen. iii. 34; see also Ezek. xxviii. 14). Back of this lies the primitive Semitic belief in beings of superhuman power and devoid of human feelings, whose duty it was to represent the gods, and as guardians of their sanctuaries to repel intruders. Compare the account in the Nimrod-Epos, Tablet IX.; and see Kosters, in "Theolog. Tijdschrift," 1874, pp. 445 *et seq.*

From the brief and meager Biblical descriptions of the statues representing the cherubim, it is impossible to judge of their real form. They were hardly sphinx-shaped; for all the representations of the winged sphinx have the wings bent backward rather than extended toward the sides. Whether the cherub was a union of man and some animal form, such as the hawk-headed man so frequently found on Egyptian monuments and also at Nineveh, or only a winged man, as the representation of the palace guardian at Khorsabad, is not certain. Such figures, however, are very common in Babylonian decorations; and winged men and animals are found in ancient sculptures throughout Syria. Cheyne con-

South Arabian Form (from "Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum").

Phenician Form (in the Louvre).



Egyptian Form (after Maspero, "Struggles of the Nations").

Assyrian Forms (in the British Museum).

siders the cherubim of Hittite origin, the originality of the Hittites in the use of animal forms being well known.

The Hittite griffin appears almost always not as a fierce beast of prey, but seated in calm dignity, like an irresistible guardian of holy things.

Probable Source. The Phenicians, and probably the Canaanites, and through them the Israelites, attached greater importance to the cherub. The origin of the cherub myth antedates history, and points to the time when primitive man began to shape his ideas of supernatural powers by mystic forms, especially by the combination of parts of the two strongest animals of land and air—the lion and the eagle. Many are the grotesque figures found thus far, survivals of ancient Oriental sculpture.

Thus, in Babylonia there is the winged sphinx having a king's head, a lion's body, and an eagle's wings (see B. Teloni, "Zeitschrift für Assyriologie," vi. 124–140; text published by Bezold, *ib.* ix. 114–119; and Puchstein's comment, *ib.* 410–421). This was adopted largely in Phenicia. The wings, because of their artistic beauty, soon became the most prominent part, and animals of various kinds were adorned with wings; consequently, wings were bestowed also upon man. The next step, from cherubim to the angels of the Old Testament as well as of the New, was inevitable.

Etymology. Following Lenormant's suggestions, Friedrich Delitzsch connected the Hebrew כרוב with the Assyrian "kirubu" = "shedu" (the name of the winged bull). Against this combination see Feuchtwang, in "Zeitschrift für Assyriologie," etc., i. 68 *et seq.*; Teloni, *ib.* vi. 124 *et seq.*; Budge, in "The Expositor," April and May, 1885. Later on, Delitzsch ("Assyrisches Handwörterbuch," p. 352) connected it with the Assyrian "karubu" (great, mighty); so, also, Karppe, in "Journal Asiatique," July–Aug., 1897, pp. 91–93. Haupt, in Toy, "Ezekiel" ("S. B. O. T."), Hebrew text, p. 56, line 11, says: "The name כרוב may be Babylonian; it does not mean 'powerful,' however, but 'propitious' (synonym 'damḳu')." For the original conception of the Babylonian cherubim see Haupt's notes on the English translation of Ezekiel, pp. 181–184 ("S. B. O. T."), and the abstract of Haupt's paper on "Cherubim and Seraphim," in the "Bulletins of the Twelfth International Congress of Orientalists," No. 18, p. 9, Rome, 1899. See also Haupt, in Paterson, "Numbers" ("S. B. O. T."), p. 46: "The stem of כרוב is the Assyrian 'karâbu' (= be propitious, bless), which is nothing but a transposition of the Hebrew ברך." Dillmann, Duff, and others still favor the connection with *γρύψ* ("gryphus" = the Hindu "Garuda.")

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E. G. H. W. M.-A.

CHESALON: A border town of Judah (Josh. xv. 10), also known as "Mount Jearim." It lies in a directly west of Jerusalem, at a distance of twelve miles, and is the modern Kesla (Buhl, "Geographie des Alten Palästina," pp. 91; 166).

E. G. H. G. B. L.

CHESED: A son of Nahor and Milcah (Gen. xxii. 22). From the name the term "Casdim" (Chaldeans) is clearly derived.

E. G. H. G. B. L.

CHESS: A game of skill, usually played by two persons, with sixteen pieces each, on a board divided into sixty-four squares alternately light and dark. Authoritative opinions agree that chess, under the Sanskrit name of "chaturanga" (= the four "angas" or members of an army), was known earliest to the Hindus—possibly as early as the sixth century of the present era. From India the game was carried into Persia, its name being changed into "shatranj." Mas'udi (947) speaks of chess as an Indian invention sent by an Indian king to Chosroes, King of Persia (531–579), the sixteen pieces of one side being of emerald, and those of the other being of ruby. From Persia the game passed into Arabia, and thence to central and western Europe; but how or when has not been determined.

When the Jews first became acquainted with chess is not known. It has been supposed that the game was referred to in the Talmud; but the consensus of opinion now seems to be that certain games mentioned therein, which some have identified with chess, were not chess at all, but were played with dice, under the designations פסיפס or נרדשיר, which Rashi ('Er. 61a) interprets as "chess." Nathan ben Jehiel of Rome (1103), however, in his "'Aruk," distinctly translates the word נרדשיר, supposed by some to indicate chess, by the Arabic "al-nard," which he renders by the Italian "dadi" (= dice). פסיפס is clearly derived from the Greek *ψῆφος*, and refers to some game with pebbles or dice (Yer. R. H. i. 57c). The matter has been fully discussed by Franz Delitzsch ("Ueber das Schach und die Damit Verwandten Spiele in den Talmuden," in "Orient, Lit." Jan., 1840, pp. 42–53), who concludes that, as the Talmud was completed in the fifth century, chess could not have been referred to therein, inasmuch as the Persians, from whom the Jews would have learned the game, did not know it themselves until the close of that century (see also L. Löw, "Lebensalter," p. 324).

Ninth to Thirteenth Century. Steinschneider ("Schach bei den Juden," p. 33) conjectures that the first Jew to recommend chess was the convert Ali, son of "Rabbi" Saul of Taberistan, teacher of the physician Razi (ninth century), who considered the game a remedy for low spirits and dejected mental condition. By the eleventh century it was commonly played in Spain. After Rashi, the first European to mention chess was Moses Sephardi, born in Spain in 1062 and baptized at the age of forty-four as Petrus Alfonsi, who in his "Disciplina Clericalis" includes chess in the seven accomplishments ("probitates") of a knight. In Italy it was known at the same period, having been probably derived

EMINENT JEWISH CHESS MASTERS.

1. Alexandre. 2. Horwitz. 3. Löwenthal. 4. Kolisch. 5. Gunsberg. 6. Janowski. 7. Lasker. 8. Tarrasch. 9 and 10. Zuckertort and Steinitz, playing their match at New York, 1886.

from the East through Byzantium. In the twelfth century chess had spread to France, Germany, and England, and by 1200 had become a favorite gambling game throughout Europe; to such an extent, indeed, that it was prohibited by the Council of Paris, 1212, and afterward by Louis IX. At the same epoch the "Sefer Ḥasidim" (Book of the Pious), § 400, strongly recommended the game.

Nothwithstanding the clerical prohibition, there is a legend to the effect that the pope himself played chess with a Jew: it occurs in "Das Leben Elchanans oder Elchonons," pp. 27, 46, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1753: "This pope is the best one they ever had, since he can not get along without Jews, with whom he plays chess. . . . Rabbi Simeon is a great master of chess; but the pope mates him." The pope is even recognized by R. Simeon as his son through a particular move which he had taught him. This Simeon seems to have been Simeon ha-Gadol, who lived at Mayence about the beginning of the eleventh century. See ANDREAS.

The earliest writer to treat of chess among the Jews is Hyde, who, in the second volume of his "De Ludis Orientalibus" (1694), prints three Hebrew works on chess, with excellent translations in Latin.

Early Hebrew Works on Chess.

These are: (1) a poem attributed to Abraham ibn Ezra, חרוזים, the Latin title being "Carmina Rhythmica de Ludo Schah-mat, R. Abraham Abben-Ezra, Beatæ Memoriæ" (Steinschneider, "Cat. Bodl." col. 684); (2) "Meliẓat ha-Seḥoḳ ha-Ishḳaḳi," a poem by Bonsenior ibn Yaḥya (in Berechiah ha-Nakdan's "Mishle Shua'lim," Mantua, 1557–58; "Cat. Bodl." col. 796); and (3) "Ma'adanne Melek" ("Cat. Bodl." col. 604), attributed by Steinschneider to Judah or Leo di Modena (1571–1648). If the poem first mentioned is correctly ascribed to Ibn Ezra (d. 1167), it certainly gives the oldest set of chess rules extant; and it has been reprinted six times under that impression. The Hebrew text is given in Steinschneider ("Schach bei den Juden," pp. 43–45), as well as a German rendering (*ib.* pp. 12–15); and the following English translation is by Nina Davis (now Mrs. Salomon), in "Songs of Exile" (pp. 129–131), issued by the Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1901:

THE SONG OF CHESS.

I will sing a song of battle
Planned in days long passed and over.
Men of skill and science set it
On a plain of eight divisions,
And designed in squares all chequered.
Two camps face each one the other,
And the kings stand by for battle,
And 'twixt these two is the fighting.
Bent on war the face of each is,
Ever moving or encamping,
Yet no swords are drawn in warfare,
For a war of thoughts their war is.
They are known by signs and tokens
Sealed and written on their bodies;
And a man who sees them, thinketh
Edomites and Ethiopians
Are these two that fight together.
And the Ethiopian forces
Overspread the field of battle,
And the Edomites pursue them.

First in battle the foot-soldier
Comes to fight upon the highway,
Ever marching straight before him,
But to capture moving sideways,
Straying not from off his pathway,
Neither do his steps go backward;
He may leap at the beginning
Anywhere within three chequers.
Should he take his steps in battle
Far away unto the eighth row,
Then a Queen to all appearance
He becomes and fights as she does.
And the Queen directs her moving
As she will to any quarter.
Backs the Elephant or advances,
Stands aside as 'twere an ambush;
As the Queen's way, so is his way,
But o'er him she hath advantage;
He stands only in the third rank.
Swift the Horse is in the battle,
Moving on a crooked pathway;
Ways of his are ever crooked;
'Mid the Squares, three form his limit.

Straight the Wind moves o'er the war-path
In the field across or lengthwise;
Ways of crookedness he seeks not,
But straight paths without perverseness.
Turning every way the King goes,
Giving aid unto his subjects;
In his actions he is cautious,
Whether fighting or encamping.
If his foe come to dismay him,
From his place he flees in terror,
Or the Wind can give him refuge.
Sometimes he must flee before him;
Multitudes at times support him;
And all slaughter each the other,
Wasting with great wrath each other.
Mighty men of both the sovereigns
Slaughtered fall, with yet no bloodshed.
Ethiopia sometimes triumphs,
Edom flees away before her;
Now victorious is Edom:
Ethiopia and her sovereign
Are defeated in the battle.

Should a King in the destruction
Fall within the foeman's power,
He is never granted mercy,
Neither refuge nor deliv'rance,
Nor a flight to refuge-city.
Judged by foes, and lacking rescue,
Though not slain he is checkmated.
Hosts about him all are slaughtered,
Giving life for his deliverance.
Quenched and vanished is their glory,
For they see their lord is smitten;
Yet they fight again this battle,
For in death is resurrection.

It is characteristic of this poem that the pawn moves two spaces at the first move, as at present, but not as in the Arabic game. The queening of a pawn is also mentioned. The queen may move in all directions, but only one space, like the king at present. The bishop "fil" or (elephant) moves diagonally, but only three spaces. Castling is unknown. The "wind" is the rook. Steinschneider declares on subjective grounds, against the attribution to Ibn Ezra, and is supported by the like opinion of Dr. Egers, the editor of Ibn Ezra's poetry.

Bonsenior (lived not later than the fifteenth century), in his poem, also pictures the game as a battle, and describes the pieces in the following order:

King, מלך, moves one in any direction.

Queen, ישגל, to the right of the king, moves two or three spaces in any direction.

Knights, פרשים or סוסים (= "horsemen" or "horses"), move one space obliquely and one space straight forward.

Bishops, פילים (= elephants; editio princeps חילים = "camps"), move obliquely to the third space.

Rooks, רוקים, move straight, forward, backward, or from side to side.

Pawns, גבורים ("heroes"), move straight forward.

The chief characteristic of Bonsenior's work is the large number of Biblical texts which he employs.

Leo di Modena's work ("Ma'adanne Melek") was written for the purpose of teaching the author's two sons the game, and in the hope of inducing them to give up card-playing. The book is particularly interesting for its reference (1) to the queening of a pawn, (2) to castling, and (3) to the queen's position at the commencement of the game. The following is the author's description of the pieces:

King, שה (Persian "shah"), may castle.

Queen, פרזאן ("ferzân" or "parzan"), occupies at the beginning of game a space of its own color.

Both king and queen have the following three noblemen by their sides:

Bishop, פיל ("fil"), elephant.

Knight, פרש ("parash"), horseman.

Rook, רוך or רוח (Persian "rokh").

Pawn, רגל, foot-soldier, moves two boxes at the first move, and may become a queen.

A number of other early works on chess will be found in Steinschneider's "Schach bei den Juden" (pp. 22–33). Among these may be specially mentioned a Catalan poem by Moses Azan, translated into Castilian in 1350; a poem of 1532, which describes castling as an interchange of places between king and rook; and "Ha-Ḳerab" (The War), a poem in Hebrew, composed by Jacob Eichenbaum in Odessa, and printed in London (n.d.; dedication dated Sept. 3, 1839). It has been translated into Russian by Joseph Ossip Rabbinovicz.

Hebrew riddles on chess occur in medieval manuscripts, and are given by Steinschneider. One of them describes the game as:

> "A country without earth: kings and princes walking without soul.
> If the King be wasted, all is without soul."

Chess is referred to by Maimonides (1155–1204), who mentions a forced mate and declares professional chess-players as unworthy of credence in the law courts (commentary on Mishnah Sanh. ii. 3), and by Kalonymus ben Kalonymus (*c.* 1300). The former condemns the game only when played for money; the latter, whether played for stakes or not. During the thirteenth and the four following centuries chess was quite commonly played; and Jewish literature contains numerous rabbinical opinions for and against it. Strangely enough, Joseph Caro does not refer to it in his great code, the Shulḥan 'Aruk. Moses Isserles (d. 1573) terms it "the game with bones called chess," and approves of its being played not only on weekdays, but on the Sabbath, though not for money. An old responsum (Dukes, in "Ben Chananja," 1864, pp. 601, 650) states that in Spain the game of chess (אישקש [? אישקקש]) was sanctioned by the Rabbis. After a visitation of the plague in 1575 the three rabbis of Cremona declared that *with the exception of chess* ("ishḳaḳi") all games were "primary evils and the cause of all troubles" (Lampronti, "Paḥad Yiẓḥaḳ," iii. 54). Schudt ("Jüdische Merckwürdigkeiten," pt. VI., ch. xxxv., p. 317) records that in Frankfort-on-the-Main, after the great fire of 1711, the Jewish community passed a resolution forbidding for a period of fourteen years any Jew or Jewess (except sick persons and lying-in women) to play chess. When played on the Sabbath, it became customary in Germany, in honor of the day, to use chessmen made of silver ("Shilṭe ha-Gibborim," on 'Er. 127b), though wooden pieces were not disallowed.

Lawfulness of the Game.

Chess was popular among Jewesses, as is seen from Schudt's remark (*l.c.* IV. ii. 381) that "it is not at all strange that Jews should play chess well, since Jewish women have for many years played and practised the game." In 1617 a Jewess of Venice became well known for her skill in chess. Indeed, Abrahams ("Jewish Life in the Middle Ages," p. 388) goes so far as to suggest that it first made its way among Jewish circles as a woman's game.

Popular Among Jewesses.

R. Aaron Sason of Constantinople recommends the avoidance of chess on Sabbath (Responsa, No. 180). Elijah de Vidas appears to have been the sole halakist who absolutely forbade the game ("Shebeṭ Musar," 1712, ch. xlii.). Children under fourteen were allowed to learn the game, on the ground that it rendered the intellect more acute.

Elijah Cohen of Smyrna ("Shebeṭ Musar," *l.c.*) objects to chess on the ground that it wastes time and takes the mind away from study. Azulai (1774) agrees with Ali ben Saul, mentioned above, in favoring chess only as a remedy for illness or melancholy. He also cites opinions for and against playing chess on Saturdays (Berliner, "Aus dem Inneren Leben der Deutschen Juden im Mittelalter," pp. 12, 53, Berlin, 1871). Mendelssohn was a passionate lover of the game, and is said to have cemented his friendship with Lessing over the chessboard. Yet he is credited with the dictum: "Chess is too earnest for a game; too much of a game to be in earnest about it" ("Für Spiel ist es zu viel Ernst, für Ernst zu viel Spiel"; compare Dukes, in "Ben Chananja," 1864, vii. 636; something similar is attributed to Montaigne).

From the eighteenth century (to which belongs Albert [Aaron] Alexandre) onward, Jews came more and more to the front as chess-players; and it is not too much to say that in recent years they have proved themselves paramount as exponents of the game both in Europe and in America. As a race they seem to possess those intellectual qualities which are necessary to excel in chess. It must suffice here merely to mention a few names, such as S. Alapin, O. Blumenthal, W. Cohn, E. Delmar, L. R. Eisenberg, B. Englisch, E. Epstein, I. Gunsberg, D. Harrwitz, Leopold Hoffer, B. Horwitz, Herbert Jacobs, D. Janowski, Baron Ignaz von Kolisch, J. J. Löwenthal, S. Lipschütz, S. Rosenthal, E. Schiffers, Carl Schlechter, S. Tarrasch, Max Weiss, and S. Winawer. Besides these, three Jewish chess masters stand out with especial prominence as having held the primacy of the chess world since 1866; viz., J. H. Zukertort, William Steinitz, and Emanuel Lasker.

Johannes H. Zukertort (1842–88) was a pupil of

the celebrated player A. Anderssen, whom he at length defeated in 1871 with a score of 5 to 2. In 1878 he gained the first prize at the international tournament at Paris, and in 1883 took the same position at the great London tournament, in which all the greatest chess masters of the day (except Paulsen) competed. Zukertort excelled as a blindfold player. In 1876 he played thus against 16 strong amateurs, the result being: won 12, lost 1, drew 3.

In Modern Times.

William Steinitz (1836–1900) held the chess championship of the world for a period of twenty-eight years (1866–1894), and during that time may be said to have formed a new school of chess. In place of the fierce attack, he sought to win by a combination of minor advantages; and his method was gradually adopted by the leading experts. The Steinitz gambit (see below), though now generally discarded, had for a time a considerable number of adherents.

Emanuel Lasker (b. 1868) is the present champion of the world (1902), having succeeded in wresting that title from Steinitz in 1894. In 1896 he was first in the Nuremberg tourney; in 1899, first in the London tournament; and again first in that at the Paris Exposition of 1900.

The following list of tournaments since 1851 shows the positions gained by Jewish players and by their principal competitors. It will be seen that during the past fifty years the leading places have been in most cases secured by Jews. Non-Jewish players are indicated by italics:

TOURNAMENTS.

1851, London: *Anderssen* 1; Horwitz 7.
1857, Manchester: Löwenthal 1; *Anderssen* 2.
1858, Birmingham: Löwenthal 1; Falkbeer 2.
1860, Cambridge: Kolisch 1; *Staunton* 2.
1862, London: *Anderssen* 1; Steinitz 6.
1865, Dublin: Steinitz 1; *MacDonnell* 2.
1866, British Chess Association: Steinitz 1; *Green* 2.
1867, Paris: Kolisch 1; Winawer 2; Steinitz 3.
1867, Dundee: *Neumann* 1; Steinitz 2; *De Vere* 3.
1868, British Chess Association Handicap: Steinitz 1; *Wisker* 2; *Blackburne* 3.
1870, Baden-Baden: *Anderssen* 1; Steinitz 2; *Blackburne* 3.
1872, London: Steinitz 1; *Blackburne* 2; Zukertort 3.
1873, Vienna: Steinitz 1; *Blackburne* 2; *Anderssen* 3; Rosenthal 4.
1876, London: *Blackburne* 1; Zukertort 2.
1878, Paris: Zukertort 1; Winawer 2.
1881, Berlin: *Blackburne* 1; Zukertort 2; *Tchigorin* 3.
1882, Vienna: Steinitz and Winawer 1 and 2; Zukertort 5.
1883, London: Zukertort 1; Steinitz 2.
1883, Nuremberg: Winawer 1; *Blackburne* 2.
1885, Hamburg: Gunsberg 1; Englisch, Tarrasch, Weiss (tied) 2.
1886, London: Gunsberg and Taubenhaus 3 and 4.
1886, Nottingham: Gunsberg and Zukertort 3 and 4.
1887, Frankfort: *Blackburne* and Weiss 2 and 3; *Bardeleben* 4; Tarrasch 5.
1888, Bradford: Gunsberg 1; *Mackenzie* 2.
1889, New York: *Tchigorin* and Weiss 1 and 2; Gunsberg 3.
1889, Breslau: Tarrasch 1; *Burn* 2; Weiss 3; Gunsberg 4.
1890, Amsterdam: *Burn* 1; Lasker 2; *Mason* 3.
1890, Manchester: Tarrasch 1; *Blackburne* 2.
1892, Dresden: Tarrasch 1; Markovetz 2; Porges 3.
1894, Leipsic: Tarrasch 1; Lipke and Teichman 2 and 3.
1895, Hastings: *Pillsbury* 1; *Tchigorin* 2; Lasker 3; Tarrasch 4; Steinitz 5.
1896, Nuremberg: Lasker 1; *Maroczy* 2; Tarrasch 3.
1896, Budapest: *Tchigorin* 1; Charousek 2; *Pillsbury* 3.
1898, Vienna: Tarrasch 1; *Pillsbury* 2.
1898, Cologne: *Burn* 1; Charousek 2; Cohn 3.
1899, London: Lasker 1; Janowski, *Maroczy*, and *Pillsbury* tied for 2, 3, and 4.
1900, Munich: *Maroczy*, *Pillsbury*, and Schlechter tied for 1, 2, and 3.
1900, Paris: Lasker 1; *Pillsbury* 2.
1901, Monte Carlo: Janowski 1; Schlechter 2.
1902, Hanover: Janowski 1; *Pillsbury* 2.

Of 33 important matches since 1834, enumerated in the "Encyc. Brit." Supplement, 1902, *s.v.* "Chess," only 5 (all before 1863) have been without a Jewish competitor. Of 42 living contemporary first-class players of Europe and America mentioned in that article, 19 are Jews.

"Gambits."

What is known in chess as the "gambit" consists in sacrificing a piece for the sake of certain advantages of position. It is first met with in Italy about the middle of the sixteenth century. Two Jewish chess-players have given their names to gambits; viz., Steinitz and Isaac L. RICE of New York. The Steinitz gambit may be played as follows:

WHITE.	BLACK.
1 P—K 4	1 P—K 4
2 Kt—QB 3	2 Kt—QB 3
3 P—B 4	3 P x P
4 P—Q 4	4 Q—R 5 ch
5 K—K 2	5 P—Q 3
6 Kt—B 3	6 B—K Kt 5
7 B x P	7 Castles

The Rice gambit is as follows, and is only possible after Black plays 7 B—Q 3. White, after giving up the knight, is able to withstand a violent attack.

WHITE.	BLACK.
1 P—K 4	1 P—K 4
2 P—K B 4	2 P x P
3 Kt—K B 3	3 P—K Kt 4
4 P—K R 4	4 P—Kt 5
5 Kt—K 5	5 Kt—K B 3
6 B—B 4	6 P—Q 4
7 P x P	7 B—Q 3
8 Castles	8 B x Kt
9 R—K sq	

Though so successful in matches, Jews have not shown themselves particularly brilliant in the composition of problems. Schlechter, Teichman, and Mieses, however, have displayed some talent in this direction, and E. N. Frankenstein was part author of "The Chess Problem Text-Book," London, 1887.

In 1782 Moses Hirschel of Breslau wrote the first work in German on the chess writings of Greco and Stamma. Of other Jewish writers on chess may be mentioned the following, with dates of publication: W. Schlesinger ("Beiträge zum Unterricht im Schachspiel," Presburg, 1804); E. M. Oettinger ("Bibliotheca Shahiludii," Leipsic, 1844); P. Bendix (1824–1833). ("Recueil de Parties d'Echec; Tant Entières que Finales, avec des Observations Instructives," St. Petersburg, 1824); H. Silberschmidt ("Die Neuentdeckten Geheimnisse im Gebiete des Schachspiels," Braunschweig, 1826; "Lehrbuch des Schachspiels," Wolfenbüttel); Albert (Aaron) Alexandre ("Encyclopédie des Echecs," Paris, 1837, and "Collection des Plus Beaux Problèmes d'Echecs," giving 2,120 examples, *ib.* 1846); D. M. Fränkel (1838); A. Schmid ("Literatur des Schachspiels," 1847); J. Horwitz ("Das Schachspiel," Berlin, 1879); D. Nathan (1851–1852); S. Tarrasch ("Dreihundert Schachpartien," Leipsic, 1894); Leon Hollaenderski (a French trans-

lation of the three Hebrew manuscripts given in Hyde, 1864); J. J. Löwenthal (1857–69) ("Transactions of the British Chess Association," 1867–69); D. Harrwitz ("Lehrbuch des Schachspiels," Berlin, 1862; J. H. Zukertort ("Leitfaden des Schachspiels," 1870); L. Hoffer ("Chess," London, 1892); W. Steinitz ("The Modern Chess Instructor," New York, 1895); and E. Lasker ("Common Sense in Chess," London, 1896).

Modern Jewish Chess Authors.

Several important chess journals have been edited by Jews, as "The Chess-Players' Magazine," by J. J. Löwenthal, 1865–67; the "Neue Berliner Schachzeitung," by Zukertort, 1867; "The Chess Monthly" (which had an existence of seventeen years, 1879–96), by Zukertort and Hoffer, and by the latter alone after Zukertort's death; and "The International Chess Magazine," by Steinitz, 1885–1900. Books commemorative of the important tournaments, giving the games with annotations, have also been published by Jewish authors.

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J. A. P.

CHEST. See ARK.

CHESTNUT-TREE: The rendering of ערמון given in the A. V. (Gen. xxx. 37; Ezek. xxxi. 8); the R. V., however, preferring "plane-tree." There are two considerations lending weight to the rejection of the translation given in the A. V.: (1) the plane (*Platanus orientalis*) is indigenous to western Asia, where, under favorable conditions, it attains a commanding size, and is remarkable for the luxuriance of its growth; and (2) the etymology of the word ערמון, which is connected with the Arabic "'aram" (= to strip off bark); the plane-tree being noted for annually casting its bark. This latter consideration is, apparently, the determining one.

The chestnut, which found its way from Asia into Europe through Greece and Italy, takes its botanical name (*Castanea vulgaris*) from an ancient Thessalian town, Castanum. Like the plane, it is distinguished by the magnificence of its growth, preferring, however, high and dry situations; while the plane develops more freely in low and moist ground.

According to Tristram, the plane-tree "is common on the banks of the upper Jordan and of the Leontes, where it overhangs the water" ("Natural History of the Bible," p. 345).

J. E. W. B.

CHEVRA. See HEBRA.

CHEYNE, THOMAS KELLEY: English Christian Biblical critic, and Oriel professor of Biblical exegesis at the University of Oxford, England; born at London Sept. 18, 1841; educated at Merchant Taylors' School, London, Worcester College, Oxford, and under Ewald at Göttingen. Before graduating he showed his interest in Hebrew studies by taking the Pusey, Ellerton, and Kennicott scholarships, and his post-graduate life has been devoted almost exclusively to Old Testament exegesis and theology. For a long time he was almost the sole representative of the higher criticism in England. Together with Professor Driver, he provided the Queen's Printers' Bible, 1881, with a series of variorum readings and renderings which were of great use to Bible students. He has devoted particular attention to the Book of Isaiah, of which he published notes on the Hebrew text in 1869, a translation in 1870, an edition in 1880–81, an introduction in 1896, and a new translation, based on a critical text, in the Polychrome Bible in 1898. Besides this, he has given two versions of Psalms to the world, in 1884 and 1889, while in 1891 he treated of the "Origin of the Psalter" in his Bampton Lectures, probably his most important contribution to Old Testament exegesis. A volume on "Job and Solomon" in 1886 treated of the Wisdom literature, while his "Founders of Old Testament Criticism" in 1893 gave the only adequate history of that subject in existence.

In the winter of 1897–98 Cheyne visited the United States and delivered lectures on "Jewish Religious Life in the Post-Exilic Period"; these were subsequently published (London and New York, 1898), and show a certain sympathy with specifically Jewish religious thought, which was also shown in his Bampton Lectures. Cheyne has frequently contributed to the "Jewish Quarterly Review."

Cheyne has shown great daring in textual emendation, which has grown upon him of recent years. His most recent contributions to Biblical study consist of numerous articles contained in the "Encyclopedia Biblica," which was edited by himself and A. S. Black, and which bears the stamp of Cheyne's influence on every page.

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T. J.

CHIARINI, LUIGI: Italian abbé; born near Montepulciano, Italy, April 26, 1789; died at Warsaw Feb. 28, 1832. He was appointed professor of history and Oriental languages at the University of Warsaw, Poland (1826).

Chiarini was a prominent member of the so-called "Jewish Committee," consisting exclusively of Christian members, organized by imperial decree May 22, 1825. This committee established schools for Jewish boys and girls as well as classes of Hebrew for Christian young men to study Jewish history, rabbinical literature, and even Judæo-German, which would enable them to do organization (missionary) work among the Jews of Poland. Chiarini was entrusted by this body to translate the Babylonian Talmud, for which the Russian government granted him a subsidy of 12,000 thalers. He published his work, "Théorie du Judaïsme Appliquée à la Réforme des Israélites de Tous les Pays de l'Europe, et Servant en Même Temps d'Ouvrage Préparatoire à la Version du Talmud de Babylone," 2 vols., Paris, 1830, as a precursor to the prescribed version of the Talmud which was to appear in six large folio volumes. Chiarini's book planned the reform of the Polish Jews, and also the general improvement of the condition of all Jews. This work

is divided into three parts; in the first Chiarini states the difficulties of knowing the true character of Judaism; in the second he elucidates the theory of Judaism; and in the third the author treats of the reform of Judaism and discusses the means of removing its "pernicious" elements. In brief, Chiarini endeavors to prove that the so-called evils of Judaism originate chiefly from the alleged harmful antisocial teachings of the Talmud. He argues that the state should assist the Jews in freeing themselves from the influence of the Talmud, and that they should return to the simple Mosaic faith. This goal can be attained in two ways: first, by the establishment of schools where Bible instruction is given and the Hebrew grammar studied; and, secondly, by a French translation of the Babylonian Talmud, with explanatory notes and refutations.

Chiarini recognized that the popular knowledge of the Jews and Judaism was inadequate and defective, and that their enemies furnish nothing but distorted instead of correct information. Nevertheless, his work is pervaded with some of the traditional prejudices against which he protests; but, at the same time, he expresses a sincere concern for the spiritual and material welfare of the Jews, and a desire to improve their condition.

Of Chiarini's translation of the Talmud only two volumes appeared, under the title "Le Talmud de Babylone, Traduit en Langue Française et Complété par Celui de Jérusalem et par d'Autres Monuments de l'Antiquité Judaïque," Leipsic, 1831. It contains a copious preface. The translation of Berakot, which is partly based on previous translations, has many faults. Chiarini's "Théorie du Judaïsme" was widely criticized and caused considerable discussion in the "Revue Encyclopédique" and in separate pamphlets by Zunz, Jost, and others. Besides many other works on Italian poetry (Pisa, 1816 and 1818) and on the history of astronomy in the Orient, Chiarini wrote a Hebrew grammar and a Hebrew dictionary, both in Latin, translated into Polish by Piotr Chlebowski, Warsaw, 1826 and 1829; he wrote also "Dei Funerari degli Ebrei Polacchi," Bologna, 1826.

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H. R.

CHICAGO: Capital of Cook county, Illinois; the second largest city of the United States. It was incorporated as a city in 1837, and a year later the first Jewish settler, J. Gottlieb, arrived. Whence he came, and what his business was, are not known. In 1840 Gottlieb was followed by Isaac Ziegler, the brothers Benedict and Jacob Schubert, and Philip Newberg. Ziegler was for a number of years a pedler in the city and vicinity. Benedict Schubert was the first Jew to establish a merchant-tailoring business in Chicago. He prospered, and became one of the leading men in his trade. The first brick house in the city was built for him on Lake street, and he carried on business there for a number of years. Philip Newberg was the first Jewish tobacco-dealer. The first Jewish child born in Chicago was a son of Jacob Rosenberg, whose wife was Hannah Reese.

About twenty German Jews arrived between 1840 and 1844, and the community was slowly augmented by incoming settlers up to 1849, in which year a strong tide of Jewish immigration set in, following the completion of the Galena and Chicago Railway to Elgin. Most of the early settlers were German Jews, principally from Bavaria and the Rhenish Palatinate.

Religious services were held for the first time in the Jewish settlement on the Day of Atonement, 1845. The congregation met in a private room on a street now known as Fifth avenue. Only ten men were present; Mayer Klein and Philip Newberg officiated as readers. The following year services were again held on the Day of Atonement, the attendance being, however, no larger than on the previous occasion.

The first Jewish organization, the Jewish Burial-Ground Society, was established in 1846. It purchased from the city for $46 one acre of ground, to be used as a cemetery; and this was the first public act by which the Jews of Chicago demonstrated their existence as an integral portion of the body corporate. This first Jewish burial-ground was located east of the city limits, toward the north along the shore of Lake Michigan.

First Congregation.

Kehillat Anshe Ma'arab, the first Jewish congregation, was established Nov. 3, 1847, when a constitution was adopted and signed by fourteen members. Morris L. Leopold, a young man of twenty-six, born in Laubheim, Württemberg, was elected president. The Jewish Burial-Ground Society turned over to the congregation all its property, including the cemetery, and dissolved. Kehillat Anshe Ma'arab held its first regular service in a private room on the second floor of a building on the southwest corner of Lake and Wells streets, and in 1849 leased a lot on Clark street, between Adams and Quincy streets (where the post-office now stands), on which it erected a frame synagogue.

In 1853 this congregation established a day-school, where Hebrew was taught in addition to the regular common-school curriculum. This school was in operation for twenty years. In 1856 a new cemetery on Green Bay road (now North Clark street) and Belmont avenue was purchased. In 1857 the old burial-ground, having been included in the city extensions, had to be abandoned. In 1882 the ground was sold to the park commissioners, and it is now merged in Lincoln Park. On the date of the closing of the old burial-ground (June 11, 1857) the first interment in the new cemetery took place.

In 1868 the congregation purchased the northwest corner of Wabash avenue and Peck court, with the church standing upon it. The latter was converted into a synagogue. In the great fire of 1871 the synagogue escaped destruction, but all the records, which had been placed by Joseph Pollak, the secretary of the congregation, and at that time clerk of Cook county, in a vault of the court-house, were lost. In 1873 Dr. Merzbacher's prayer-book was adopted. An organ, choir, and family pews had been introduced several years before. In the fire of

1874, Kehillat Anshe Ma'arab lost the synagogue on Wabash avenue, and in December of that year it purchased the church and site on the corner of Indiana avenue and Twenty-sixth street. The church was converted into a synagogue, and the property on Wabash avenue and Peck court was sold. In 1888 Jacob Rosenberg, then vice-president, presented to the congregation twenty acres of land in the town of Jefferson, to be used as a burial-ground. This is now called "Mount Ma'arab Cemetery."

MICHAEL REESE HOSPITAL, CHICAGO, ILL.
(From a photograph.)

The bodies in the North Clark street cemetery were transferred to Mount Ma'arab, and the vacated property was sold. The latter is now completely built over, and all traces of the former cemetery have vanished.

In 1889 Kehillat Anshe Ma'arab found that most of its members had moved farther south. The location of the synagogue being, therefore, no longer convenient for the majority, a plot on the southeast corner of Indiana avenue and Thirty-third street was purchased, and the temple now in use was erected. The latter has a seating capacity of 1,500 persons. The membership is 175. In 1902 the Einhorn ritual, in the English version, was adopted.

Early Rabbis.

The first rabbi was the Rev. Ignatz Kunreuther, who was called from New York in 1847. He was born in 1811, in Gelnhausen, near Frankfort-on-the-Main. He remained with the congregation six years, and then retired to private life. He died in Chicago June 27, 1884. Dr. S. Friedlander, who was called from New York in 1855, was but a short time in Chicago, when he died suddenly. In 1861 the Rev. Liebmann ADLER was called from Detroit. During his long and eventful ministration, M. M. Gerstley was president of Kehillat Anshe Ma'arab; and the influence of these two leaders was most beneficial to the Jewish community, especially to the younger generation. Adler was succeeded by Dr. M. Machol. Dr. Samuel Sale was his successor, and was followed successively by Dr. Isaac S. Moses, the Rev. M. P. Jacobson, and Dr. Tobias Schanfarber, the present incumbent (1902).

B'nai Sholom, the second oldest congregation, was organized May 25, 1852, by fourteen members. Its first temple was built in 1864, on the corner of Harrison street and Fourth avenue. It was at that time the handsomest Jewish house of worship in Chicago. This temple was destroyed by the fire of 1871. A new one was erected on Michigan avenue near Fourteenth street; but this property was sold in 1889, and B'nai Sholom purchased the synagogue of Kehillat Anshe Ma'arab, on the corner of Indiana avenue and Twenty-sixth street. The Rev. A. J. Messing is the present rabbi.

Congregations Before the Great Fire.

Sinai Congregation, the third oldest, was the result of the Reform movement started in Chicago in 1858. In that year the ritual question agitated the minds of the members of Kehillat Anshe Ma'arab. The younger element was dissatisfied with the conservatism of the older members, and demanded sweeping reforms. Dr. Bernhard Felsenthal, a young Jewish teacher who had just arrived in Chicago, became the leader of the Progressives. He published a pamphlet entitled "Kol Ḳore ba-Midbar" (A Voice Crying in the Wilderness), in which he strongly advocated Reform. This publication encouraged the Progressives, and they organized a Reform-Verein, of which Dr. Felsenthal was elected secretary. This Reform-Verein was the

foundation upon which four years later the Sinai congregation was built by twenty-six members who had seceded from the parent organization.

Sinai congregation was established April 7, 1861. B. Schoeneman was the first president, and Dr. B. Felsenthal the first rabbi. Its first house of worship

Jewish Training-School, Chicago, Ill.
(From a photograph.)

was a frame building, formerly a church, on Monroe street, between Clark and La Salle streets. At the dedication of this temple, June 21, 1861, the Einhorn ritual was used for the first time in a Western congregation. In 1863 Dr. Felsenthal declined reelection, and Dr. Chronic was elected rabbi, upon the recommendation of Dr. Abraham Geiger. Dr. Chronic founded in Chicago "Zeichen der Zeit" (Signs of the Times), a German monthly in the interest of Jewish Reform. At the rabbinical conference held in Philadelphia in 1869, Dr. Chronic, the delegate of Sinai, moved to transfer the celebration of the Sabbath to Sunday; but no action was taken upon the motion. In 1867 Sinai made a contract with the Rosehill Cemetery Company for a burial plot. This was the first instance in Chicago of a Jewish congregation securing a burial-plot in a non-Jewish cemetery.

The great fire of 1871 destroyed Sinai temple. Dr. Chronic had gone back to Europe, and Dr. K. Kohler, then minister of Beth-El congregation in Detroit, Mich., was elected rabbi. Sunday services were held for the first time by the Sinai congregation in Martin's Hall, corner Twenty-second street and Indiana avenue, on Jan. 15, 1874. The site of their temple, on the corner of Indiana avenue and Twenty-first street, had been purchased in 1872, and the structure was finished in 1876. In 1879 Dr. Kohler was called to New York; and in 1880 Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, then at Louisville, Ky., was elected rabbi. In 1885 Dr. Hirsch was relieved from preaching on Saturdays. In 1892 the temple was remodeled and enlarged. Sinai is by far the largest Jewish congregation in Chicago, having a membership of nearly 600. It maintains a Jewish mission-school —the Sinai West Side Sabbath-School—where over 300 children, boys and girls, are instructed in Jewish history and religion.

Zion Congregation, the fourth oldest in Chicago, was organized on the West Side in 1864; Henry Greenebaum being the first president, and Dr. B. Felsenthal the first rabbi. The first house of worship was on Desplaines street, between Madison street and Washington boulevard. The present temple is located on Ogden avenue, opposite Union Park. In 1886 Dr. Felsenthal retired on account of old age, and Dr. Joseph Stolz was elected his successor. For many years Zion was a prominent factor in the spiritual and educational development of the Jewish community; but during the last decade it has suffered considerably through the migration of its members to the South Side. The present rabbi is Dr. Jacob S. Jacobson.

The North Side Hebrew Congregation was established in 1867. Its first house of worship was dedicated Sept. 27 in that year by the Rev. A. Ollendorf, who had been called to the rabbinate. In 1870 the Rev. A. Norden was elected rabbi. The fire of 1871 destroyed the synagogue, and the existence of the congregation was temporarily suspended. It was reorganized, however, in 1875, and the Rev. A. Norden was reelected; but the synagogue was not rebuilt until 1884. In 1898 Rabbi Norden retired, and the Rev. Abraham Hirschberg became his successor.

B'nai Abraham was organized on the West Side in 1870. The first rabbi was the Rev. Isaac Fall. In 1888 Dr. A. R. Levy, the present incumbent, was elected.

Of these six congregations, that of Sinai is the most radical, and B'nai Sholom and B'nai Abraham are the most conservative. The others belong to the class comprising the majority of American Jewish Reform congregations. A number of ultra-Orthodox congregations were also established before the great fire. In several instances a number of small "hebrahs" among the Jews of Slavonic parentage amalgamated and formed congregations. The most prominent among these congregations are **Bet ha-Midrash Hagadol u-Benai Jacob,** a charter for which was obtained in March, 1867, and **Ohabai Shalom Mariampole,** established in 1870. The latter has an extensive library of Hebrew books in its large synagogue. The congregation has instituted a loan association, and is in many other ways a beneficently active factor in the community.

Congregations After the Great Fire.

After the fire the number of congregations increased rapidly. The most prominent among the younger congregations are Isaiah, Emanuel, and Beth-El. **Beth-El Congregation,** on the northwest side of the city, was organized Oct. 7, 1871, immediately after the fire. The first services were held in the home of one of the members, but in the following week a hall was rented at the corner of Peoria and Ohio streets, where regular services were held every Friday night and Saturday morning. D. Gottlieb and Ignatz Kunreuther officiated. Six months later the congre-

gation bought some ground at the corner of May and Huron streets, to which they moved a frame church building which they had purchased from a Norwegian congregation. Herman Eliassof was elected in 1873 as the regular minister and teacher of Beth-El. On Sunday, June 22, 1873, a cyclone destroyed the synagogue.

But the same evening a meeting of the congregation was called, and a fund was raised sufficient to start the building of a new synagogue, a modest frame structure, still standing on the site of the old building. It now serves as a Lutheran church, having been sold by Beth-El in 1901. The ministers succeeding Rabbi Eliassof were Bonheim Lippmannsohn, Bien, and Jacob Dansk, the last of whom officiated from 1881 to 1891, dying in the prime of life. The present incumbent, Rabbi Julius Rappaport, took charge of the congregation in July, 1891. To-day (1902) there are 100 members, partly Germans and partly Bohemians. A new synagogue was erected on Crystal and Hoyne avenues, and was dedicated Sept. 28, 1902. The tendency of the congregation is toward Reform, and the "Minhag America" ritual is used. Family pews, an organ, and a choir have been introduced, mostly during the ministry of the present rabbi; Friday services are likewise a recent innovation, prayers and lectures being delivered in the English language. The Saturday morning services are held in German. There are a ladies' society—Sisters of Beth-El—numbering 120 members, and a Young People's Auxiliary Society, connected with the congregation.

Standard Club, Chicago, Ill.
(From a photograph.)

Anshe Emeth Congregation, on Sedgwick street, was founded in 1872. Solomon Bauer officiates as rabbi.

Congregation Emanuel was founded in 1880, in a hall at the corner of Sedgwick and Blackhawk streets; the church of the Swedish congregation at No. 280 Franklin street being purchased three years afterward. In 1889 moderate Reform and the prayer-book "Minḥag America" were adopted, and later the cause of advanced Reform was further strengthened by the introduction of the German (Einhorn) prayer-book and the practise of worshiping with uncovered head. In 1897 the congregation rented the Baptist church at Belden avenue and Halsted street, where services are held, but in 1900 it bought a new site on Belden avenue. The congregation owns a cemetery at Waldheim. Connected with the congregation are the Emanuel Gemeinde Frauenverein, established in 1897, and the Emanuel Auxiliary Society, founded in 1900 by the younger members of the congregation.

The names of the successive rabbis of Congregation Emanuel are: Austrian E. Brown, Julius Newman, and Dr. Emanuel Schreiber, the incumbency of the last-named dating from 1899.

The Reform Congregation of Isaiah Temple was organized Oct. 24, 1895, by members from Zion congregation who had moved to the South Side. At the first meeting Dr. Joseph Stolz was chosen rabbi and still (1902) holds that position. The first services were held Jan. 4, 1896, at the Oakland Club Hall, Ellis avenue and 39th street, which continued to be used in this capacity for three years.

In May, 1898, some ground was purchased on the corner of Vincennes avenue and 45th street, and on Sept. 11 following Dr. Isaac M. Wise laid the corner-stone of a synagogue designed by Dankmar Adler. The schoolhouse attached to the synagogue was dedicated on Jan. 14, 1899, and two months later (March 17) Dr. Wise dedicated the synagogue. Its membership numbers 228, and the Sabbath-school has 383 children enrolled. The Sabbath-school holds Saturday and Sunday sessions, teaches Hebrew, and has a class for the deaf, at present composed of three pupils. Affiliated with the congregation are the Isaiah Woman's Club and the Isaac M. Wise Auxiliary Lodge I.O.B.B.

The principal Jewish charitable institutions of Chicago are the following: (1) The United Hebrew Charities of Chicago, organized in 1859 as the United Hebrew Relief Association, for the purpose of providing an asylum for widows and orphans, and a hospital. The present name of the association was adopted in 1888. The first hospital was erected on La Salle avenue, and opened to patients Aug. 9, 1868. It was destroyed by the fire of 1871. In 1879 Henry L. Frank and his brother Joseph, as the trustees of a fund bequeathed by Michael Reese of San Francisco, Cal., offered the sum of $30,000 for the building of a hospital, on condition that it should be known as (2) "The Michael Reese Hospital." Jacob Rosenberg and Mrs. Henrietta Rosenfeld, also trustees of a fund bequeathed by the same Michael Reese, of-

fered on the same condition $50,000 as an endowment for the maintenance of the new hospital. The United Hebrew Relief Association accepted both offers. The new hospital was built, and opened to patients in 1881. The Michael Reese Hospital is one of the best equipped in Chicago.

Charitable Institutions.

(3) The Jewish Training-School, opened on Judd street near Clinton street, in 1890, in the heart of the district inhabited by the poorest of the Jewish population. It is a manual-training school, not a trade-school, where pupils receive an excellent general education also. Prof. G. Bamberger is the superintendent. (4) The Home for Aged Jews, established in 1891. Abraham Slimmer of Waverly, Iowa, donated $50,000 for such a home in Chicago, on condition that the Jews of Chicago raise an equal amount. The money was obtained without difficulty. (5) The Chicago Home for Jewish Orphans, opened Oct. 7, 1894, in a rented house on Vernon avenue. Two years later a piece of property was donated by Henry Siegel and others. Mr. Slimmer again came forward with a donation of $25,000 toward the erection of a suitable building, on condition that a like sum was collected in Chicago. The amount was raised, and the home was dedicated April 23, 1899. (6) The Beth Moshav Z'keinim (Orthodox Home for Aged Jews), organized Sept. 7, 1899. In 1901 Mr. Slimmer promised the society which undertook to establish the home the sum of $20,000, on conditions similar to those accompanying his previous donations. The conditions were of course accepted; and the building is now in course of construction on the corner of Ogden and Albany avenues. (7) The Jewish Agriculturists' Aid Society of America, established in 1888 by three Chicago rabbis, Dr. Hirsch, Dr. Moses, and Dr. Levi. The society has its headquarters in Chicago, but it is national in aim and scope. The object of the society is to assist able-bodied poor Jews who are willing to establish themselves as farmers, in obtaining land on favorable terms. (8) The Home for Jewish Friendless and Working Girls, the youngest Jewish charitable institution in Chicago, established by a number of ladies' societies Oct. 15, 1901.

Besides these there are a great number of Jewish societies for various benevolent, educational, and social purposes. The United Hebrew Charities of Chicago maintains a number of branch institutions, such as an employment bureau, a free dispensary, and a training-school for nurses. All charities are now federated in the Associated Jewish Charities, founded in 1900, through which all collections are made.

The total number of Jewish congregations is fifty-five. Thirty cemeteries are owned and managed by Jewish congregations and societies, and five Jewish clubs minister to the social needs of the community. The Jewish population of Chicago is fully eighty thousand.

As in other large cities of the United States, there exist several social clubs, which, though nominally not restricted in their membership, are practically recruited exclusively from Jewish circles. The first club so organized was named "Concordia," and may be considered the parent of the present Standard Club, which, founded in 1872, is now located in a club-house at Twenty-fourth street and Michigan avenue. The Lake-Side, at Forty-second street and Grand boulevard; the Ideal, on Lasalle avenue; the Unity, and the West-Side are clubs similar in character to the Standard. The latest of these social clubs is the Ravisloe, recently established (1901). It is a country club, devoted to athletics.

From the earliest days of the municipality the Jews of Chicago have taken an honorable part in public life. On the two municipal boards, the board of education and the directory of the Public Library, Jews have distinguished themselves, the president's chair having been often occupied by one of their number. Adolf Kraus was president of the board of education for several terms, while Berthold Loewenthal has served as president of the Public Library board—an honor also conferred on Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, who was a director for nine years and president for six. Under Dr. Hirsch's administration the present splendid home of the Public Library was erected, while another Jew, Bernard Moos, acted as chairman of the building committee, rendering in this capacity the most signal services. Among the other Jewish members on the board of the library at various times may be mentioned Julius Rosenthal (founder and librarian of the Law Institute), Adolf Moses, and Jacob Franks. The following Jews have served on the school board: Herman Felsenthal, David Kohn, B. J. Rosenthal, James Rosenthal, Edward Rose, Charles Kozminski, and Dr. Joseph Stolz. Schools have been named after Herman Felsenthal and Charles Kozminski, in recognition of their services; while another public school, not in a Jewish district, has been named after Sir Moses Montefiore.

Among the charter members of the civic federation was Dr. Emil G. Hirsch; while Adolf Nathan, a member of the Columbian Fair executive committee, was president. Dr. Hirsch is also president of the Rabida Fresh Air Sanitarium. The following Jews have held other offices: corporation counsel, Adolf Kraus, Siegmund Zeisler; county clerk, Joseph Pollak, General Solomon; presidential elector, Henry Greenebaum, Emil G. Hirsch; county commissioner, Isa Monheimer, Jacob L. Cahn, Morris Rosenfeld; city alderman, Henry Greenebaum, Jacob Rosenberg, Abe Ballenberg, David Horner, Milton J. Foreman; South Park commissioner, Henry G. Foreman, Henry Greenebaum; judge of the circuit court, Philip Stein; justice of the peace, E. C. Hamburgher, Adolph J. Sabath, Max L. Wolf; city clerk, William Loeffler; controller of the city, Charles M. Schwab.

In the militia, may be mentioned Major Milton J. Foreman (cavalry); Lieut. Robert Hart (1st Ill. Infantry); and Emil G. Hirsch, the chaplain of the Illinois Naval Militia, with rank of lieutenant-commander.

The Jews have been contributors to the endowment fund of the Chicago University. Their original contribution of $35,000 saved the first donation by J. D. Rockefeller of $600,000, being made at a time when it seemed impossible to fulfil the conditions attaching to that gift. Sinai congregation

later donated $5,000 for a Semitic library. Eli B. Felsenthal is a member of the board of trustees of the university, while the following Jews belong to the faculty: Professor Michaelson, head of the department of physics; Julius Stieglitz and Felix Lengfeld (the latter resigned), professors of chemistry; Ernst Freund, professor of jurisprudence; Julian W. Mack, professor of law; Emil G. Hirsch, professor of rabbinical literature and philosophy; S. H. Clark, professor of elocution. Dr. Joseph Zeisler holds the chair of dermatology in the North-Western Medical School.

Bibliography: Felsenthal, *On the History of the Jews of Chicago*, in *Publications of the Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.* No. 2, 1894; idem, *The Beginnings of the Chicago Sinai Congregation*, Chicago, 1898; Felsenthal and Eliassof, *History of Kehillat Anshe Ma'arab*, Chicago, 1897; Eliassof, *The Jews of Illinois*, in *Reform Advocate*, Chicago, May 4, 1901.

A. H. E.

CHICAGO ISRAELITE, THE: An American weekly newspaper devoted to Jewish interests; founded January, 1885, and first issued under the editorship of Leo Wise, who for several years conducted a department of "Notes and Comments" of a personal character. Occasionally the work of this department was done by Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, Levi A. Eliel, and Dr. Julius Wise, the last of whom wrote under the pen-name "Nickerdown."

"The Chicago Israelite" makes a feature of the local news of the congregations, lodges, and philanthropic and other societies.

G. F. H. V.

CHIDON: The owner of the threshing-floor at which Uzza or Uzzah, attempting to steady the Ark of the Covenant, was killed (I Chron. xiii. 9). In II Sam. vi. 6 the place is called "Nachon."

E. G. H. G. B. L.

CHIEF: Term used by the English Bible versions as an approximate rendering of a number of Hebrew words. The leaders of the Levites are called "chiefs" (נשיא, Num. iii. 24, 30), although elsewhere the same word is rendered "prince" (Num. vii. 18). From the fact that on the day of the dedication of the Tabernacle every chief gave exactly the same donation to the service, it can be inferred that the chiefs were here representing the tribes, and were not giving of themselves only. The tribes, furthermore, were divided into several sections, and the leader of each section (as, for example, the leader of the Gershon branch of the tribe of Levi) was called "nasi" also; and the leader of the whole tribe was called "the chief of the chiefs" (Num. iii. 24, 32). The authority of the "nasi" was very great, and marked respect was to be shown him (Ex. xxii. 27, A. V. 28).

In the days of royalty the rights and privileges, as well as the name, were absorbed by the king (I Kings xi. 34), and later by Zerubbabel (Ezra i. 8). A fuller phrase, "nesi ha-arez," occurs in Gen. xxxiv. 2. In the early stages the chiefs helped the central authority. They assisted in counting the Levites (Num. iv. 34).

Other terms for "chief" are: (1) "Pinnat kol ha-'am" (corner-stone of the people; Judges xx. 2; I Sam. xiv. 38); and the reference here, too, is to the tribe and family representatives. (2) "Ba'al," applied to the priest, not in the sense of an officer, but as one standing out preeminent. (3) "'Attud" (Isa. xiv. 9); but such a rendering only loosely corresponds to the original. (4) "Rosh" is rendered "chief" seventy-eight times, and is used almost interchangeably with "nasi." It stands for the head of a family (Ex. vi. 14, 25), and for larger tribal sections (I Kings viii. 1; Num. xxxii. 38), and is applied to the high priest (II Chron. xix. 11, xxiv. 6). In the New Testament "chief" is the rendering for ἀρχών (Luke xi. 15), and for πρῶτος (Matt. xx. 27; Luke xix. 47). An officer termed the "Asiarch" (chief of Asia) is mentioned in Acts xix. 31.

E. C. G. B. L.

CHIERA, ESTHER. See Kiera, Esther.

CHIGIRIN: Town in the government of Kiev, Russia, with a population (in 1897) of 9,870, including about 3,000 Jews. The latter are engaged principally in commerce and the handicrafts, the total number of artisans being 551. Tailoring is the predominating trade, 204 being engaged in it. There are, besides, 37 journeymen; and 16 Jews find employment in the local tannery and factories. About 200 families apply yearly for aid at Passover. The educational institutions comprise a government school with 300 pupils, of whom 120 are Jews; about 30 hadarim aggregating 230 scholars; and a Talmud Torah with 45 pupils.

H. R. S. J.

CHILD, THE: Since the days of Abraham (Gen. xv. 2), to possess a child was always considered as the greatest blessing God could bestow; and to be without children was regarded as the greatest curse. The Rabbis regarded the childless man as dead; while the cabalist in the Middle Ages thought of him who died without posterity as of one who had failed in his mission in this world, so that he would have to appear again on the planet to fulfil this duty.

As human imagination always occupies itself with the unknown, the embryonic or preliminary stage of child-life became the subject of fanciful legend and myth. The soul before birth is warned that it will be held responsible for its actions through life, and takes an oath to lead a holy life (Jellinek, "B. H." i.). Two guardian angels teach the soul the Torah every morning and display the glories of the just in paradise. In the evening hell is shown. As the memory of this would interfere with free-will, the child forgets all it has seen and heard in this stage. The depression in the middle of the upper lip represents the stroke by which this knowledge and wisdom are made to disappear. For this reason, too, children cry when they are born.

One of the oldest ceremonies connected with the birth of a child was that of tree-planting. In the case of a boy a cedar was planted; in that of a girl, a pine (Git. 57a). Among the ceremonies observed for the protection of the new-born son was the reading of the Shema', and at times of Psalm xc. in the presence of the children of the community. This was usually continued every evening of the week, but in some places took place only on the eve of the Berit Milah (see Circumcision). The custom of paying a visit to an infant boy on the first

Sabbath of his existence (שלום זכר = "peace-boy") was also of Jewish origin.

Male children received their "sacred" names on the occasion of the Berit Milah. The so-called "profane" name ("kinnui") was given on the Sabbath after the mother paid her first visit to the synagogue; this was accompanied by a feast termed Holle Kreish (see Perles, in Grätz Memorial Volume, pp. 24–26). Girls were given their names about a month after their birth, when the father was called up to read the Law, and the Holle Kreish was also celebrated on the return home.

In the case of the first-born the ceremony of "redeeming the child" (פדיון הבן, Ex. xiii. 2–15) occurred on the thirtieth day. According to the author of "Ḥukḳot ha-Torah" (Güdemann, "Gesch. des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden," i. 93), it was customary in the thirteenth century for a father to vow his first-born son to the study of the Torah.

"Ḥalaḳah," the custom of cutting a boy's hair for the first time, took place after his fourth birthday, when care was taken to avoid touching the "corners" (Lev. xix. 27). In Palestine this occurred on the second day of Passover; and it was considered a religious privilege for each of the friends and relatives to cut a few hairs. In Talmudic times it was also customary to weigh the child and to present the weight in coin to the poor.

For the lullabies with which mothers soothe their children to sleep see Cradle Songs.

The various diseases to which the child was subject, especially in Palestine (ראשית חכמה, Gen. R. xx. [ed. Cracow, p. 374]), were included under "the difficulties of bringing up children." If the child died, it was said to be because of the sins of the parents. God Himself supervised the education of the prematurely deceased children ('Ab. Zarah 3b). If a boy remained healthy, he studied the Torah in order to be rendered fit for the priestly office, for which learning was a necessary condition. The Rabbis tell of many infant prodigies. Leo de Modena is said to have read the Haftarah at the age of two and one-half years. But generally they preferred promise rather than performance at so early an age. The regular curriculum was for boys to learn Scripture at five, Mishnah at ten, and to fulfil the whole Law at thirteen. In the times of the Temple youths took part in religious ceremonies at a very early age. In the Sabbatical year they were brought to the Temple when the king read Deuteronomy (Deut. xxxi. 10–12). A boy's religious life began in his fourth year, as soon as he was able to speak distinctly; for although the child was held to be free from religious duties, it was required of the father to accustom him early to fulfil them (לחנכו במצות). This was considered all the more desirable because of the belief that the prayer of a child was more readily heard by God. Girls, too, went to the synagogue at a tender age. The presence of children in the synagogue was often troublesome. The boys frequently played during worship; hence the Sephardim confined them to one place.

The Duty of Learning.

Certain rites were observed when the boy first went to school (see Education). "Children of the house [school] of the master" is a regular phrase in Jewish literature. Words of Scripture uttered innocently by them were viewed as oracles by the Rabbis. In the school, the boys had hours of recreation as well as of study. In play, the angel Sandalphon (סנדלפון) was their patron; but there were few specifically Jewish Games, most of them being taken from the peoples among whom the Jews lived. Parents did not pamper their children, but treated them severely, slight corporal punishments by the father being allowed, though not recommended. Temperance, abstemiousness, and poverty were inculcated as virtues; and, even though any boy might enter the priesthood, all had to learn a handicraft and swimming.

The duty of providing for such education, as well as for circumcision, for redemption from the Kohen, for teaching of the Law, and, when the child was of the proper age, for marriage, was imposed by the Talmud upon the father. The synod of Asa imposed upon him, furthermore, the obligation to provide for the necessities of the child until his seventh year. It, however, strongly recommended the continuation of such provision until the child should have attained his majority (Ket. 49b).

Although enjoying all the protection of the law, the child was declared irresponsible by the Talmud, and had not to account for any mischief he might do. Nor was the father answerable for damages for injury due to such mischief; he was only morally responsible. This moral responsibility, however, ended when the child had attained his religious majority ceased to be a child, and became a "son of the Law" (see Bar Miẓwah)—namely at the age of thirteen. On this occasion the father pronounces the following benediction: "Blessed be He for having freed me from this punishment." Actual legal responsibility on the part of the young man, however, began only with the age of twenty.

In later times little children were taken to the synagogue to sip the wine of the "sanctification cup" ("ḳiddush") or to take part in the Simḥat Torah ceremony. They participated in the Passover and Sabbath festivals, too, singing the "Praise" (הלל, Ps. cxiii.–cxviii.). When a little older, the boy had to attend the synagogue and school regularly. He recited certain prayers (קדיש and ברוך שאמר). Indeed, he enjoyed almost all the rights of majority long before the day of his becoming "the son of the Law."

Bibliography: S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, pp. 282–312, Philadelphia, 1896, from which this article has been condensed; L. Löw, *Lebensalter*.

E. C. A. M. F.

CHILD MARRIAGE. See Marriage.

CHILDBIRTH: The following are some of the Biblical and Talmudical details touching the birth of children:

The child might be brought into the world with or without a midwife (Gen. xxxviii. 28; Ex. i. 15 *et seq.*; compare Mishnah R. H. ii. 5; Oh. vii. 6). The expression in Gen. xxx. 3, "she shall bear upon my knees," and similar phrases are to be taken literally (see Ploss, "Das Weib," and compare the say

ing in Gen. R. lx., "'Twixt wife and midwife the child of the poor woman perishes"; see also Dukes, "Blumenlese," p. 128).

In the Bible.

Immediately after birth the infant was bathed, rubbed with salt, and wrapped in swaddling-clothes (Ezek. xvi. 4 *et seq.*). Josephus ("Contra Ap." ii. 26) says: "The law does not permit us [the Jews] to make festivals at the birth

Reciting the "Ha-Mal'ak ha-Go'el" Prayer at Childbirth.
(From Kirchner, "Jüdisches Ceremoniel," 1726.)

of our children, and thereby to occasion drinking to excess." The child was usually suckled by its mother, but sometimes by a wet-nurse (Gen. xxxv. 8; II Kings xi. 2, 3; III Macc. i. 20). Thirty-three days after the birth of a male child, and sixty-six after that of a female child, the mother offered up a sacrifice of purification (Lev xii. 2 *et seq.*; see Circumcision and Redemption of the First-born). The weaning, often long deferred, was accompanied by sacrifices and festivities.

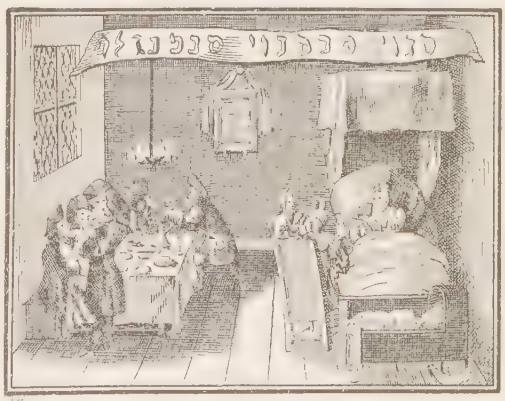
The cradle is said to have been first used in Isaac's time; it occurs in similes, as with Homer (Gen. R. liii. 10; lxix. 3; Bacher, Ag. Pal. Amor., pp. 126, 344). On it were hung bells, which generally were employed together with amulets in order to guard children against demons ("Monatsschrift," 1900, p. 382; compare Blau, "Zauberwesen," pp. 90, 160; "Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Jüdische Volkskunde," v. 75, note 5, Hamburg, 1900).

A woman during confinement is recommended to particular attention; and her death is ascribed to negligence of the duties specially prescribed for Jewish women (Shab. ii. 6; concerning the origin of leprosy among children, compare Lev. R. xv. 5). New-born children, according to the Talmud as well as the Bible, were sprinkled with salt (Shab. 129b; compare Jerome and Galen in Wiesner, "Scholien," ii. 248); those that made no sound were rubbed with the afterbirth (Wunderbar, in "Orient. Lit." 1850, p. 104; Hamburger, "R. B. T." ii. 256). Air was breathed into those born apparently inanimate; and a beaker filled with hot coals was held near the mouth of one that refused the breast, to stimulate the action of the facial muscles (Shab. 134a). Operations to assist birth were known (compare Rabbinowicz, "La Médecine du Talmud," i. 29). It was considered a heathen custom to fasten a piece of iron on the bed for the protection of the woman (Tosef., Shab. vi. [vii.] 4), as well as, on the night before circumcision, to place on the table viands which should not be touched (Shulḥan 'Aruk, Yoreh De'ah, 178, 3, gloss; 179, 17; compare M. Schuhl, "Superstitions et Coutumes Populaires du Judaïsme Contemporain," p. 6). The use of a Torah scroll as a charm for easing birth (Pithe Teshubah on Yoreh De'ah, 179, 9) and for the protection of the child (Yoreh De'ah, *l.c.*; Maimonides, "Yad" Hil. 'Akkum, xi. 12) seems to be of early date; and the origin of the ceremony of lighting candles on the "watch-night"—*i.e.*, the night before circumcision—is to be ascribed to the Talmud (Yer. Ket. i. 25c; Sanh. 32b).

Customs and Superstitions.

In Rumania, as soon as the labor-pains of the woman begin, all the female inmates of the house loosen their hair. In Poland, for the purpose of easing birth, all knots in the woman's clothing are untied; and she wraps herself in a "mappah" or "wimpel"; that is, the band which is wound around the Torah. In the Caucasus the woman is held in the strictest seclusion. For seven weeks prior to her expected accouchement no one, except the midwife and the female relatives, is allowed to see her. On the night of birth the door of the lying-in room is locked; one light burns near to the mezuzah, and another next to the hearth (Chorny, "Sefer ha-Massa'ot be-Erez Ḳauḳaz," pp. 196, 296). Despite the repeated prohibition of their rabbis, the Caucasian Jews practise the superstitious custom of mixing in a glass of water some earth from the grave of one deceased within the last forty days, and giving it to the parturient woman to drink. If it is not effective the dose is repeated with earth obtained at a greater depth.

In Poland and Galicia the custom still obtains that once prevailed in Germany, of making a chalk-mark



Feast at Childbirth.
(From Kirchner, "Jüdisches Ceremoniel," 1726.)

around the lying-in chamber or of describing black circles on the wall. It is also the practise in many places to hang Psalm-verses over the woman's bed (the same custom obtains among Christians in Germany: see L. Löw, "Lebensalter," pp. 75 *et seq.*). Sometimes Ps. xx. 2 is inscribed on the door, and the following invocation is recited: "May He who harkened to thy mother, harken to thee also!" In

Hesse a circle is drawn with chalk on the floor, and the verse, "My help cometh from the Lord," etc. (Ps. cxxi. 2), is written within it. In Kurdistan and elsewhere in the Orient, sweet-smelling herbs are burned in a censer, with which first the synagogue and then the lying-in room are perfumed. In Poland the Book of Raziel is laid under the head of the woman, and white cloths are hung at the windows and around the bed.

In older Jewish recipe-books ("Mitteilungen," v. 58 *et seq.*) the following directions are given:

Recipes in Old Books.

Whisper into the ear of the woman in travail: "And Moses spake unto the people, Get thee out, and all the people that follow thee; and after that I will go out. And he went out" (Ex. xi. 8; compare Raziel, 43a). Or write on a "Ränftel" (head) of cheese to be given her to eat, "Satur arepo tenet opera rutas" (made up of "Sator [are] poten [ter] et opera[re] r[ati]o t[u]a s[it]"; compare Steinschneider, "Hebr. Bibl." xvii. 60; *idem*, "Cat. Bodl." No. 100). Or whisper in her right ear: "He went up on Mount Sinai and heard a calling and a crying. And he spoke unto the Lord: 'What meaneth this calling and this crying that I hear?' The Lord answered him: 'It is the voice of a woman in labor. Now go and say unto her: "Get thee out! The earth demands thee!" And all these thy servants shall come down unto Me and bow down themselves unto Me, saying, "Get thee out, and all the people that follow,"'" etc. Or mix the fat (or milk) of a bitch with water and give it to the woman to drink. Or stand at the door next to the mezuzah and read the "Haftarah Shofeṭim" (Isa. li.); then say Gen. xxi. 1, and pronounce the Lord's name thus, צא אהה (= "Get thee out!"). Or strew ground black pepper under the woman in labor; . . . or place a ram's horn in her hand, or the skin of a snake on her heart; . . . or the eyes and bladder of a salt herring; or let another woman put her hand on her and say with her Ps. xix. 6; or lay upon her a clay vessel on which is inscribed: חיוק חיק חרישש צ״וס; or write on a kosher parchment the magic square (compare Abraham ibn Ezra, "Yesod Mora," ed. Creizenach, p. 125), and lay it on the spot where the tefillin are laid; or place between her teeth a silver ring on which has been inscribed with a new graving-tool: קס״ר, קו״ס, וס״ק, פס״ר, וק״ס, פס״ר (compare "Mitteilungen," iii. 67, No. 123). If the child dies in the womb, the gall of an ox should be mixed with water and given to the woman.

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Magic Square.

It is further stated in the same recipe-books that "Sannui, Sansannui, and Samangaluf (סנוי וסנסנוי וסמנגלף) are known as the great and noble angels whom men call upon to protect women in labor against Lilith, and whose names written in any locality, even if on the wall, serve to exorcise Lilith's brood therefrom. Therefore, it is effective to write these names in the four cardinal points near the woman, especially at an opening, as at a door or window." This prescription against the beautiful Lilith, Adam's first wife (compare second part of Goethe's "Faust"), was zealously observed (see the satire of Isaac Erter in "Kerem Ḥemed," iii. 106, and Flögel-Ebeling, "Gesch. des Grotesk-Komischen," p. 14).

Lilith and Amulets.

Older amulets for the lying-in chamber contained the following (see illustration to Amulet; compare "Mitteilungen," ii. 79 *et seq.*; v. 61, 47; on "Zakar," *ib.* v. 35): "Adam and Eve," within (compare *ib.* i. 91; "Am Urquell," ii. 144, 196; iv. 95); "Lilith and the first Eve," without, "Sannui, Sansannui, Samangaluf, Shumriel, Ḥasdiel." The text continues: "In the name of the Lord God of Israel, who reigns over the cherubim, whose name is mighty and fearful, Elijah the prophet—may he be mentioned for good!—once went upon his way and met Lilith, with all her kith and kin. And he said unto Lilith, the fiend: 'Thou unrivaled in impurity, and ye, ye goodly crew, whither are ye going?' She answered: 'My master Elijah, I am going where I may find a woman in travail. I will cause a deep sleep to come upon her, and I will rob her of her new-born child. I will drink its blood, and suck its marrow, and devour its flesh.' And Elijah—may he be mentioned for good!—spake angrily: 'May God, blessed be He! banish you hence! May you become stiff and stark as stone!' Lilith replied: 'For God's sake, spare me, and I will get me hence. I swear to you by the name of the Lord God of Israel, I will desist from my intent upon the woman and her child; and whenever I hear my name called I will go away. Now I will tell unto you my names; and whenever they are spoken, neither I nor those that are mine will have the power to do harm or to go to the house of a woman in labor, or to do her any evil. These are my names: Lilith, Abitu [compare "Mitteilungen," v. 80, אדם חוה אבטן אבוטור (אבתור) of the Mandæans); I. Wohlstein, "Dämonenbeschwörungen aus Nachtalmudischer Zeit," pp. 52, 57, Berlin, 1894; "Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Verwandte Gebiete," ix. 136], Abihu, Amsarfu, Hagash, Ores, Iḳpodu, Iylu, Tatrota, Abhanuḳtah, Satruna [probably to be compared with שטרניאל; "Mitteilungen," v. 57], Ḳahkatasa, Thilathuy, Piratsha. . . .'"

Amulets such as are described in "Mitteilungen," i. 91 *et seq.*, and others having inscribed on them "Magen David," the signs of the zodiac, and Ps. lxvii., are still in use and may be obtained at any Jewish book-shop. When travail is difficult a Torah-roll is brought into the room.

Old representations show the employment of delivery-chairs (compare Müller-Schlossar, "Haggadah von Sarajevo"). In Rumania the child stays in the bed with its mother as long as she remains there, and a sefer (any holy book) is placed under its pillow. Into its first bath are put pieces of bread and sugar. In Poland the rocking of an empty cradle is avoided. If any one comes with a basket into a house in which there is a new-born child, a piece is cut from the basket and laid in the cradle, in order that the infant may not be robbed of sleep and rest. For the same reason care is taken not to remove from such a house utensils of any kind, especially such as hold burning coals.

Customs After Birth.

If the child is born with a caul, the latter is taken as a sign of good luck (the same is the case in Iceland; compare Grimm, "Märchen," ii. 59), and is preserved for a talisman. A boy is welcomed into the world with the words: זכר בא לעולם ברכה באה לעולם ("A boy is born to the world; a blessing has come into the world"), but at a girl's birth the walls weep. It is a belief in Rumania that until the completion of the first year of its life the child speaks with God and the angels. The latter show it golden fruit in its sleep: if it can grasp the fruit, it laughs; if it can not, it weeps. Elsewhere a child's laughing in its sleep is said to betoken that

EVANGELICAL SCHOOL

it is playing with the angel of death; therefore it is recommended that the child be lightly tapped on the mouth.

A child should not be kissed on the feet, since this is the custom at the "mehillah prayer"; that is, on asking the dead for forgiveness. A child must not be held before a mirror, else a second child will be born within the year. If the hair be cut, the child will get an elf-lock. Scurf ("pareh"; compare Lev. xiii. 12) gives promise of beautiful hair (compare "Mitteilungen," i. 81 on "halakah"). The woman who has been delivered must not be left alone. Under her pillow or under the mattress is laid a knife, without which she may never leave her bed. Or a dagger is stuck in the ground near her head; and daily for thirty days it is carried three times around her couch. In northern Germany this serves to guard against the werwolf (Wuttke, "Der Deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart," p. 260), or, according to Grimm ("Mythologie," xc.), against the wicked fairies (for the customs among the Romans see Pliny, "Historia Naturalis," xxxiv. 44). While making the circuit with the dagger about the bed the following verses are sung:

"Ich mache einen Kreis
Den Gott wohl weiss. . . .
Also mancher Ziegel ist auf diesem Dach,
Also mancher Engel bei uns wach!"

(Translation.)

I make a circle
(Which God well knows):
As many tiles as are on this roof,
So many angels keep watch o'er us!

At a hard labor three or four women pray:

"Auf meinem rechten Fuss tret' ich,
Gott, den Herrn, bitt' ich,
Dass er entbind."

(Translation.)

I press upon my right foot,
God, the Lord, entreating,
That He may deliver!

During the same thirty days in which the dagger is carried about the bed the school-children recite the evening prayers in the lying-in chamber, in order to keep off the "Benemmerin" (pixies); that is, elves. In Hamburg, for the protection of mother and child a skein of red silk is bound about the child's wrists (see "Am Urquell," iv. 96). Of efficacy against "Frau Holle" is the "Holle Kreisch" (compare Löw, *l.c.* p. 105; Bodenschatz, "Kirchliche Verfassung," iv. 73; "Mitteilungen," iv. 146, v. 7). Here may be mentioned the custom existing in Breslau of scattering almonds and raisins on the first Simhat Torah after birth. The night before circumcision (watch-night or wheat-night), and in Palestine every night between birth and circumcision, for the protection of the child the people in the house "study" (compare Grünbaum, in Winter and Wünsche, "Die Jüdische Litteratur," iii. 587). At Salonica a ballad is sung on the watch-night (compare "Rev. Etudes Juives," 1896, ii. 138 *et seq.*). In Palestine, on the night before the circumcision an oil-lamp with many wicks is brought into the house, and there is general rejoicing. In Upper Silesia the knife for circumcision must be in the house the night before the ceremony. The Friday evening before circumcision ("Zakar") a feast is spread, to which every one is welcomed. In Hamburg, peas with pepper, whisky, and cake are provided; among the Portuguese, nasturtium seeds; in Poland, "fristtlech" ("faworiski"; that is, a thin pastry mixed with oil), round peas, and mead ("Mitteilungen," i. 100).

Most of these customs and superstitions are not of Jewish origin; but, as a review of Grimm's "Mythologie" and Wuttke's work (see bibliography below) shows, they have been borrowed from neighboring peoples.

For parturient women the regulations are the same as for the NIDDAH. At the birth of a male the bath (mikweh) may not be taken before the expiration of eight days; at the birth of a female, not before fifteen days, provided clean white linen has been put on and the seven days of purification have taken place within that time. Where it is the custom for the women to visit the mikweh at the end of forty days after bearing a male, and fifty after bearing a female, regulations are made accordingly (Yoreh De'ah, 19, 4).

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A. M. GR.

CHILDREN, SONG OF THE THREE. See DANIEL, BOOK OF.

CHILDREN OF GOD. See GOD, CHILDREN OF; SON OF GOD.

CHILE: A republic of South America, bounded by Peru on the north, Bolivia and the Argentine Republic on the east, and the Pacific Ocean on the south and west. Soon after the discovery of the American continent many Jews, professed and secret, settled in the different sections of South America, and changed their places of residence according to the pressure of the Inquisition. At the beginning of the sixteenth century many New Christians ("Christianos Nuevos") who had recently arrived at Callao, Peru, drifted to Santiago, Chile. It was not long before the spies ("familiares") of the Holy Office ferreted them out, accumulating evidence as to their antecedents from Buenos Ayres, Mexico, and the cities of the Old World, until sufficient data had been secured to warrant their apprehension. Thus, an accused Jew would be imprisoned in Chile, tortured until he confessed, and, sometimes after languishing for years in the secret dungeons of the tribunal in Santiago, finally be surrendered to the secular arm for execution in Cartagena or Lima. The martyrdom of the scholar and theologian Francisco Maldonado de Silva, whose trial was a cause célèbre, is a case in point. He suffered imprisonment in Chile, and was burned at an auto da fé in Lima Jan. 23, 1639. Nor was his case an exception to the rule. In the following paragraphs will be found the first summary in English of these trials for Judaizing.

The case of Luis Noble or Luis Duarte (see DUARTE) is probably the first on record. A Portuguese by birth, he served as a soldier in Chile, and was arraigned before the tribunal at Callao for stealing a crucifix. He confessed to being a Jew (Aug., 1614). Duarte does not seem to have been severely dealt with, escaping with a whipping and a light sentence. From 1636 to 1641 the following persons were accused and punished for Judaizing: Antonio de Acunha, from Arronchez, Portugal, aged 24 years; Antonio Corderes; Diego Lopez de Fonseca, from Badajoz, aged 40 years; Manuel Baptista Pérez, merchant, aged 46 years; Manuel de la Rosa. All these Jews were incarcerated in Chile, and their possessions were confiscated, which seems to have been the leading motive for these prosecutions for heresy. The above-named, it appears from another record, all suffered martyrdom in Lima at an auto da fé held in that city Jan. 23, 1639.

Earliest Victims of Inquisition.

Don Manuel Bautista PEREZ was rated as a millionaire, and is described as the owner of a regal residence in Lima, which yet bears the name of "the house of Pilate." Don Diego Lopez de Fonseca, who was burned at the same auto da fé, was charged with selling goods cheaper to people who would enter his shop through the door, beneath the threshold of which he had buried a cross in mockery of Jesus, than to others (see TREVINO). Juan de la Parra, a Chilean by birth, was imprisoned and sentenced by the Holy Office "for observing the religion of Moses," in 1661. There were several others who suffered imprisonment in Chile and martyrdom in Peru. J. T. Medina devotes two long chapters to leading Jewish cases in his history of the tribunal in Chile (see subjoined bibliography), and gives the whole trial of de Silva at length.

In 1680 proceedings were begun against Leon Gomez de Silva, or Oliva (as his name is spelled in another place). He was born in Portugal and resided at Santiago, and was denounced as a Judaizer. The accused was still alive in Santiago twenty years after proceedings were instituted against him; and his property, at one time confiscated by the authorities, had been restored.

The celebrated Hungarian-Jewish violinist, Michael Hauser, who had been the guest of Don Elias, President of Peru, in 1852, and who was everywhere received with extraordinary honors, was compelled to fly for his life in Santiago, charged with "conspiring diabolically to ruin Christian folk and, by reason of hellish art [his violin], in league with the devil." Thanks to the friendly offices of a humane Creole who had been charmed by his music, he hid until the arrival of a ship bound for Australia (see his "Aus dem Wanderbuche eines Oesterreichischen Virtuosen," Leipsic, 1859; also Ignaz Reich's "Beth-El," ii. 97). On a proposal made to Oliver Cromwell in 1655 to seize Chile, see Simon de CACERES.

Of the modern history of the Jews in Chile nothing definite can be ascertained. There are a large number of prosperous Jewish merchants in Santiago, mostly Europeans; but it is not known whether they form a religious community. For other data see SOUTH AMERICA.

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A. G. A. K.

CHILEAB: A son of David, born to him at Hebron. His mother was Abigail, whom David married after the death of her husband Nabal, the Carmelite (II Sam. iii. 3). The parallel account in I Chron. iii. 1 gives his name as "Daniel." In II Sam. iii. 1 the Septuagint reads *Δαλονία*, and in I Chron. iii. 1 *Δαμνιὴλ*.) (The Alexandrine, however, reads here, too, *Δαλονία*.) It is impossible to restore the original name, although "Daniel" is much nearer than "Chileab." Berakot 4a (Bab.) gives a fanciful interpretation to the name. He was called "Chileab" because he shamed (מכלים) Mephibosheth in the Law.

E. G. H. G. B. L.

CHILIASM, CHILIAST, CHILIASTIC. See MILLENNIUM.

CHILION: A son of Elimelech and Naomi, the Bethlehemites who emigrated to Moab because of the severe famine in Judea (Ruth i. 2). This might have been the reason for the name "Chilion" (wasting), as also for his brother's name "Mahlon" (disease). In Moab, Chilion married Orpah (*ib.*), and, after living in that land for ten years, died there.

E. G. H. G. B. L.

CHILMAD: A name occurring in the long list of those nations supplying merchandise for Tyre (Ezek. xxvii. 23). The Septuagint reads *καὶ Χαρμάν*, which seems to point to Carmania. The Targum renders it "the Medes," which Rashi follows. David Ḳimḥi quotes his father's opinion that the word contains the root למד. The word would then mean "as taught." George A. Smith identifies the name with "Chalwadh." Of all these identifications that of the Targum is the simplest and, perhaps, the most acceptable; for other corruptions of the text have been noted in this verse, and it is probable, as Cheyne suggests, that the first syllable in כלמד came from the following רכל, the ר of which fell out owing to the preceding ר.

E. G. H. G. B. L.

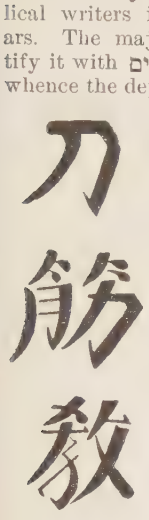
CHIMHAM: A son of Barzillai, who supported David while the latter was in exile at Mahanaim. After the death of Absalom, Barzillai was invited to spend the rest of his days with the king; but he declined, and sent his son Chimham instead. In Jer. xli. 17 mention is made of the camp of Chimham near Bethlehem, from which it would seem that David bestowed upon him some land which passed on to his descendants in his name. This rendering is indicated by the Targum, and is accepted by Rashi and Ḳimḥi (II Sam. xix. 38, 39, 41; R. V. 37, 38, 40).

E. G. H. G. B. L.

CHIN, RACHEL MIRONOWNA. See KHIN, RACHEL MIRONOWNA.

CHINA: The southeastern and main division of the Chinese empire. The subject of the Jews in China is here treated in two sections: I. Their history; II. Their religious customs, etc.

I. History: Whether China was known to Biblical writers is a matter of dispute among scholars. The majority of Bible commentators identify it with ארץ סינים ("the land of the Sinim"), whence the deported sons of Israel shall return to their land (Isa. xlix. 12); others, however, deny the identification. At any rate, the Jews in Persia from early times were connected with the silk trade, and, as a consequence, entered into direct relations with the "silkmen" ("Seres," from "ser" = שראים = "sericum" = "silk"), as the Chinese were called by the Romans.



Chinese Name for Jews.

(For the identification see commentaries of Gesenius, Delitzsch, Hitzig, Cheyne, and Orelli; also Kautzsch, in Riehm's "Handwörterbuch der Biblischen Alterthümer," *s.v.* "Sinim"; Von Strauss-Torney, in Delitzsch's "Isaiah," p. 712; Lassen, "Indische Alterthumskunde," 1867, i. 1028; further, Dillmann, Duhm, and Marti, in their commentaries; König, in Hauck's "Real-Encyc." *s.v.* "Sinim"; and Von Richthofen, "China," i. 436; for the "Seres," see SILK; Kohler, "The Jews and Commerce," in "The Menorah," 1887, p. 211; Heyd, "Gesch. des Levantehandels," i. 12, notes 1, 24; compare Mommsen, "Römische Gesch." v. 346, 465–470; Herzfeld, "Handelsgesch. der Juden," pp. 110, 308).

First Jewish Settlement.

At what time, however, the first Jewish settlement in China took place it is difficult to say. In all likelihood Jewish merchants immigrated, or changed a temporary sojourn into a permanent one, at various epochs. In an "Account Written by Two Mohammedan Travelers Through India and China" in 851 (Renaudot, transl., London, 1733, p. 42), it is stated that "the Jews have been settled in that empire [China] from time immemorial." Notwithstanding this, it is as hazardous to connect the first Jewish settlement in China with the Lost Ten Tribes ("Jew. Quart. Rev." xiii. 23) as it is an unwarranted skepticism to doubt the correctness of the tradition of the Chinese Jews themselves, which traces the first immigration back to the Han dynasty between 206 B.C. and 221 C.E. (Möllendorf, in "Monatsschrift," 1895, p. 329), and more exactly to the time of the emperor Ming-ti. This opinion is based upon the oral tradition of the Jews, reported by Father Brotier: "These Jews say that they entered China under the Han dynasty during the reign of Han Ming-ti [58–76 C.E.]." And further: "Several of these Jews have assured me that they arrived during the reign of Ming-ti" (Tobar, "Inscrip. Juives de Kai-Fung-Fu," p. 90). A certain Sulaiman (Jewish traveler of the ninth century) similarly claims that they entered in 65 C.E. Grätz (iv. 376) places the first immigration in the year 231 C.E., connecting it with the persecution of Jews in Persia, which caused also their first settlement in India; furthermore, the Jews of K'ai-Fung-Foo themselves claim that they received their religion from India (compare Finn, "The Orphan Colony of Jews in China," p. 40; but see passages cited below); but there is nothing to support this hypothetical date, or the statement of Glover in the "Babylonian and Oriental Record," vi. 247, 288; vii. 149, that the Jews were not in China before the fifth century. On the other hand there are many reasons for the assumption of an earlier date. The Chinese everywhere call the Jews "Tiao Kiu Kiaou" (the sect which extracts the sinews, after Gen. xxxii. 33); and this name itself, as a characterization of the Jews, indicates great antiquity. Rabbinical Judaism would have suggested more distinctive peculiarities of the Jews to the Chinese.

Jews Known as "Tiao Kiu Kiaou."

As will be shown later, there are also many intrinsic evidences of early Jewish settlements in China to be found in peculiar rites, preserved in connection with their synagogue; the records which will be cited below are obviously copies of older documents; and there is also the fact that the Arabic writers of the ninth and fourteenth centuries confirm the existence of old Jewish commercial colonies in China. Indeed, all facts tend to show a long and peculiar development of religious as well as social life of the Jews in China, the beginnings of which can hardly have been later than the first Christian century. K.

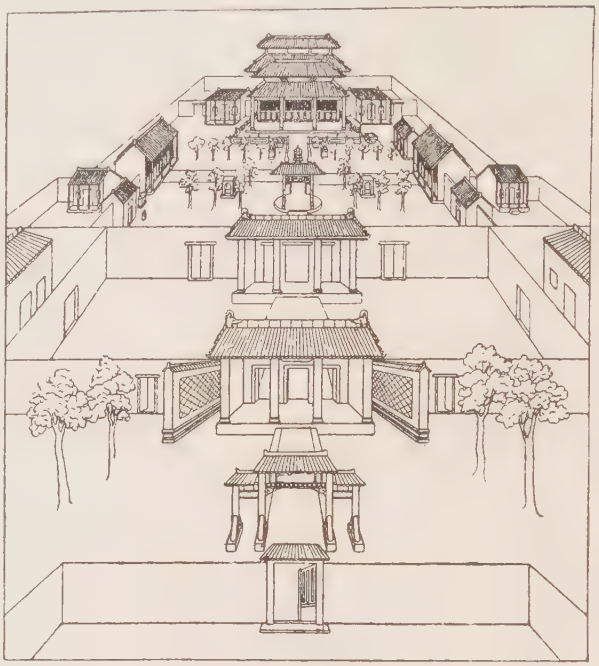
Concerning the history of the Chinese Jews in the Middle Ages a very few isolated facts are known. The two Mohammedan travelers of 851 who are quoted above state that at that period "many of them, for the sake of riches and preferment, have abjured their own religion." This is corroborated by Abu Zaid Ḥasan al-Sirafi (Reinaud, "Géographie d'Abulfeda," i. lxxxiii., Paris, 1848), according to whom "120,000 Mohammedans, Jews, Christians, and Parsees, who had come there for commerce, were in the revolt of Baichu in the year 884 massacred in Canfu, the chief port for all the Arabian merchants." It seems very probable that in the tenth century a new colony of Jews came into China, as Professor Chavannes declares: "Between 960 and 1126 (Sung dynasty) Jews coming from India brought, for the first time, as tribute to the court of China, stuffs from western maritime countries ('si yang poo'). The Jews came to China by sea, and not by crossing central Asia; they were members of the Jewish colonies settled in India. Lastly, their arrival does not appear to have been prior to the end of the tenth century C.E."

Marco Polo refers to the powerful commercial and political influence of the Jews in China in 1286 (see Murray's translation of "Polo's Travels," p. 99). Ibn Batuta (see "Monatsschrift," 1895, p. 329) in the fourteenth century speaks of Al-Khansa —which Möllendorf identifies with Hangchau; Neubauer ("Jew. Quart. Rev." x. 125) with Canfu—as having many resident Mohammedans, Jews, and Christians.

The Jews, who were never active participants

in Chinese affairs, being taken for Mohammedans ("Hwei Hwei"), are nevertheless mentioned in Chinese annals:

"The Jews are referred to for the first time in the 'Yuen shi' under the year 1329, on the occasion of the reestablishment of the law on the collection of taxes from Dissenters. Mention of them is again made under the year 1354, when, on account of several insurrections in China, rich Mohammedans and Jews were invited to the capital in order to join the army. In both cases they are named 'Chu hu' (Djuhud)" ("Journal North-China Branch of Royal Asiatic Society," new series, x. 38).



Bird's-Eye View of the Temple Buildings at K'ai-Fung-Foo, China.
(From "Jewish Quarterly Review.")

Throughout the Middle Ages the European Jews had no knowledge of the existence of Jews in China; even Benjamin of Tudela, who mentions China (= צין; see Asher's ed. of the "Itinerary," i. 194, ii. 189), seems to know nothing about them. It was through Catholic missionaries in the seventeenth century that the first information reached Europe of a Jewish community, consisting of about five hundred or six hundred members, in K'ai-Fung-Foo, the ancient capital of Honan; of one at Hangchau-Foo; and of others in other Chinese towns. But owing to the existence of an ancient synagogue at K'ai-Fung-Foo, which, though rebuilt several times, had preserved the oldest records of Jewish settlements, the interest of the historians was centered upon the Jews there; and the inscriptions in the Chinese language found on its marble tablets, dating from the years 1489, 1512, and 1663, which have been often translated and published, have cast unexpected light upon a hitherto entirely unknown chapter of Jewish history. The following abstracts of these inscriptions, taken from "Inscriptions Juives de Kai-Fung-Fu," Shanghai, 1900 (see "Jew. Quart. Rev." xiii. 20), give an insight into both the history and the character of the Chinese Jews.

The Jews of K'ai-Fung-Foo.

The inscription of 1489 referring to the immigration states: "Seventy families came from the Western lands offering tribute of cotton cloth to the emperor, who allowed them to settle at Peen-lang" (K'ai-Fung-Foo). In 1163 the synagogue was erected by a certain Yen-too-la; and in 1279 it was rebuilt on a larger scale. In 1390 the Jews were granted land and additional privileges by Tai-tsou, the founder of the Ming dynasty. In 1421 permission was given by the emperor to Yen-Tcheng, a physician greatly honored by him, to repair the synagogue, incense for use therein being presented by the emperor. In 1461 the synagogue was destroyed by flood, but was restored by a prominent Jew. New copies of the Law were procured; and the table of offerings, the bronze vase, the flower-vases, the candlesticks, the Ark, the triumphal arch, the balustrades, and other furniture were presented to the synagogue by prominent members of the Jewish community.

The Synagogue Records.

The end of the inscription of 1489 reads:

"Composed by a promoted literary graduate of the prefecture of K'ai-Fung-Foo, named Kiu-chung; inscribed by a literary graduate of purchased rank, belonging to the district of Tsëang-Fu, named Tsaou-tsò; and engraved by a literary graduate of purchased rank, belonging to the prefecture of K'ai-Fung-Foo, named Foo-joô. Erected on a fortunate day, in the middle of summer, in the second year of Hung-chê, A.D. 1488 [read 1489], in the forty-sixth year of the seventieth cycle, by a disciple of the religion of Truth and Purity."

In an inscription of 1512 set up by a Chinese mandarin it is stated: "Adam the first man was from Teen-chou in the West." [This seems to point to India or Ceylon as the Chinese Eden, as does also, perhaps, a rather obscure sentence in the previous (1489) inscription: "Our religion comes originally from T'heen-chuh" = India.—K.]

Referring to the immigration, this inscription says: "During the Han dynasty this religion entered China. In 1164 a synagogue was built at Peen [K'ai-Fung-Foo]. In 1296 it was rebuilt. [The dates in Tobar's and Glover's translations differ slightly.] Those who practise this religion are found in other places than Peen [K'ai-Fung-Foo]; but, wherever they are met with, they all, without exception, honor the sacred writings and venerate Eternal Reason in the same manner as the Chinese, shunning superstitious practises and image-worship. These sacred books concern not Jews only, but all men, kings and subjects, parents and children, old and young. Differing little from our [the Chinese!] laws, they are summed up in the worship of heaven [God], the honor of parents, and the veneration of ancestors." Speaking of the Jews themselves, the Chinese monumental testimony continues: "They excel in agriculture, in merchandise, in magistracies, and in warfare, and are highly esteemed for integrity, fidelity, and a strict observance of their religion."

High Reputation of Chinese Jews.

At the end of the inscription of 1512 occurs:

"This tablet was erected by the families Yen, Lè, Kaou, Chaou, Kin, E, and Cheng, at the rebuilding of the synagogue, in the first month of autumn, in the seventh year of Chíng-tih, of the Ming dynasty, A.D. 1511 [read 1512]."

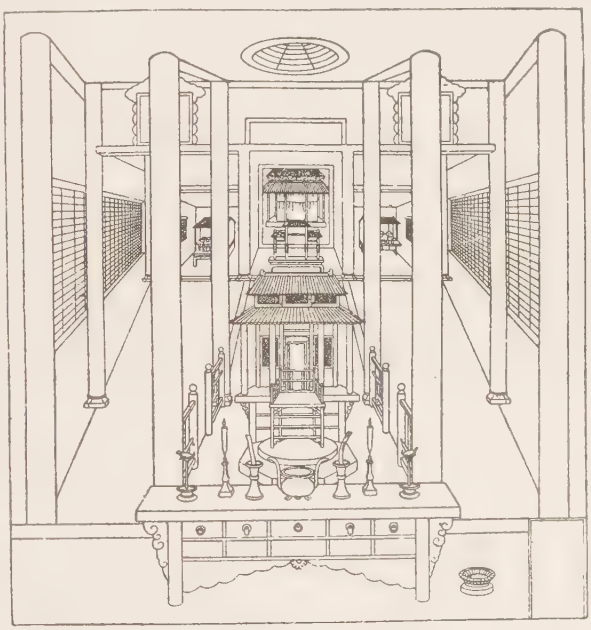
Another inscription dated 1663, by a Chinese mandarin, afterward minister of state, begins in the same manner as the first two, dwelling first on the virtues of Adam, Noah, Abraham, and Moses, and then on the conformity of the Jewish law and literature with those of the Chinese. After relating the history of the Jewish settlement, it gives a graphic account of the rebellion which caused the fall of the Ming dynasty in 1642 and the destruction of the city, the synagogue, and many Jewish lives, and of the rescue of the sacred writings by a Jewish mandarin, who, with the help of the troops, restored the city, and together with his brother rebuilt the synagogue in 1653 (see CHAO YNG-CHENG). Only one complete scroll of the Law having been recovered from the waters, this was placed in the middle of the Ark; and twelve other scrolls were copied and placed around

it. Other holy writings and prayer-books were repaired by members of the community, whose names are perpetuated in the tablet, together with the names of all the dignitaries who took part in the restoration.

So long as the Jewish inhabitants of China continued to enjoy the imperial protection as mighty men of commerce, their Persian brethren furnished them with all the necessary means of religious education. Their commercial and social decline broke off their connection with the West; and a state of ignorance followed. Thus were they found by the Catholic missionaries in the seventeenth century, and in a worse condition by the Protestant missionaries—both endeavoring to convert them, until the Chinese government interfered with their attempts.

Commercial and Social Decline.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the founder of the Jesuit mission at Peking, Father Matteo Ricci, received a young Jew who came to see him, declaring that he worshiped one God. At the mission, seeing a picture representing the Virgin with the child Jesus, he believed she was Rebekah with Esau or Jacob, and said that he came from K'ai-Fung-Foo, in the province of Honan, where ten or twelve families belonging to his religion dwelt, having a synagogue, in which there were books written in the language (Hebrew) of a Bible shown to him by Ricci. Too old to travel, Ricci sent to K'ai-Fung-Foo a Chinese Jesuit. Later, the Jesuits Aleni (1613), Gozani (1704), Gaubel, and Domenge (Father Tobar, "Inscriptions Juives de Kai-Fung-Fu," Shanghai, 1900), brought with them much information from K'ai-Fung-Foo, which they had visited.



Interior of the Synagogue at K'ai-Fung-Foo, China.
(From "Jewish Quarterly Review.")

When the existence of Jews in China became known to their European brethren, steps were taken to communicate with them by Isaac Nieto, haham of London (1760), who addressed a Hebrew letter to them imploring them to give information of their origin, their condition, and their needs. Their answer, written in Hebrew and Chinese, has disappeared. In 1842 James Finn, British consul at Jerusalem, interested himself in these Chinese Jews; and a letter which he received from them (1870) in reply to his own, printed in his work "The Orphan Colony of Jews in China," 1872, disclosed the sad fact of their utter destitution and religious decay. But this state of affairs had been made known as early as 1850 by Dr. Smith, Bishop of Victoria, after inquiries made on behalf of the London Missionary Society.

In order to secure information of the Chinese Jews at K'ai-Fung-Foo, a number of missionaries and Jewish merchants were sent thither. They reported that a few families, Jewish in name only, but sharply differentiated from the surrounding heathens and Mohammedans, lived there in abject poverty. They could read no Hebrew, had not had a rabbi for fifty years, intermarried outside the faith, and preserved only a few ceremonies and names of holy days.

"The expectation of a Messiah seems to have been entirely lost. The rite of circumcision, which appears to have been observed at the period of their discovery by the Jesuits two centuries ago, had been totally discontinued. . . . They had petitioned the Chinese emperor to have pity on their poverty, and to rebuild their temple. No reply had been received from Peking; but to this feeble hope they still clung. Out of seventy family names or clans [see above] not more than seven now remained, numbering about 200 individuals in all, dispersed over the neighborhood. A few of them were shopkeepers in the city; others were agriculturists at some little distance from the suburbs; while a few families also lived in the temple precincts, almost destitute of raiment and shelter. According to present appearances, in the judgment of native messengers, after a few years all traces of Judaism will probably have disappeared, and this Jewish remnant will have been amalgamated with and absorbed into surrounding Mohammedanism" (Smith, "The Jews at Kai-Fung-Fu," London, 1851, *passim*; "Jews in China," in "North-China Herald," No. 25, Jan. 18, 1851).

Two of the Chinese travelers were sent a second time to K'ai-Fung-Foo, and returned to Shanghai in July, 1851, bringing with them new information which corrected in part the previous reports:

"During their former visit our travelers, by mistaking family names for individuals, greatly underrated the number of the Jewish community. Circumcision also appears to be practised, though the tradition respecting its origin and object appears to be lost among them."

Attempts to send Jews to offer a helping hand to the forlorn brethren and to revive the colony were made in England and in the United States in 1852 and 1864, but without success, owing to the occurrence of the T'ai-P'ing rebellion, the federal war, and the death of Benjamin II., the Jewish traveler, who had interested himself in them (see Benjamin II., "Acht Jahre in Asien und Afrika," 1858, p. 157, and the appeal made in the "Jewish Chronicle" for April 29, 1864).

After the T'ai-P'ing rebels had left the Yang-tse

River, going northward in 1857, the Jewish colony of K'ai-Fung-Foo was scattered with the rest of the population, and its members fled to various places, even to the seaports. Two or three of these were known to the present writer. They had all of the characteristic features of those of their race who came to Shanghai in 1851, although they were dressed like the other Chinese and wore a cue. Most of them returned to K'ai-Fung-Foo.

Attempts to Rehabilitate Colony.

The information given by Aaron Arnauld in 1855 (see Benjamin II., *l.c.*); by A. P. Martin, the American missionary, in his work "A Cycle of Cathay" (see also "Monatsschrift," 1895, p. 328); by Liebermann, in his report to the Anglo-Jewish Association (see "Jew. Chron." July 11, 1879); and, finally, by Lehmann, an officer of the German army at Kiau-Chau ("American Hebrew," Jan. 12, 1900), has given the impulse to an agitation which promises to bring relief and possibly reinstation to the orphan colony (see "Jew. Quart. Rev." xiii. 40; "Jew. Chron." June 22, 1900, and Aug. 28, 1902). According to Aaron Arnauld, cousin of Aaron Arnauld, the grand rabbi of Strasburg (see Benjamin II., *l.c.*), many Jews have emigrated, during the Chinese wars with the Tatars, to Kiang-su, to Arnoy, and to Peking; but they have no synagogue in those places. A number of Jews have under English protection removed to Shanghai and Hongkong, where they have engaged in the opium and cotton trades.

Jews of K'ai-Fung-Foo, China.
(From a photograph.)

In 1900 the community of K'ai-Fung-Foo numbered 140 souls, without a leader, synagogue, or any well-defined system of education. Since 1900 renewed efforts have been made by the Society for the Rescue of the Chinese Jews, looking toward the restoration of the Jewish religion at K'ai-Fung-Foo. Several Jews of Shanghai have interested themselves in this work.

G. H. Cr.

II. Religious Customs: The synagogue of K'ai-Fung-Foo, since 1870 a heap of ruins, is described by the Jesuit fathers of the eighteenth century as having covered a space from 300 to 400 feet in length and 150 feet in width, with its four courts facing the west; that is, toward Jerusalem (see 1 Kings viii. 38; Dan. vi. 11). In the center of the first court stood, surrounded in Chinese fashion by trees, a large triumphal arch, bearing an inscription in Chinese characters recording the dedication of the building to the Creator and Preserver of all things. The bath-houses and lavatories in these precincts were apparently used for ablution in preparation for divine service. The second court, entered by a great gate, was opened only on special occasions. Dwellings for the keepers of the edifice flanked its northern and southern walls. The third court, containing reception-rooms for guests, led through another triumphal arch into memorial chapels on each side. The fourth court consisted of two divisions separated by a row of trees. In the center of one stood a large brazen vase of incense and a marble lion upon a pedestal, on either side of which there was placed a brazen vase filled with flowers—certainly in accordance with Chinese customs and views. Adjoining the northern wall, however, was a recess in which, in conformity with Gen. xxxii. 33, the sinews were extracted from the animals slain for food—an institution all the more remarkable since nowhere else is the synagogue chosen for that practise. The Chinese were so impressed by it that they gave the Jews the name of "sinew-pluckers." The second division of the court led, through an empty space in its center, into the "Hall of Ancestors" to the right and the left. Here at the vernal and autumnal equinoxes veneration was paid in Chinese manner to the Jewish patriarchs. The mode of veneration, however, differed from the Chinese in that only the names of the Biblical ancestors were written on a tablet, and no picture was presented. Further, instead of the animal sacrifices mentioned in the inscription (see below), incense was used, a censer being assigned to each patriarch; the largest one to Abraham as the most venerated, the rest for the other patriarchs (the twelve sons of Jacob), Moses, Aaron, Joshua, Ezra, and other Biblical person-

The Synagogue at K'ai-Fung-Foo.

Peculiar Religious Rites.

ages, both men and women. In the open space between these chapels tabernacles ornamented with flowers were erected every year at the Feast of Tabernacles.

The synagogue proper—an edifice about 60 x 40 feet, to which a portico with a double row of four columns formed the entrance—had in the center a magnificent elevated chair with embroidered cushions, upon which the scroll of the Law rested while being read. This was called the "chair of Moses" (compare Matt. xxiii. 2; "Rev. Et. Juives," xxxiv. 299, xxxv. 110; see ALMEMAR). In front of this a table was placed, upon which the name of the emperor was written in golden letters, accompanied by the prayer "May he live ten thousand myriads of years!" Over the chair of Moses was a dome with the "Shema' Yisrael," "Baruk shem kebod malkuto," and other Hebrew sentences inscribed in golden Hebrew letters.

On a large table by the door stood six candelabra having three different kinds of light, a vase for incense, and a tablet recording the generous donations of incense by the emperors of the Ming dynasty. A laver for the washing of hands (probably for the priests before reciting the benediction) stood near.

At the extreme end of the synagogue was the Holy of Holies (which was totally dark) containing the Ark. In the latter were placed the thirteen scrolls of the Law, each in a separate case and enclosed in silk curtains; that in the middle, which was the one most venerated, representing Moses, and the others representing the twelve tribes. The whole of this part of the synagogue was elevated, stairs leading up to it on both sides, and was inaccessible to any one but the rabbi and the priests, probably because the scrolls were too sacred to be handled by any but the rabbi, and because the priests used the place for the "dukan," or blessing, both priests and rabbi undergoing ablution before the services. The place, however, regarded with especial reverence as the Holy of Holies, bore the name "House of Heaven [of God], Bet-El." The name given to the synagogue in general was "Li-pai-se" (Place of Ceremony, or, according to others, Weekly Meeting-House), which seems to indicate that it was used only on Sabbath for service.

Holy of Holies.

As in most Eastern countries, the worshipers put off their shoes on entering the synagogue. During service they wore a blue head-dress in contradistinction to the Mohammedans, who wear a white one. A remarkable custom prescribed that he who read the Law should cover his face with a transparent veil of gauze, in imitation of Moses (Ex. xxxiv. 33), a practise unknown otherwise, but to which Paul seems to allude as being well established in his time, when he says: "For until this day remaineth the same veil untaken away in the reading of the Old Testament" (II Cor. iii. 14).

At the side of the reader stood a monitor, to correct his reading if necessary (this is probably a survival of the meturgeman). The practise of calling up laymen to read from the Law does not seem to have been known. In the inscription of 1489 these rules are given regarding divine service:

"Thrice a day we pray: morning (at the fourth hour), noon, and evening (at the sixth hour)." This corresponds with Ps. lv. 18, not with the Mishnah Ber. iv. 1. "The worshiper first bends his body (כרישתחויה); then he offers the silent prayer, swaying the body to and fro; and at the close he retreats three paces and then advances five, afterward turning toward the left and the right, and finally looks upward and downward in order thus to profess the belief that God is everywhere" (compare R. Akiba in Ber. 31a).

Very singular, and indicative of powerful Chinese influence, is the following: "It is incumbent upon the Jew to venerate his ancestors. Twice in the year—in spring and in autumn—he offers them oxen and sheep together with the fruits of the season" (compare Tobit iv. 17; Tosef., Shek. i. 12). Noteworthy also are the following passages: "Four days every month are devoted to purification, fasting, and charitable acts" [whether these are Fridays, the preparatory days for the Sabbath, or the four lunar phases of each month, is not clear]. "Each seventh day is devoted to rest, and a fresh period of good deeds commences anew." Here reference is made to the ancient Chinese work, the "Book of Diagrams." "In the fourth season of the year the Jew places himself under severe restraint for seven days [seven in place of the Ten Penitential Days]. One entire day [Day of Atonement] he abstains altogether from food, devoting the time to prayer and repentance."

The Sabbath and festivals were, indeed, strictly observed by them, including even the Feast of Simḥat Torah, when Pater Domenge saw them carry the thirteen scrolls of the Law in procession round the Bet-El Ark; the Song of Moses, however, was read the day before, on Shemini 'Aẓeret. Services for the Fast of Ab and for Purim are also included in their liturgies. Their celebration of the New Moon as a festival is proof of a pre-Talmudic tradition (compare Soferim xix. 9). Their calendar was regulated by the moon like that of the rest of the Jews, and like that of the Chinese. In this connection the fact should be noted that their division of the Torah is into fifty-three weekly portions for the Sabbaths of the year, as is stated also in the account of the handing down of the Law given in the inscription of 1489:

Sabbaths and Festivals.

Abraham is "the nineteenth in descent from Adam, who in the year 146 of the Chow dynasty (2108 B.C.) became the founder of the religion of the One God, denouncing the worship of images. His sublime doctrine was submitted to Moses, who in the six hundred and thirteenth year of the Chow dynasty (1641 B.C.), after forty days' stay on Mount Sinai spent in fasting and in communion with God, brought down the Law. From him were the fifty-three portions of the Torah, together with the tradition handed down to Ezra, the great reformer and contemporary of the founder of the Chinese religion [Confucius]."

This division differs from the Masoretic tradition, which, as a rule, has fifty-four portions (see Zunz, "G. V." p. 4, note *cc*, where only two exceptional authorities are quoted); it seems to have been based upon the regular fifty-two Sabbaths of the year, with an additional parashah (Deut. xxxiii.–xxxiv.) for Shemini 'Aẓeret or Simḥat Torah. As will be seen further on, they had also Haftarot for the Minḥah service, which, again, differed from Talmudical custom, and had only its parallel in some Babylonian (or ancient Persian?) congregations (see Shab. 116b; Rapoport, "'Erek Millin," pp. 170 *et seq.*). Their pronunciation of Hebrew was found by the Jesuit fathers to correspond with the one generally accepted by the Jews; also their views of the Merkabah and of the future. Bibliomancy was practised by them. If the statement in Finn's "The Jews in China" (p. 7) be correct, they were not particular in regard to eating forbidden animals.

Their literature also bears the stamp of various

epochs, a fact not fully kept in mind by Jewish writers on the subject. According to a description given by the missionaries (Finn, *l.c.* pp. 28–48), the following classes of books were deposited in the Bet-El Ark besides the scrolls of the Law: (1) The Ta-King, or Temple Scripture, containing the fifty-three parashiyyot for the Sabbaths of the year, written in large letters with the vowel-points, accents, and other scribal signs. (2) The Haftarah, or "supplementary books," containing selected portions from Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, and the Later Prophets. (3) The historical books—probably more correctly, as Finn thinks, the Hagiographa, comprising Esther, Ezra, Nehemiah, the first chapters of Chronicles, and the two books of the Maccabees. These last, together with Judith and Ben Sira, in their possession, are another indication of a greater antiquity than has been assigned them by many writers. (4) Expositors. What these books contained was not ascertained by the Catholic fathers; possibly they were of a Midrashic character, and, if so, they would be of great value to students if they could be obtained. (5) Ritual books, about fifty in number, one of which bore the title "Minḥah Tamid" (Perpetual Afternoon Service), and contained besides the prayers the readings for each Sabbath afternoon of the year and a special Minḥah Maftir (Haftarah). A special Minḥah for the New Moon festival was also pointed out.

Their Literature.

Their liturgy, as preserved in the books taken to Europe, bears quite a different character. These books, after careful examination by Neubauer and Elkan Adler ("Jew. Quart. Rev." viii. 123, x. 584), have been shown to belong to the geonic time—some of the piyyuṭim are compositions of Saadia—and they were introduced into China from Persia. The ritual is decidedly Persian; and the directions for the prayers, the translations of parts of the piyyuṭim, as well as the colophons at the end of the Pentateuch sections, are in Persian. Parts of the Mishnah are quoted in their prayer-book, but nothing from the Gemara.

Their Liturgy.

The Pentateuch shows observance of the same soferic rules regarding the letter "waw" and the ביה שמו as are found in the Yemenite scrolls (see G. Margoliouth, in "Cat. Hebrew and Samaritan MSS. Brit. Mus." 1899, p. 3, No. 6). The Aramean language is used in special supplications and songs; also in the announcement of the New Moon, which is strongly tinged with Messianic hopes. So also in the Elijah song for the close of the Sabbath. In the "Hazkarat Neshamot" seven Biblical men—Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, Elijah, and Elisha (perhaps Joshua and Elijah originally)—and seven Biblical women—Sarah, Rebekah, Rachel, Leah, Jochebed, Miriam, and Zipporah—are mentioned as representatives of the seven classes of saints who dwell under the tree of life in Eden. The Pesaḥ Haggadah is almost the same as that of the Yemen Jews. As Elkan Adler ("Jew. Quart. Rev." x. 601) suggests, the שליח ("messenger") who signed his name as copyist upon the Pentateuch was the typical transmitter of Persian rites, rituals, and writings to these Chinese Jews. Another characteristic name for a copyist is "ha-melammed" (the teacher). Some of the writings mentioned above were first made accessible to European scholars when brought to Shanghai from K'ai-Fung-Foo by the two Chinese travelers in 1851, as is narrated in the following extract:

> Six of the twelve rolls of the Law, which they saw during their previous visit, each containing a complete copy of the whole Pentateuch, were purchased for four hundred taels of silver (about £130) from the Jews duly assembled to the number of 300 persons; and the manuscripts were conveyed in open day from the synagogue to the lodgings of our travelers. They are each written in a fine legible hand on thick sheepskins sewed together, and are without points, or any of the modern divisions into sections or even books. They are in excellent preservation, except one, which was injured by a flood during the Ming dynasty, but is considered critically of the greatest value. . . . Forty smaller Hebrew manuscripts were also brought away, which, on further examination, may possibly throw light on their early history and migration.

Facsimiles of the following Hebrew manuscripts, which were brought back by the two Chinese envoys from the synagogue, were published in 1851 at Shanghai (printed at the London Missionary Society's Press):

(*a*) Thirteenth section of the Law, ואלה שמות (Ex. i. 1–vi. 1). The last page contains the following note: "Holiness to Jehovah! The Rabbi Akiba, the son of Aaron, the son of Ezra, heard it. Shadiavor, the son of Bethuel, the son of Moses, read it. Mordecai, the son of Moses, witnessed it. And he believed in Jehovah: and He counted it to him for righteousness." (*b*) Twenty-third section of the Law, אלה פקודי (Ex. xxxviii, 21–xl. 38). The following note is appended to the last page: "Holiness to Jehovah! The learned Rabbi Phinehas, the son of Israel, the son of Joshua, the son of Benjamin, heard the reading. I have waited for Thy salvation, O Jehovah, Amen."

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E. C. K.

CHINNERETH, also **CHINNEROTH: 1.** The sea marking the eastern boundary of the Israelitish possessions, whence the boundary proceeded by the River Jordan to the Dead Sea (Num. xxxiv. 11). It also marked the western boundary of the trans-Jordanic tribes (Deut. iii. 17). In later times the sea was called Gennesaret or lake of Galilee; the modern name is Baḥr Ṭabariyyah (Lake of Tiberias). It is about 13 miles in length and 8 miles wide, its great-

est width being a little north of the center. It is 680 feet below sea-level. The Jordan flows into and passes out of it. The lake itself is filled with various kinds of fish, and even in ancient times provided a livelihood for many fishermen. At present the land round the lake is sterile, but, according to the description of Josephus, was at one time very fertile.

2. In Josh. xix. 35, Chinnereth is the name of a town which by Talmudic authority is identified with Gennesor (Neubauer, "G. T." p. 214). It is of considerable antiquity, as it occurs in a hieroglyphic inscription of Thothmes III. (W. Max Müller, "Asien und Europa," p. 84).

E. G. H. G. B. L.

CHINON, SAMSON OF. See Samson of Chinon.

CHIOS: Island in the Ægean Sea; Turkish possession, 344 miles west of Smyrna. It is not known with any certainty when the Jews first established themselves at Chios. According to the local legends reported by the traveler Joseph Benjamin II., the Jewish cemetery of the island contains the tomb of Jacob ben Asher, author of the "Ṭurim," who is said to have put in at the island in order to avoid shipwreck, and lived there for a number of years, until his death in 1340. The supposed tombstone of this learned rabbi is situated at the foot of a terebinth, but the inscription has become illegible. The tomb is regarded by the Jews as holy ground. Formerly troops of pilgrims from Smyrna met there, especially on the thirty-third day of 'Omer. The synagogue of the island of Chios is named after Jacob ben Asher.

Chios was an object of dispute in the Middle Ages among the Byzantine emperors, the Genoese and the Venetians; and it fell into the hands of the Ottoman Turks in 1595. Probably under the Turkish dominion the Jewish community of the island gradually grew. Toward 1700 Isaac al-Ghazzi, a rabbi belonging to a Smyrnese family of Talmudists, was chief rabbi of the island; he is the author of a Hebrew work, "Doresh Ṭob," a collection of discourses. Nothing further is heard of this community, although it continued to exist, for the magnificent marble tomb of Fernandez Diaz, a Jew of Salonica, dating somewhat prior to 1800, still attracts the attention of visitors to the cemetery.

The spiritual leaders of the community during the nineteenth century were R. Mordecai Aboab, R. Matathia Alluf, and R. Abraham Franco, who officiated for twelve years (1846–58). The chief event in the history of the Jews of Chios during that century was the earthquake of April 4, 1881. Twenty-one of them were killed, eight disappeared, and twenty-four were crippled. The Alliance Israélite Universelle sent aid to the island through its representatives at Smyrna. The catastrophe had some good results, however, for the ghetto, situated within the walls of the castle, was completely destroyed, and the Jews, determining to live outside the city, settled in the Frankish quarter, among the Greek Orthodox, Catholic, and Protestant inhabitants.

The Jews of Chios number only 200 in a total of 62,000 inhabitants, including Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholics, and Mohammedans. In 1885 they built, through public subscription, a fine synagogue in the Frankish quarter. As the community is too small to be elaborately organized, it has a lay president who guards the interests of his coreligionists before the government, and raises a tax (the "gabelle") on meat, which is the only revenue for paying the expenses of the synagogue and for contributing to the support of the two Jewish schools. The schools, which are both in the same building, are subsidized by the Alliance Israélite Universelle; together they count seventy pupils, fifteen of whom are Gentiles. Since 1890 Moses Issachar has been president of the community, succeeding his brother Judah, who died in that year.

D. M. Fr.

CHIQUITILLA. See Gikatilla.

CHISDAI. See Ḥasdai; Ḥisdai.

CHITTIM (KITTIM). See Cyprus.

CHIUN: A word occurring in connection with "Siccuth" in Amos v. 26. Scholars have long been puzzled to know whether in this passage they are common nouns or proper names. "Siccuth" is probably the Assyrian "Sakkut" (Schrader, "K. A. T." pp. 442 *et seq.*), an epithet of Ninib and Anu. Ninib was identified with Saturn (Jensen, "Kosmologie," p. 136), the Assyrian name of which was "Kaiman" ("Kaiwan"). The Septuagint and Syriac readings give ground for holding that כיון originally stood in the Hebrew text in place of כיון (compare Barton, "Studies of Oriental Club of Philadelphia," p. 113; and Nowack, "Kleine Propheten," p. 143), the pointing of the latter being a Masoretic distortion on the pattern of שקוץ ("abomination"). "Sakkut" and "Kaiwan" occur together in Rawlinson, "Inscriptions of Western Asia," iv. pl. 52, col. 4, line 9, in a list of epithets (compare Zimmern, "Beitr. zur Kenntniss der Babylonischen Religion," i. 10). Probably they were introduced together here through Babylonian influence in a verse regarded by Wellhausen ("Kleine Propheten," *ad loc.*) and Nowack, on the basis of II Kings xvii. 30, as a gloss. Budde ("Religion of Israel to the Exile," pp. 67 *et seq.*) regards the verse as genuine, and the Babylonian influence as potent in the wilderness. Reuss and W. R. Smith ("Old Testament and the Jewish Church," 2d ed., p. 294) translate the two words as common nouns and find no trace of foreign worship in the verse, which they regard as genuine. This view is not so probable as the other.

J. JR. G. A. B.

CHMIELNICKI, BOGDAN ZINOVI: Hetman of the Zaporogian Cossacks; born about 1595; died at Chigirin Aug. 16, 1675. Unlike many other Little-Russian pupils of the Jesuits, Chmielnicki did not embrace Roman Catholicism, but early in life became a champion of the Greek Orthodox faith, to which most of the Cossacks and the Little-Russian peasants belonged. While still in the subordinate position of a "sotski" (an officer over a hundred) of the Cossacks, subject to the Polish magnate Koniecpolski, he was deprived by Chaplinski, the bailiff of Chigirin, of his estate of Subotovo. Chaplinski availed himself of Chmielnicki's absence to make a

raid on the place, during which the young son of the owner received injuries from which he ultimately died, and Chmielnicki's (second) wife was carried off. In this raid Chaplinski was aided by the leaseholder of Chigirin, the Jew Zachariah Zabilenki. At another time, it is related, a Jew reported to the Polish government a secret treaty concluded by Chmielnicki with the Tatars. These personal indignities and injuries embittered him against the Poles and the Jews. Still, he was not without friends among the Jews themselves; for, according to Nathan Hannover, the Jew Jacob Zabilenki—possibly a relative of Zachariah—aided him to escape from prison when arrested by Koniecpolski.

It appears, therefore, that though his personal resentment influenced his decision to rid the Ukraine of the Jews, yet there is little doubt that it was his great ambition to become the ruler of the liberated Ukraine, which was the main motive that led him to instigate the uprising of the Little-Russian people against the Poles and the Jews. For years the people of Little Russia had been oppressed by the Polish landlord. Unwilling to attend to the details of administration himself, Chmielnicki made the Jew a go-between in his transactions with the peasants of Little Russia. He sold and leased certain privileges to Jews for a lump sum, and, while enjoying himself at the court, left it to the Jewish leaseholder and collector to become the embodiment of hatred to the oppressed and long-suffering peasant. The accumulated store of animosity was utilized by Chmielnicki in directing his cruel measures against the Jews. He told the people that the Poles had sold them as slaves "into the hands of the accursed Jews." With this as their battle-cry, the Cossacks let loose their wildest passions and most ruthlessly massacred about three hundred thousand Jews with such cruelties as the world had seldom witnessed (1648–1649).

For this great catastrophe the Jews might have prepared themselves had they taken warning from the uprising of the Cossacks in 1637, when about 2,000 Jewish leaseholders and tax-collectors were killed in Pereyaslav and its vicinity. This inexcusable short-sightedness may be accounted for in part by the influence of the cabalistic teachings which dominated the minds of the South-Russian Jews, and which, according to the interpretation of the Zohar by the cabalists, brought them to believe firmly in the coming of the Messiah in 1648.

It may be added that, in spite of his numerous massacres of Poles and Jews, Chmielnicki failed to secure the liberation of the Ukraine. See also Cossacks and Little Russia. H. R.

CHOBA or **CHOBAI:** A town included among those which the Jews fortified against the attacks of Holofernes. It is mentioned in two places (Judith iv. 4; xv. 4, 5). Its connection with Jericho in Judith iv. 4 has induced Reland to look for it in the neighborhood of that city. He identifies it with Coabis. Conder ("Pal. Explor. Fund Memoirs," ii. 231) seeks to identify it with Al-Makhubbi.

E. G. H. G. B. L.

CHOIR: A collection of singers with trained voices who take part in divine service and who are separated from the congregation. The first choir mentioned in the Bible is the one organized by the Levites for the Temple service, to be accompanied by musicians. The choir also sang at the offering of public sacrifices ("when the burnt offering began, the song of the Lord began," II Chron. xxix. 27) and at the wine-libation (Maimonides, "Yad," Kele ha-Miḳdash, iii.). Two priests with silver trumpets gave the signal for the choir to begin (Tamid vii. 3).

The prophet Samuel and King David are said to have subdivided the Levites into twenty-four orders, each to serve a certain day (Ta'an. 27b; compare I Chron. xxv.). Some acted as doorkeepers, and others were engaged as either singers or musicians. Each one was assigned his post in the choir or orchestra, and was not permitted, under penalty, to assume the position of another.

Levitical Choir in the Temple.

Hence the choristers could not be instrumentalists, nor vice versa. Five years' preparation, from the age of twenty-five to thirty, was required of every Levite; this preparation included instruction in singing. This limitation, in vogue at the Tabernacle, was, according to the Talmud, eliminated in the Temple service, where ability to sing, and not age, was the qualification of the Levite chorister (Ḥul. 24a). At the dedication of Solomon's Temple the sons of the Levites accompanied the choir in singing the praise of God (II Chron. v. 13). These young Levites "sweetened" the music with their soprano voices, but were not permitted to use instruments, and were restricted from entering the priests' hall in the Temple before the adult Levites had begun to sing. They were not allowed to stand on the same platform with the latter, but had to take up a position on the ground below ('Ar. 13b). The Temple choir was composed of no less than twelve adult singers besides the young assistants.

The question whether vocal or instrumental music formed the principal service is decided in favor of the choir (Suk. 50b; Maimonides, *ib.*). Graetz infers that the twelve Levites mentioned in the Mishnah served in the dual capacity of singers and players ("Kritischer Commentar zu den Psalmen," p. 65, Breslau, 1882), which is contrary to Maimonides, who states: "The instrumentalists were not included in the number of twelve. . . . Others who stood there were playing the musical instruments" ("Yad," *ib.* iii. 3).

Women took an active part in choir-singing. At the exodus from Egypt, Miriam formed a chorus composed of women, and sounded the praise of God to the accompaniment of drums and dance-music. It is said: "God gave to Heman fourteen sons and three daughters. All these were under the hands of their father for song in the house of the Lord" (I Chron. xxv. 5), from which passage some writers erroneously infer that women were included in the Temple choir. But the words "all these" refer only to the sons, and not to the daughters, as is proved by the number of choir members mentioned in the list (*ib.* 7–31; Weisel, *ad loc.*). Ezra mentions 200 singing men and singing women among those that returned from Babylon to Jeru-

Female Choristers.

salem (Ezra ii. 65); but for the Temple service only the *sons* of Asaph are counted (*ib.* iii. 10; compare Neh. vii. 67–xi. 22). The women choristers, however, were heard in dirges in honor of the dead. "All the singing men and the singing women spake of Josiah in their lamentations" (II Chron. xxxv. 25). R. Meïr says those were the wives of the Levites (Pirḳe R. El. xvii.).

After Temple Times.

The Rabbis, after the destruction of the Second Temple, issued a decree prohibiting all instrumental or vocal music, as a sign of national mourning: "The ear that listens to music should be [barren] deaf; any house where there is song should eventually be destroyed" (Giṭ. 7a). Later on, however, R. Hai Gaon contended that this referred only to Arabian love-songs. Maimonides permitted the choir to sing in God's praise at the synagogue and at all religious feasts ("Yad," Ta'aniyot, v. 14; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Oraḥ Ḥayyim, 560, 3).

R. Isaiah Hurwitz (died in 1573 at Safed, Palestine) regrets the choir's custom of prolonging their singing at the end of the benedictions, thus interfering with the prompt response of "Amen" by the congregation; also their arbitrary connection and division of the words and syllables, which produce a wrong and meaningless reading. "Surely the choir of our holy Temple was sweet and pleasing both to God and to men, with due respect to precision and correct pronunciation of every letter of the words. This example we must follow" ("Shene Luḥot ha-Berit," p. 253b, Amsterdam, 1698). See also "Sefer Ḥasidim," § 158, on the necessity for singing prayers and the praises of God.

Scientific Musical Choir in Later Times.

The modern musical scale was introduced into the synagogue at Venice about 1600. Six to eight members, who became masters of music, formed a choir and sang on every holiday the "Hallel," "En Kelohenu," "'Alenu," "Yigdal," and "Adon 'Olam." Some members objected to this innovation; and the question, submitted in 1605, was decided favorably by R. Judah Aryeh Modena, who was supported by the opinion of the following rabbis: Benzion Ẓarfato, Leib Saraval, Baruch b. Samuel, Ezra Panu of Mantua, and Judah b. Moses of Venice ("Te'udat Shelomoh," xxiv.).

Solomon Ḥazzan of Metz, in his manual for cantors, admits that a cantor can not get along without choristers, "just as it is impossible for the earth to exist without wind"; but he deprecates the low character of some of the singers, and their misbehavior in frequenting drinking-places, in neglecting to pray in the synagogue daily, and in chatting during the prayers when they attend on Saturdays and holidays (*ib.* xxiii.). He admonishes the choir to be careful in singing the Sabbath "Zemirot" at home, lest it appear that they praise God for remuneration only (*ib.* xvi.).

The beginning of the nineteenth century gave birth to two extreme parties: the Neo-Ḥasidim in Poland and the Reformers in Germany. While diametrically opposite in their views, both agreed that singing in the house of prayer is an essential part of the service. The Ḥasidim, however, opposed the church music and the special, organized choir, as they all joined in singing at prayers and sang the "Zemirot" at home. On the other hand, the Reformers not only chose a trained choir, but, through the influence of Israel Jacobsohn at Berlin in 1817, introduced the organ to accompany them (see Organ); and afterward permitted even a mixed choir of men and women. This action, according to Graetz, "History of the Jews," v. 563–572, called out strong protests from the Orthodox rabbis headed by R. Moses Sofer, as being prohibited according to the Talmud: "to listen to the voice of woman is leading to lusting after her" (Ber. 24a; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Oraḥ Ḥayyim, 75, 3). The male choir is still maintained in Orthodox synagogues. [A far more important question than that raised by the employment of female choristers, is whether non-Jewish choristers of either sex should be engaged in a Jewish synagogue; whether the most sacred parts of the service should thus be sung by persons unable to enter into the spirit of the religious community which they represent. It is greatly to be deplored that this question has never received the serious consideration on the part of modern congregations which it really deserves.—K.]

Among Ḥasidim and Reformers.

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K. J. D. E.

CHOLERA ASIATICA (In Hebrew sometimes חלי רע, "the bad disease"): A specific and communicable disease, characterized by violent vomiting and purging. It prevails endemically in some parts of India, and from time to time is diffused epidemically throughout the world. The mortality is about 50 per cent of all the persons attacked. The first appearance of the disease in Europe occurred in 1817, when it broke out in Lower Bengal and thence spread over Europe, until it disappeared in 1823. Since then the disease has appeared in Europe on six different occasions; viz., in 1826, 1837, 1846, 1863, 1882, and 1892–96.

According to all the etiological factors, excepting Alcoholism, of course, the Jews should suffer from cholera more frequently than, or at least as often as, other races. But careful investigation has shown that during most of the epidemics Jews were affected to a lesser degree than non-Jews; indeed, during some epidemics they are said to have shown perfect immunity.

Immunity of Jews.

According to Boudin, the Jews in Algiers, notwithstanding the fact that they are overcrowded in small and dark dwellings, and often in underground cellars, enjoy better health than the inhabitants of other races. Thus during the cholera epidemic of 1844–45, the mortality per 1,000 of the population was as follows:

	1844	1845
Europeans	42.9	45.5
Mussulmans	32.4	40.8
Jews	21.6	36.1

During the epidemic of cholera in Budapest, Hungary, in 1851, while the mortality among Christians was 1.85 per cent, that among the Jews was only 0.257 per cent, or one-seventh as great. During the epidemic of 1866 there were in every 100 deaths in the general hospital 51.76 deaths from cholera, and in the Jewish hospital 34.0 only (Tormay).

From a pamphlet published in 1868 by Dr. Scalzi, professor of medicine in the University of Rome, it appears that in every 100 attacks of cholera in 1866, the Catholics had 69.13 deaths; the inhabitants belonging to other non-Jewish cults, 42.13; the Jews, 22.0 only. In proportion to the population the mortality from cholera would have been 0.45 per cent for the Jews, and 1 per cent for others.

Dr. Mopother of Dublin ("Revue Scientifique," 1881, p. 625), in one of his lectures on public hygiene, states that there was noted a surprising immunity of the Jews in Whitechapel, London, during recent and former epidemics of cholera; and Mr. Wolff, surgeon to the poor of the Spanish and Portuguese synagogues in London, thus refers to the immunity of the London Jews in 1849:

London Epidemics.

"They [the Jews] do not suffer from the depression caused by habitual intoxication. These circumstances in their favor enabled them during the epidemic of 1849 to enjoy an almost complete immunity from the disease, which raged with frightful violence in the immediate neighborhood of the district where they most congregate, and the sanitary conditions of which, as regards cleanliness, ventilation, etc., were decidedly unfavorable" ("Medical Times and Gazette," London, vol. vii., 1853, p. 356).

During some epidemics, however, the Jews are stated to have suffered severely. Thus, according to Hirsch, in Algiers and in Smyrna, in 1831, the Jewish population suffered more from cholera than the rest of the population. The same was the case in 1831 with the Jews in Poland, Jassy (Rumania), and many other places (Hirsch, "Handbuch der Historisch Geograph. Pathologie," Erlangen, 1851, i. 129). From evidence collected by Boudin the mortality of the Jews during the cholera epidemic in 1831 seems to have been perceptibly higher than that of the non-Jews; but thirteen years later (as shown above) the exact opposite was the case.

During the last epidemic of cholera in Europe (1891–96), there is also evidence that in some places at least the Jews enjoyed a relative immunity from the disease. Thus in 1892 in Hamburg, Germany, according to Dr. J. J. Reincke ("Deutsche Medicinische Wochenschrift," 1893, p. 193), during the months of August and September there were buried in the general cemetery 6.4 times the average number of dead for the three previous years; in the Jewish cemetery, only 3.5 times as many. According to Dr. Georg Buschan ("Globus," lxvii. 47), there is evidence tending to show that in Berlin, Breslau, etc., the Jews suffered during the recent epidemics of cholera in Germany in a lesser degree and had a lower mortality than non-Jews.

Similar evidence is given concerning Russia. During the cholera epidemic in Nicolayev the Jews had a lower rate of morbidity and mortality than the non-Jews. In that city there were at that time about 75,000 inhabitants, of whom about 15,000 were Jews; that is, one Jew to four non-Jews. Among the latter the scourge attacked 756, of whom 382 died; among the former only 36 were attacked, and but 13 of these succumbed ("Vrach," 1893, xiv. 115).

In Germany and Russia.

Dr. Barazhnikov reported to the St. Petersburg Medical Society that during the epidemic of cholera in 1894 in the government of Mohilev the morbidity among the Jews was greater, and the disease, as a rule, ran a severer course, than among the non-Jews; but the percentage of mortality was smaller among the Jews. He adds that the fact must not be forgotten that the Jews in that locality, although generally poorer, are more intelligent than their neighbors, and take better care of their health ("Proceedings of the St. Petersburg Medical Society," 1895, p. 206).

As to the causes of this comparative immunity of the Jews from cholera, authorities differ. Some think that it is due to the Jews' regular habits of life, and to the fact that they are engaged mostly in occupations and professions which do not expose them to infection (Lombroso, Bordier, Lagneau, Boudin, Hirsch, etc.). But, as Buschan aptly points out, while this may hold good in epidemics of other infectious diseases, in the case of cholera the Jew should, according to present knowledge as to the propagation of the disease, be attacked more frequently. The Jewish population is engaged mostly in occupations which favor the infection of cholera. Second-hand clothing is usually bought by the Jews, and, according to Buschan, during epidemics of cholera they do an exceptionally large business of this kind.

Buschan points out that the immunity of the Jews is due to a racial characteristic of a somatic nature, which enables them to resist infection better than the Aryan races. On the other hand, those who argue that the immunity is not due to any racial characteristic, point out that the disease attacks preferably people addicted to the abuse of alcohol, who suffer (as a result of this) from the various forms of dyspepsia common among habitual drinkers, and that people of temperate habits are seldom attacked. The Jews are known all over the world as an abstemious people, and their immunity is commensurate with their sobriety. The latter view seems to be borne out by facts observed by physicians practising among the Jews.

Varying Opinions Respecting Immunity.

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J. M. Fr.

CHOR-ASHAN (R. V. **Cor-Ashan**): This is, perhaps, better given, with the earlier manuscripts (Baer), as "Bor-ashan." The Septuagint also confirms the latter spelling, although one reading gives "Beersheba." Chor-ashan (I Sam. xxx. 30) or Bor-ashan is probably the place known as ASHAN.

E. G. H. G. B. L.

CHORIN (CHORINER), AARON: Hungarian rabbi; born at Weisskirchen, Moravia, Aug. 3, 1766; died at Arad, Hungary, Aug 24, 1844. At the age of fourteen he studied in the yeshibah of Rabbi Jeremias in Mattersdorf, Hungary, and two years later at Prague in the higher Talmudical school of Ezekiel Landau. Here he also learned German. Chorin married Dec. 26, 1783, and entered commerce; but his business career being unsuccessful, he accepted the post of rabbi at Arad in the spring of 1789, which position he occupied till his death.

In 1798 Chorin published his first pamphlet, "Imre No'am" (Words of Pleasantness), in which he argued that as the sturgeon had scales it was permitted as food according to Scripture.

His First Work.

His opinion, although following that of Ezekiel Landau and other authorities, was strongly opposed by Mordecai Benet and his partizans. Rabbi Isaac Krieshaber of Páks wrote a refutation, "Makḳel No'am" (Staff of Pleasantness), which called forth a second pamphlet by Chorin, "Shiryon Ḳaskassim" (Coat of Mail), Prague, 1799.

By his determined opposition to the traditional usages in Hungary, Chorin incurred the hostility of most of his colleagues. In the spring of 1802 he journeyed to the Somogy district. The favorable impression which his sermons made upon his Jewish hearers there induced him to consider himself as the future rabbi of this district, and on the title-page of a pamphlet he published he assumed this title. The rich and prominent Moses Lakenbacher, president of the congregation of Gross-Kanizsa, promised Chorin his influence with his brethren of the district; but when Lakenbacher became aware of the strong opposition of the conservative party against the reformer, he soon turned against him.

At Prague in 1803 Chorin published "'Emek ha-Shaweh" (Vale of the Plain), a work divided into three parts. The first and most important part, "Rosh Amanah" (Head of the Perennial Stream), in which he granted to the spiritual guides of the people authority to modify the traditional laws and adapt them to the requirements of the time, led to much opposition to him. Chorin treats of Maimonides' thirteen articles of faith, and gives evidence of knowledge rare among his Hungarian contemporaries. Next to the Halakah, Chorin also interpreted the Haggadah in a philosophical way. This method he applied in like manner to the Zohar, which he, far from all mysticism, considered as a rich source of speculative knowledge. This view referred only to the theoretic or intuitive, and not the practical, Cabala, the belief in which he considered as contradictory to sound reason. At the beginning of this book are printed the approbation of Rabbi Moses Münz and a eulogistic Hebrew poem of Rabbi Moses Kunitz. This work gave great offense to the Orthodox party, which thwarted the publication of a second edition, for which Chorin had prepared many corrections and additions. Mord. Benet wrote to the Arad congregation that the book contained heresies and must be burned. The congregation, however, stood by their rabbi; but some of its members sided with Benet, and their leader, a rich man, publicly insulted Chorin while he was preaching. The Arad board now applied to Moses Münz to certify that the book contained no heresies. Having given his approbation to the author, Münz was in a great dilemma, since he was urged by the Orthodox party to condemn Chorin and to inflict upon him an exemplary punishment. He concluded to yield to the insinuations, and Sept. 1, 1805, he invited two rabbis to come to Alt-Ofen to form with him a tribunal before which Chorin was summoned. The session of the court was prolonged to the next day, but then Münz failed to appear. Samuel Butschowitz, rabbi of Assod, now pronounced sentence that "Chorin must retract the contents of his book. Should he refuse to do so, his beard will be cut off as a penalty for his heretical transgressions." Thereupon Chorin, whom the populace had stoned in the courtyard of the synagogue, declared that he subordinated his views to those of the theologians of his time, and desired that his book be suppressed. The court also decreed a reduction of Chorin's salary, but the board of his congregation indignantly rejected this decree. Chorin appealed to the imperial government, which, June 24, 1806, annulled the judgment and condemned the leader of his adversaries at Arad to pay the expenses of the lawsuit; the same was also to be punished for his scandalous conduct on Sabbath Teshubah, 1804. Chorin declared that he forgave his adversary, and declined his claims for compensation of the expenses. To avoid further trouble, he determined to give up writing.

Opposition by the Orthodox.

Sentence Pronounced.

The Reform movement among the Jews of Hamburg met his hearty approval. In "Ḳin'at ha-Emet" (Zeal for Truth), a paper written April 7, 1818, and published in the collection "Nogah ha-Ẓedeḳ" (Light of Righteousness), he declared himself in favor of reforms, such as German prayers, the use of the organ, and other liturgical modifications. The principal prayers, the Shema', and the eighteen benedictions, however, should be said in Hebrew, he declared, as this language keeps alive the belief in the restoration of Israel. He also pleaded for opening the temple for daily service. Influenced by Moses Münz, Chorin recalled this writing Feb. 19, 1819; but a year later he published "Dabar be-'Itto" (A Word in Its Time), in which he reaffirmed the views expressed in "Ḳin'at ha-Emet," and pleaded strongly for the right of Reform. A German translation by Löb Herzfeld appeared at Vienna. This directed upon him the attention of the progressive party in Austria and in Germany. Michael Lazar Biedermann, a prominent man, proposed the appointment of Chorin at the new temple to be erected at Vienna; but the

Attitude Toward Reform.

government being opposed to it, Mannheimer was elected instead.

Consulted by Baden.

The government of the grand duchy of Baden asked Chorin (Feb. 3, 1821), through the banker S. Haber, for his opinion about the duties of a rabbi, and about the reforms in the Austrian states. Chorin answered by writing "Iggeret Elasaf," or "Letter of an African Rabbi to His Colleagues in Europe," which was published by M. I. Landau, Prague, 1826. In it he stated that the Torah comprised religious truths and religious laws, the latter partly applicable only in Palestine, partly obligatory everywhere. These may be temporarily suspended, but not entirely abolished, by a competent authority, such as a synod. Only ordinances and precautionary laws which are of human origin may be abrogated in conformity with the circumstances of the time. As for mere customs and usages (minhagim), the government, after having consulted Jewish men of knowledge, may modify or abolish them; but in no other way may it interfere with religious affairs. Chorin also pleaded for the establishment of consistories, schools, a theological seminary, and for the promotion of agriculture and professions among the Jews. Some of these ideas he carried out in his own congregation, which included a great number of mechanics. He succeeded in founding a school, and introducing liturgical reforms into the synagogue; even an organ was installed at his instance. He permitted the eating of rice and pulse during the days of Passover.

To his theory of a synod regulating and modifying Jewish laws and customs, Chorin always adhered. In his "Treue Bote" (Prague, 1831) he declared himself against the transfer of the Sabbath to Sunday, but expressed the opinion that, considering the requirements of our time, synods might mitigate the severity of the Sabbatical laws, especially in regard to traveling and writing.

In another treatise, "Hillel," which appeared at Ofen, 1835, he interpreted the prophetic promises about the reuniting of Israel to signify the establishing of a supreme religious authority at Jerusalem. "Hillel," in the form of a dialogue, and other contributions of his pen were published in the fourth volume of "Bikkure ha-'Ittim." In 1819 he wrote "Abaḳ Sofer" (The Dust of a Writer), published by M. I. Landau, Prague, 1828, containing glosses about Yoreh De'ah, Eben ha-'Ezer, the phylacteries, an exposition of Prov. i. 10 *et seq.*, and two riddles.

In his "Yeled Zeḳunim" (Child of Old Age), Vienna, 1839, partly in Hebrew, partly in German, he again strongly advocated practical reforms in regard to railroad traveling on the Sabbath and on holidays, the abridgment of the seven days of mourning, the use of the organ, etc., and gave a short sketch of his life. His biographer, Leopold Löw, wrote an introduction to this work.

In consequence of the Damascus affair in 1840, Chorin republished the apology written 1753 by Sonnenfels, in which the author proves the falsity of the blood accusation. Chorin added an introduction and Löw a biographical notice.

On July 26, 1844, during the last weeks of his life, he wrote from his sick-bed a declaration expressing his full accord with the rabbinical conference at Brunswick, and Aug. 11 he sent an address to the conference of Hungarian rabbis at Páks.

He took an active part in the efforts for Jewish emancipation, and was very influential with the state authorities. His grandson, Franz Chorin, was Hungarian deputy.

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L. G. S. MAN.

CHORIN, FRANZ: Hungarian deputy; grandson of Aaron Chorin; born at Arad May 11, 1842. He studied law at Arad, Budapest, and Vienna, and began practise in his native city, where he soon became vice-president of the bar association. He was elected in 1870 as representative of the city of Arad to the Hungarian Parliament, of which he was a member continuously for twenty-one years. He is recognized as one of the leading orators and jurists of the country. The Exchange Law of 1876 is entirely his work. For many years he agitated for the modification of Hungarian criminal procedure in accordance with the more liberal English laws. His efforts culminated in success when, in 1896, he was appointed to draft and report upon this bill, which was subsequently passed by the House. In Parliament he had often the opportunity of defending his coreligionists, and contributed largely to the eradication of anti-Jewish prejudice. In 1881 he became director of the coal-mining company of Salgótarján; since then he has devoted himself to labor questions. The city of Szatmár, which he represented in the Hungarian Parliament from 1895 to 1901, elected him an honorary citizen in 1902, in recognition of his public services.

S. L. V.

CHORNY, JOSEPH JUDAH: Russian traveler; born at Minsk April 20, 1835; died at Odessa April 28, 1880. His parents destined him for the wine-growing industry; but after having been graduated as a viticulturalist, he, owing to an indomitable passion for travel and exploration, abandoned this career. For eight years Chorny, with practically no means, explored a great part of the Caucasus, Transcaucasia, and many Asiatic countries; studying everywhere the life, customs, and history of the inhabitants, and chiefly those of the Jews. In 1875, on returning from his travels, he endeavored to publish his studies on the Jews of the countries he had visited, but failed to find the necessary means. He resumed the life of an explorer; and after five years of hardships and privations returned, in ill health and poverty, to Odessa, where he died shortly after his arrival.

Chorny was highly appreciated by the officials of the Russian government, and his studies on the Caucasus and Transcaucasia, published in various Russian papers, attracted the attention of the minister of the interior, Loris Melikov, who recommended Chorny to the protection of the governor-general of Odessa. The most noteworthy of Chorny's

studies were: "Kratkiya Istoricheskiya Svyedeniya o Gorskikh Yevreyakh Terskoi Oblasti," Terskiya Vyedomosti, 1869; "Gorskie Yevrei," in "Kavkaz," 1870, vol. iii.; "On the Caucasian Jews," in "Den," 1870, No. 38.

Chorny bequeathed his manuscripts to the Society for Promoting Culture Among the Russian Jews; and the latter commissioned A. Harkavy to edit them. They were published with Harkavy's notes under the title "Sefer ha-Massa'ot" (Book of Travels), St. Petersburg, 1884.

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H. R. I. Br.

CHOSAMEUS: One of "the sons of Annas" that had "strange wives" (I Esd. ix. 32). The name can not be identified with any in the corresponding list of Ezra x. 32. It is, most probably, a combination of the last part of "Maluch" with the first part of "Shemariah," names found in the Ezra list, the remaining syllables of these names having been elided.

E. G. H. G. B. L.

CHOSEN PEOPLE.—Biblical Data: Name for the Jewish people expressive of the idea of their having been chosen by God to fulfil the mission of proclaiming His truth among all the nations. This choice does not imply a superior claim, but a superior duty and responsibility on the part of the Jewish people, inasmuch as they have been pledged by the covenant which God concluded with Abraham, their ancestor, and again with the entire nation on Sinai, to testify, by precept and example, to the truth revealed to them, to lead a holy life as God's priest-people, and, if needs be, sacrifice their very lives for the sake of this truth. In this peculiar sense they are called God's own people; their religious genius, as manifested in their patriarchs, prophets, inspired poets, sages, and heroes, having rendered them the chosen people of religion to a far greater extent than the artistic and philosophical genius of the Greeks made that nation the chosen people of art and philosophy, or the juridical and political genius of the Romans made them the chosen people of law and politics.

Unlike any other nation, the Jewish people began their career conscious of their life-purpose and world-duty as the priests and teachers of a universal religious truth; and their whole history, with all its tragic sternness, was and to the end of time will be devoted to the carrying out of this purpose and the discharge of this duty. This view is expressed in all the Biblical and rabbinical passages referring to Israel as the chosen people, or to Abraham as their ancestor. "For I have singled him out [A. V., "have known him"] to the end that he may command his children and his house after him, that they may keep the way of the Lord to do justice and judgment" (Gen. xviii. 1, Hebr.; compare Neh. ix. 7, "Thou art the Lord, the God who didst choose Abram").

Consciousness of Selection.

That Israel's character as the chosen people is conditioned by obedience to God's commandments is stated in the very words of the Sinai covenant: "Now therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people: for all the earth is mine: and ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation" (Ex. xix. 5, 6). "The Lord did not set his love upon you, nor choose you, because ye were more in number than any people; for ye were the fewest of all people: but because the Lord loved you, and because he would keep the oath which he had sworn unto your fathers" (Deut. vii. 7, 8). The great obligation imposed upon Israel as the chosen people is especially emphasized by the prophet Amos (iii. 2): "You only have I singled out [R. V., "known"] of all the families of the earth: therefore will I visit upon you all your iniquities." Compare Deut. xiv. 2: "Thou art an holy people unto the Lord thy God, and the Lord hath chosen thee to be a peculiar people unto himself, above all peoples that are upon the face of the earth," and *ib.* xxiv. 18, 19, R. V.

Conditions of Choice.

Particularly is the world-mission of the chosen people dwelt upon by Deutero-Isaiah, the seer of the Exile (Isa. xli.; xlii. 1–7; xliii. 10, "Ye are my witnesses, saith the Lord, and my servant whom I have chosen"; *ib.* verse 21, R. V., "The people which I formed for myself that they might set forth my praise"; compare xliv. 1, 2; xlix. 6, 7).

God's Witnesses and Their Inheritance.

As God's chosen people, Israel is also called His "inheritance" (Deut. iv. 20; ix. 26, 29; xxxii. 9; Ps. xxxiii. 12: "The people whom he hath chosen for his own inheritance"; I Kings viii. 53, Jer. x. 16; and elsewhere). As the children of the Patriarchs they are His chosen ones (Ps. cv. 6).

——**In Rabbinical Literature:** According to the Rabbis, Israel has not been chosen as the people of the Law on account of its racial superiority. "Israel is of all nations the most wilful or headstrong one [עז שבאומות], and the Torah was to give it the right scope and power of resistance, or else the world could not have withstood its fierceness" (Beẓah, 25b). "The Lord offered the Law to all nations; but all refused to accept it except Israel" (Mek. Yitro, Pes. R. K. 103b, 186a, 200a). "A Gentile who consecrates his life to the study and observance of the Law ranks as high as the high priest," says R. Meïr, by deduction from Lev. xviii. 5; II Sam. vii. 19; Isa. xxvi. 2; Ps. xxxiii. 1, cxviii. 20, cxxv. 4, where all stress is laid not on Israel, but on man or the righteous one (Sifra, Aḥare Mot, 86b; Bacher, "Ag. Tan." ii. 31). Israel is likened to the olive. Just as this fruit yields its precious oil only after being much pressed and squeezed, so Israel's destiny is one of great oppression and hardship, in order that it may thereby give forth its illuminating wisdom (Ex. R. xxvi.). Poverty is the quality most befitting Israel as the chosen people (Ḥag. 9b). Only on account of its good works is Israel among the nations "as the lily among thorns" (Cant. R. ii. 2), or "as wheat among the chaff" (Midr. Teh. i. 4; Weber's "System der Altsynagogalen Theologie," etc., pp. 59–69, is full of glaring errors and misstatements on the subject of Israel as the chosen people).

In the Jewish liturgy, praise is frequently offered to God for having chosen Israel from among all the

nations of the earth: in Ahabah Rabbah, in the benediction before the reading from the Law, and in the seven benedictions of the holy days and New Moon; concerning which see Geiger's "Jüd. Zeit." vii. 55; and Einhorn, in "Protocolle der Zweiten Rabbinerversammlung," p. 75, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1845.

In the Liturgy.

"The character of Israel as the chosen people," writes Güdemann ("Das Judenthum," 1902, p. 44) "does not involve the inferiority of other nations. The universality of Israel's idea of God is sufficient proof against such an assumption. Every nation requires a certain self-consciousness for the carrying out of its mission. Israel's self-consciousness was tempered by the memory of its servitude in Egypt and the recognition of its being 'the servant of the Lord.' It was the noblesse oblige of the God-appointed worker for the entire human race."

E. C. K.

CHOSROES (KHOSRU) II. PARWIZ ("The Conqueror"): King of Persia from 591 to 628. Chosroes, on the plea of avenging the death of his father-in-law, the Byzantine emperor Maurice (Mauritius), who had been murdered by the usurper Phocas (602), invaded Asia Minor and Syria at the head of a large army. The Jews joined the Persians in great numbers under the leadership of Benjamin of Tiberias, a man of immense wealth, by whom they were enlisted and armed. The Tiberian Jews, with those of Nazareth and the mountain cities of Galilee, marched on Jerusalem with the Persian division commanded by Shahrbaraz. Later they were joined by the Jews of southern Palestine; and supported by a band of Arabs, the united forces took Jerusalem by storm (July, 614). Ninety thousand Christians are said to have perished. The story that the Jews purchased the Christian prisoners from their Persian captors and put them to death in cold blood is a pure invention. In conjunction with the Persians, the Jews swept through Palestine, destroyed the monasteries which abounded in the country, and expelled or killed the monks. Bands of Jews from Jerusalem, Tiberias, Galilee, Damascus, and even from Cyprus, united and undertook an incursion against Tyre, having been invited by the 4,000 Jewish inhabitants of that city to surprise and massacre the Christians on Easter night. The Jewish army is said to have consisted of 20,000 men. The expedition, however, miscarried, as the Christians of Tyre learned of the impending danger, and seized the 4,000 Tyrian Jews as hostages. The Jewish invaders destroyed the churches around Tyre, an act which the Christians avenged by killing two thousand of their Jewish prisoners. The besiegers, to save the remaining prisoners, withdrew.

The immediate results of these wars filled the Jews with joy. Many Christians became Jews through fear. A Sinaitic monk embraced Judaism of his own free will, and became a vehement assailant of his former belief.

The Palestinian Jews were free from the Christian yoke for about fourteen years; and they seem to have deluded themselves with the hope that Chosroes would resign Jerusalem and a province to them, in order that they might establish a Jewish commonwealth. Not only did Chosroes, however, do nothing to promote the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth, but, on the contrary, it is probable that he taxed the Jews oppressively.

Thus there arose great discord between the allies, which ended in the deportation of many Palestinian Jews to Persia. This treatment caused the Jews to go over to the Roman emperor Heraclius, who had succeeded Phocas, and who concluded a treaty (627), promising them amnesty and other advantages. Chosroes, defeated by Heraclius in a series of battles, fled from his capital, but was seized and, after a confinement of four days, executed (Feb. 28, 628).

Results of the Invasion.

Bibliography: Th. Nöldeke, *Ancient Iran*, s.v. *Persia*, in *Encyc. Brit.*; Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*, v. 23–27, note 8, pp. 393–396.

K. A. R.

CHOTZNER, JOSEPH: English rabbi and author; born at Cracow, Austria, May 11, 1844; educated at the Breslau rabbinical seminary and the University of Breslau. After his ordination Chotzner became the first rabbi of the congregation at Belfast, Ireland, officiating from 1870 to 1880; and he again held the rabbinate there from 1892 to 1897. In the mean time (1880–92) he had become house master and teacher of Hebrew at Harrow School, where several Jewish boys had recently entered. The experiment was made of placing all of them in a separate house under the supervision of Dr. Chotzner. After some twelve years' experience it was found more expedient to spread the Jewish boys among their comrades, and Dr. Chotzner left Harrow for Belfast. Since 1897 he has been lecturer at Montefiore College, Ramsgate.

Chotzner is the author of: (1) "Lel Shimmurim" (The Night of Observances), a collection of satirical poems on certain Hebrew superstitions, Breslau, 1864; (2) "The Songs of Mirza Schaffy," translated into Hebrew, *ib.* 1868; (3) "Modern Judaism" (1876); (4) "Humor and Irony of the Hebrew Bible," 1883; (5) "Zikronot" (Records), 1885.

His son, **Alfred James Chotzner,** was gold medalist at Cambridge University, and subsequently entered the Indian civil service.

Bibliography: C. D. Lippe, *Bibliographisches Lexikon*, i. 66.

J. E. Ms.

CHOVEVEI ZION (Lovers of Zion): Associations, in Europe and the United States, of persons interested in agricultural settlement of Jews in Palestine and in the connection of Jews with the future of the Holy Land.

This movement, which was the predecessor of political Zionism (see Basel Congress), had as its sponsors a number of men living in different countries, but whose common interest in and observations of the phenomena of Jewish life, stimulated by the persecution of the Jews in Rumania prior to 1880, and more recently in Russia, led to the foundation of organizations like the Chovevei Zion Association of England, whose objects are:

1. To foster the "national idea" in Israel.
2. To promote the colonization of Palestine and

neighboring territories by Jews by establishing new colonies, or by assisting those already established.

3. To diffuse the knowledge of Hebrew as a living language.

4. To better the moral, intellectual, and material status of Israel.

5. The members of the association pledge themselves to render cheerful obedience to the laws of the lands in which they live, and as good citizens to promote their welfare as far as lies in their power.

The appeal from Palestine to Jews to settle there as agriculturists, made in 1867, went unheeded. But from 1879 on, there were active in the advocacy of colonization Dr. Lippe and Pineles in Rumania, Lilienblum and Leon Pinsker in Russia, a non-Jewish Syrian and Palestinian Association in London, and Laurence Oliphant. The idea of agricultural settlement in Palestine, tested first by the founding of the colony of Samarin by the Rumanian Chovevei Zion, was voiced in 1881 by N. L. Lilienblum in an article in the "Razsvyet" entitled "The Jewish Question and the Holy Land." The most serious objection to the new idea came from those who feared that resettlement in Palestine would mean the observance of the 613 commandments and the rebuilding of the Temple. Charles Netter, who subsequently became the leading exponent of the agricultural settlement idea, opposed the new movement—which had excited the enthusiastic interest of the Jews of Russia—on the ground that Palestine was unsuitable for colonization.

Baron Edmund de Rothschild having agreed to pay the expenses of six colonists to Palestine, the movement, initiated by Pinsker and supported by Rabbi Mohilewer of Byelostock, took practical shape. The Odessa Central Committee, which had been called into existence in 1881, and which was now recognized by the Russian government, went no further in the direction of active propaganda than to send Pinsker and Mohilewer upon a tour of private and public agitation throughout Europe.

However, the movement spread with the emigration from Russia. Various societies with a similar purpose were founded at Berlin (Ezra), Vienna (Kadimah), London (B'nei Zion, 1887), and America (Shove Zion in New York, Chovevei Zion in Philadelphia, 1891).

In 1890 it was recognized that some endeavor should be made to give form and coherence to these various movements, and Dr. Haffkine, with M. Meyerson, encouraged by the prospect of financial support from Baron Edmund de Rothschild, organized the Paris Central Committee. The actual leadership of the movement, however, remained with the Odessa committee, which was well supported, and which kept in close touch with those who had already settled in Palestine. The movement, however, reached its zenith in 1893, when organizations existed in every country, except France, that had an appreciable Jewish population.

In December, 1892, the movement of Jews toward Palestine was checked by the Turkish authorities, who prohibited further immigration. Additional discouragement was caused by the difficulty of finding markets for the produce of the colonies, and also by the coloring given to the idea by such men as Colonel Goldsmid, who, at the head of the Chovevei Zion Association of England, with its military organizations, sought to give the movement a strong national tendency. In addition, the colonists were in constant need of support. The Hirsch Argentine Settlement followed, and affected the agitation in Western Europe. Though the colonies continued to find support, and though some new ones were founded the movement seemed, by 1894, to have spent its force.

Typical of the enthusiasm which the idea had once aroused was the mass-meeting held in London in 1892, on the advice of Sir Samuel Montagu, to petition the sultan, through Lord Rothschild and the British Foreign Office, for the right of settlement. A detailed plan was then worked out for colonization on a large and regulated scale.

The decline of the Chovevei Zion was consequent upon the suddenly created leadership, in 1896, of Dr. Theodor Herzl. Indirectly every Chovevei Zion championed, without formally adopting, his doctrine, and, indirectly, all were represented at the first Zionist congress. A more or less direct adherence to the Zionist movement, which had no sympathy for individual, sporadic colonization, was forced upon the old organizations by their members. But while they would not disavow the nationalist standpoint, they declined to become a medium of the new propaganda. A conference, the first of its kind in London, was held (March, 1898) in the Finsbury (Clerkenwell) town-hall, and lasting twelve hours; it decided upon reorganization, and accepted the leadership of the Vienna Executive Committee created by the previous congress. This was typical of the process of transition from a philanthropic to an avowed political movement, which continued until the Minsker Conference (September, 1902), when the Russian Chovevei Zion associations without exception accepted the platform of the Zionist congresses.

The literature of the movement is extensive, but scattered. A vast number of polemical pamphlets have been published, as well as brochures on colonization and propagandist literature and on the fostering of Hebrew as a living tongue, which must be included in the literary efforts of the Chovevei Zion (see Zionism).

Bibliography: *Palestina* (organ of the Chovevi Zion Association of England), 1891-98; *Report of Proceedings Clerkenwell Town Hall Conference*, 1898; *The Maccabæan*, i., ii., and iii., 1901-02.

E. C. J. de H.

CHOYNSKI, JOSEPH: American heavyweight pugilist; born at San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 8, 1868. His first appearance in the prize-ring was in 1884, when he met and was defeated by J. J. Corbett in one round. He has encountered most of the prominent pugilists; and among those whom he has defeated, or with whom he has fought drawn battles, have been Dan Creedon, "Kid" McCoy, James Jeffries, T. Sharkey, and Steve O'Donnell. Choynski has fought more than fifty battles, of which he has lost but seven.

A. F. H. V.

CHRIST (Greek, Χριστός): Septuagint translation of Hebrew "Mashiah" ("Messiah" = The Anointed).

applied by Christians exclusively to Jesus as the Messiah (see JESUS OF NAZARETH and MESSIAH).

J. K.

CHRISTIAN: A word denoting a follower of Jesus as the Messiah or Christ. It originated, according to Acts xi. 26, in Antioch, the Syrian capital, where, shortly after the failure of the Hellenistic movement in Jerusalem (*ib.* viii. 1, xi. 19), the doctrine of the risen Christ was propagated among the non-Jewish population, and where the first important church of the Christians was established by Barnabas and Paul about the year 44. This early origin of the name has been questioned by F. C. Baar ("Paulus, der Apostel Jesu Christi," i. 103), Lipsius ("Ueber den Ursprung des Christennamens," 1873), Hausrath ("Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte," ii. 392), and Weizsäcker ("Apostolisches Zeitalter," p. 90), but is upheld by Keim ("Aus dem Urchristenthum," pp. 171–181). Josephus, in the well-known passage concerning Jesus ("Ant." xviii. 3, § 3; not all of which is spurious), speaks of the "tribe of Christians" as still existing.

It is certain that except in Acts xi. 26, xxvi. 28, and I Peter iv. 16—passages referring to the persecution of Christians in Rome—the name occurs nowhere in the New Testament or in the early Christian literature. In all probability it owes its origin to a Roman or Latin-speaking population. The fact that the early Christians met for worship in the name of Christ and called themselves those "of Christ" (I Cor. i. 12) induced the pagans to regard them as the partizan followers of a leader of that name. Hence they coined the name "Christiani" for them, as a nickname after the example of "Cæsarians" or "Pompeians." Unfamiliar with the name "Christus," the pagans pronounced the name also "Chrestos" (Χρηστός), and spoke of the Christians as "Chrestiani" (Tertullian, "Apologia," p. 3; Justin, "Apologia," i. 4; compare Suetonius, "Claudius," p. 25: "Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit"; Grätz, "Gesch." iii. 3, 449, is wrong in taking Chrestos for a special agitator in Rome).

The name came into general use among the Christians themselves during the second century, when it became endeared to them all the more because it entailed persecution and martyrdom (I Peter iv. 16; Luke iv. 22; Tacitus, "Hist." xv. 44; Suetonius, "Nero," p. 16; Pliny, "Epistles," x. 96; Ignatius, "Epistles to the Magnesians," p. 4; and elsewhere). They continued, however, to call one another also "the brethren" (Acts ix. 30, xi. 1; Rom. xvi. 14; Gal. i. 2), "the saints" (Acts ix. 13, 32; xxvi. 10; Rom. xii. 13, xvi. 15; Heb. vi. 10), "believers" or "faithful ones" (Acts x. 45; I Tim. iv. 3), "the elect" (Matt. xxiv. 22, 24; Mark xiii. 20–22; I Peter i. 1, 2), and in the earlier time also "the disciples" (Acts ix. 26, xiii. 52, xx. 30).

To the Jews, to whom the reported appearance of the Messiah was a matter of frequent occurrence in those times, when the good tidings of redemption from the domination of Rome were constantly expected (Josephus, "Ant." xvii. 10, §§ 6, 7; xviii. 4, § 1; xx. 5, § 1), the word "Christian" had no specific meaning; and when the followers of Jesus of Nazareth began to teach a "way" different from that of the mother-synagogue (Acts ix. 2; xviii. 25; xix. 9, 23; xxii. 4; xxiv. 14, 22), they received the name of "the sect of the Nazarenes" (Acts xxiv. 5, xxviii. 22; in Hebrew, "Noẓerim").

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hastings, *Dict. Bibl.* s.v.; Cheyne and Black, *Encyc. Bibl.* s.v.

K.

CHRISTIAN, GUSTAV CHRISTOPHER: German author and Christian missionary; born of Jewish parents; baptized in 1719; died at Nuremberg about 1735. He was the author of two Judæo-German works: "Yesod Emunat Yeshu'a" (The Basis of the Faith of Jesus), Berlin, 1712; and "Die Bekehrung Israels," Schwabach, 1722.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Sammlung von Alten und Neuen Theologischen Sachen*, 1723, p. 628; Wolf, *Bibl. Hebr.* iii., No. 1898b.

D. I. BR.

CHRISTIANI, FRIEDRICH ALBRECHT: Jewish convert to Christianity; born in the middle of the seventeenth century; died at Prossnitz at the beginning of the eighteenth. He was baptized in 1674 at Strasburg, having formerly borne the name of Baruch as ḥazzan at Bruchsal. After having occupied for twenty years the chair of Semitic studies at the University of Leipsic, he retired to Prossnitz, where he returned to Judaism.

Christiani's works comprise the following, all published at Leipsic: (1) "Zebaḥ Pesaḥ" (The Sacrifice of Easter), 1677, an account of the Jewish celebration of Easter in the time of Jesus and at the present; (2) "Se'udat Purim" (The Meal of Purim), 1677, a description of Jewish fasting and feasting; (3) "Ẓaḥaḳan Melummad u-Mitḥareṭ" (The Scholarly Gambler Repenting), 1683, a German translation of the work of Leon of Modena on gambling; (4) Abravanel's commentary on the first Prophets, with a Latin index, 1686; (5) the text of Jonah with Targum, Masorah, and the commentaries of Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Ḳimḥi, and Abravanel, and a Hebrew-Latin vocabulary, 1683; (6) "Iggeret" (Letter), 1676, the epistle of St. Paul to the Jews, translated from the Greek into Hebrew; (7) "Traktat von dem Glauben und Unglauben der Juden," 1713.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Schudt, *Jüdische Merckwürdigkeiten*, i. 252, 573; ii. 56, 88 *et seq.*; Reineccius, in the Introduction to *Traktat von dem Glauben und Unglauben der Juden*; Fürst, *Bibl. Jud.* i. 178; *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, iv. 213.

D. I. BR.

CHRISTIANI, MORITZ WILHELM: Author and Jewish convert to Christianity; born at Altorf at the end of the seventeenth century; died at Prague about 1740; probably a member of the Keyser family of Schleusingen (Bavaria). He claimed to have been a rabbi at Schleusingen before his baptism in 1715.

Christiani wrote: (1) "Kurze Beschreibung einer Jüdischen Synagoge und eine Beschreibung der Synagogalen Gebräuche" (Regensburg, 1723); (2) "Die Schlacht- und Visitir-Kunst" (*ib.* 1724); (3) "Ausgang von dem Verstockten Judenthum und Eingang zum Wahren Christenthum," an account of his conversion, his profession of faith, and several orations (Erfurt, 1720); (4) "Rede zur Einladung für Rabbinische Studien," written in Hebrew and German, inserted in Johann David Köhler's "Program" (Altorf, 1715); (5) a German translation of the

"Sefer ha-Minhagim" of Jacob Levi (MaHaRIL), published at Bremen in 1733.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wolf, *Bibl. Hebr.* iii. 665, iv. 895; Fürst, *Bibl. Jud.* i. 178.

D. I. BR.

CHRISTIANI, PABLO: Jewish convert of Montpellier, France; contemporary of NAḤMANIDES. After having been baptized, Christiani joined the Order of the Dominicans and attempted to convert his former coreligionists. Failing to make proselytes among the Jews of Provence, to whom he had been sent by his zealous general, Raymond de Penyaforte, Christiani planned the conversion by force of the Aragonian Jews. To this purpose he persuaded Raymond de Penyaforte to bring about a religious controversy between him and Naḥmanides, in which he felt assured of victory. Raymond de Penyaforte secured the consent of King James; and Naḥmanides was summoned to Barcelona, in 1263, to answer Christiani's questions.

The disputation took place in the king's palace, in the presence of the whole court and many ecclesiastical dignitaries, and lasted four days (July 20–24). As suggested by Naḥmanides, the subjects of discussion were three: (1) whether the Messiah had appeared; (2) whether the Messiah announced by the Prophets was to be considered as a god, or as a man born of human parents; and (3) whether the Jews or the Christians were in possession of the true faith. Christiani undertook to demonstrate from the Talmud itself the truth of the Christian faith, and feigned indignation at Naḥmanides when he declared that he did not believe in those and other Haggadic stories. Christiani hoped to profit by the reserve he felt Naḥmanides would be forced to maintain through fear of wounding the feelings of the Christian dignitaries who were present.

He was, however, deceived. Naḥmanides moderately but firmly refuted all the arguments of Christiani. As the disputation turned in favor of Naḥmanides the Jews of Barcelona, fearing the resentment of the Dominicans, entreated him to discontinue; but the king, whom Naḥmanides acquainted with the apprehensions of the Jews, desired him to proceed. The controversy was therefore resumed, and concluded in a complete victory for Naḥmanides, who was dismissed by the king with a gift of three hundred maravedis as a mark of his respect.

Naḥmanides Victorious.

The Dominicans, nevertheless, claimed the victory, and Naḥmanides felt obliged to publish the proceedings of the controversy. Obtaining a copy of this publication, Christiani selected from it certain passages which he construed as blasphemies against the Christian religion, and denounced them as such to Raymond de Penyaforte. A capital charge was then instituted, and a formal complaint against the work and its author was lodged with the king. Finally, Naḥmanides was sentenced to exile for two years, and his pamphlet was ordered to be burned.

The failure of the controversy did not, however, discourage Christiani. Provided through the agency of Raymond de Penyaforte with letters of protection from King James, he went on missionary journeys, compelling the Jews everywhere to listen to his speeches and to answer his questions, either in their synagogues or wherever else he pleased. They were even required to defray the expenses of his mission. In spite of the protection granted him by the king, Christiani did not meet with the success he had expected; he therefore went to Pope Clement IV. and denounced the Talmud, asserting that it contained passages derogatory to Jesus and Mary. The pope issued a bull (1264) to the Bishop of Tarragona, commanding him to submit all the copies of the Talmud to the examination of the Dominicans and Franciscans. A commission was then appointed by the king, Christiani being one of its members, to act as censors of the Talmud; and they obliterated all passages which seemed to them to be hostile to Christianity. In 1269 Christiani interceded with King Louis IX. of France and obtained from him the enforcement of the canonical edict requiring Jews to wear badges.

Christiani's Proselytizing Tour.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Wikkuaḥ ha-Ramban*; Wagenseil, *Disputatio R. Mosis Nachmanidis cum Fratre Paulo*, Altdorf, 1674; Carpzov, Prœmium to Raymond Martin's *Pugio Fidei*; Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*, vii. 120 *et seq.*

G. I. BR.

CHRISTIANITY IN ITS RELATION TO JUDAISM: Christianity is the system of religious truth based upon the belief that Jesus of Nazareth was the expected Messiah, or Christ, and that in him all the hopes and prophecies of Israel concerning the future have been fulfilled. While comprising creeds which differ widely from one another in doctrine and in practise, Christianity as a whole rests upon the belief in the God of Israel and in the Hebrew Scriptures as the word of God; but it claims that these Scriptures, which it calls the Old Testament, receive their true meaning and interpretation from the New Testament, taken to be the written testimonies of the Apostles that Jesus appeared as the end and fulfilment of all Hebrew prophecy. It furthermore claims that Jesus, its Christ, was and is a son of God in a higher and an essentially different sense than any other human being, sharing in His divine nature, a cosmic principle destined to counteract the principle of evil embodied in Satan; that, therefore, the death of the crucified Christ was designed by God to be the means of atonement for the sin inherited by the human race through the fall of Adam, the first man; and, consequently, that without belief in Jesus, in whom the Old Testament sacrifice is typified, there is no salvation. Finally, Christianity, as a world-power, claims that it represents the highest form of civilization, inasmuch as, having made its appearance when the nations of antiquity had run their course and mankind longed for a higher and deeper religious life, it regenerated the human race while uniting Hebrew and Greek to become the heir to both; and because it has since become the ruling power of history, influencing the life of all nations and races to such an extent that all other creeds and systems of thought must recede and pale before it.

These three claims of Christianity, which have frequently been asserted in such a manner as di-

rectly or implicitly to deny to Judaism, its mother religion, the purpose, if not the very right of its continued existence, will be examined from a historical point of view under three heads: (1) the New Testament claim as to the Christship of Jesus; (2) the Church's claim as to the dogmatic truths of Christianity, whether Trinitarian or Unitarian; and (3) the claim of Christianity to be the great power of civilization. The attitude taken by Jews toward Christianity in public debates and in literary controversies will be treated under POLEMICS AND POLEMICAL LITERATURE; while the NEW TESTAMENT as literature and the personality of JESUS OF NAZARETH will also be discussed in separate articles.

The Messianic Movement.

I. It is a matter of extreme significance that the Talmudic literature, which is based on tradition at least a century older than Christianity, has not even a specific name for the Christian belief or doctrine, but mentions it only occasionally under the general category of "Minim" (literally, "distinctive species of belief"), heresies, or Gnostic sects. As one of these it could only be regarded in the second century, when Christianity was in danger of being entirely absorbed by Gnosticism. At first it was viewed by the Jews simply as one of the numerous Messianic movements which, aimed against Roman rule, ended tragically for their instigators, and from which it differed only in one singular fact; viz., that the death of the leader, far from crushing the movement, gave, on the contrary, rise to a new faith which gradually, both in principle and in attitude, antagonized as none other the parent faith, and came to manifest the greatest hostility to it. There is no indication in Jewish literature that the appearance of Jesus, either as a teacher or as a social or political leader, made at the time a deep or lasting impression on the Jewish people in general. Outside of Galilee he was scarcely known. This at least seems to be the only explanation of the fact that the Talmudic passages, some of which are old, confound Jesus, on the one hand, with Ben Ṣtada, who was tried in Lydda—probably identical with Theudas "the magician," the pseudo-Messiah who appeared in 44 (Josephus, "Ant." xx. 5, § 1; Acts v. 36)—and, on the other, with the Egyptian "false prophet" who created a Messianic revolt a few years later ("Ant." xx. 8, § 6; *idem*, "B. J." ii. 13, § 5; Acts xxi. 38; see Tosef., Sanh. x. 11; Sanh. 67a, 107b; Shab. 104b; Soṭah 47a; compare Matt. xxiv. 11 and 24). As to Jesus ben Pandera, or Jesus the pupil of R. Joshua ben Peraḥyah, see JESUS IN JEWISH LEGEND.

The only reference to Jesus in contemporary Jewish literature is found in Josephus, "Antiquities" xviii. 3, § 3, a passage which has been interpolated by Christian copyists, but appears to have originally contained the following words (see Theodore Reinach, in "Rev. Etudes Juives," xxxv. 1–18; A. v. Gutschmid, "Kleine Schriften," 1893, iv. 352): "There was about that time [a certain] Jesus, a wise man; for he was a worker of miracles, a teacher of men eager to receive [new (revolutionary) tidings], and he drew over to him many Jews and also many of the Hellenic world. He was [proclaimed] Christ; and when, on denunciation by the principal men amongst us, Pilate condemned him to be crucified, those that were first [captivated] by him did not cease to adhere to him; and the tribe of Christians, so named after him, is not extinct at this day."

John the Baptist.

The Gospel records agree upon one essential point confirmed by Josephus (*l.c.* 5, § 2; compare Matt. iii. 1–13; Mark i. 2–9; Luke iii. 1–21; John iii. 22 *et seq.*; Acts xiii. 24); viz., that the main impulse to the Christian movement was given by JOHN THE BAPTIST, an Essene saint, who—among the many that, by penitence, fasting, and baptisms, prepared themselves for the coming of the Messiah (Luke ii. 25, 36 *et seq.*; Mark xv. 43; compare *ib.* ii. 18; Matt. ix. 14, xi. 18; compare Pesiḳ R. xxxiii., xxxiv.; Josephus, "Vita," § 2)—stood forth as the preacher of repentance and "good tidings," causing the people to flock to the Jordan to wash themselves clean of their sins in expectation of the Messianic kingdom. Some of his followers were known afterward as a class of Baptists under the name "Disciples of John" (Acts viii. 25; xix. 3, 4), and seem partly to have joined the Mandæans (Brandt, "Die Mandäische Religion," pp. 137 *et seq.*, 218 *et seq.*, 228; see also HEMEROBAPTISTS). Jesus, however, being one of John's disciples, the moment the latter had been put in prison stepped to the front as a preacher of the "Kingdom or Heaven" in the very language of his master (Matt. iv. 12 *et seq.*, xiv. 3–5; Mark i. 14). Still, to the very last he had to admit in his argument with the elders (Matt. xx. 26; Mark xi. 32; compare *ib.* viii. 28) that John was universally acknowledged prophet, while he was not. Indeed, Herod Antipas, upon learning of Jesus' miraculous performances, expressed the belief that John the Baptist had risen from the dead (Matt. xiv. 2, xvi. 14; Mark vi. 14). Nor did Jesus himself, according to the older records, lay claim to any title other than that of a prophet or worker by the Holy Spirit, like any other Essene saint (Matt. xiii. 57; xxi. 11, 46; Luke vii. 16, 39; xiii. 33; xxiv. 19; John iv. 19, 44; compare Josephus, "B. J." i. 3, § 5; ii. 8, § 12; *idem*, "Ant." xiii. 10, § 7; Luke ii. 25, 36). Gradually, however, the fame of Jesus as "healer" and "helper" of those stricken with disease so eclipsed that of John, at least in Galilean circles, that the latter was declared to have been only the forerunner of the one destined to subdue the whole kingdom of Satan—that is, the Elijah of the Messianic kingdom—and a declaration to this effect was finally put into the mouth of John as though made by him at the very start (Mark i. 2, ix. 13, xi. 2–19; Luke i. 17).

Jesus as a Man of the People.

Jesus, as a man of the people, deviated from the practise of the Essenes and Pharisees in not shunning contact with the sinners, the PUBLICANS and the despised 'AM HA-AREẒ, as contaminating, and in endeavoring to elevate them; following the maxim, "They that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick" (Matt. ix. 12, and parallels; compare Antisthenes, in Diogenes Laertius, vi. 6). He felt the calling to preach the gospel to the poor (Luke iv. 16 *et seq.*, after Isa. lxi. 1 *et seq.*), and truly became the redeemer of the lower classes, who were not slow to lift him to the

station of the Messiah. Still, he apparently made no such claim before his entrance into Jerusalem, as is evidenced by the warning given to the disciples and to the spirits of the possessed not to disclose the secret of his being the Son of David (Matt. xii. 16, xvi. 20; Mark i. 24, iii. 12, viii. 30; Luke iv. 41). His reference to himself as the "Son of man," after the manner of Dan. vii. 13, and Enoch, xlvi. 2 *et seq.*, in Matt. xx. 18, and Mark x. 33, has no historical value; whereas in Mark ii. 28 and Matt. viii. 20 "Son of man" stands for "man" or "myself." While the eschatological predictions in Matt. xxiv., xxv.; Luke xvii. 22 *et seq.*, and elsewhere have been taken over literally from Jewish apocalypses and put into the mouth of Jesus, the teachings and doings of Jesus betray, on closer analysis, rather an intense longing after the Messianic time than joy and satisfaction over its arrival. And as the so-called "Lord's Prayer"—an exquisite compilation of Ḥasidic prayer formulas (Luke xi. 1–13; Matt. vi. 9–13; see Charles Taylor, "Sayings of the Jewish Fathers," 1901, p. 176)—is, like the Ḳaddish, a petition rather than a thanksgiving for the Messianic kingdom, so is the entire code of ethics laid down by Jesus for his disciples in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v.–vii., x.; Luke vi. 20, xi.–xii., and elsewhere) not a law of conduct for a world rejoicing in a redeemer that has come, but a guide for a few of the elect and saintly ones who wait for the immediate downfall of this world and the rise of another (Matt. x. 23, xix. 28, xxiv. 34–37). Only later events caused the allusion to the "Son of man" in these sayings to be referred to Jesus. As a matter of fact, a spirit of great anxiety and unrest permeates the sayings of Jesus and the entire New Testament epoch, as is indicated by such utterances as "Watch, therefore; for ye know not what hour your Lord doth come" (Matt. xxiv. 42, xxv. 13); "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation [that is, calculation], but suddenly, imperceptibly it is among you" (Luke xvii. 20, 21); compare the rabbinical saying: "The Messiah cometh בהיסח הדעת [when least expected], like a thief in the night" (Sanh. 97a. b). See, further, Matt. xxiv. 43; I Thess. v. 2; II Peter iii. 10; Rev. iii. 3. A number of sayings allude to the sword, to contention, and to violence, which do not altogether harmonize with the gentle and submissive character assigned generally to Jesus. Such are the following: "Think not that I came to send peace on the earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword" (Matt. x. 34, R. V.); "Suppose ye that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you, Nay; but rather division. . . . The father shall be divided against the son, and the son against the father," etc. (Luke xii. 51–53); "From the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force" (Matt. xi. 12)—words hardly reconcilable with the concluding sentences of the chapter: "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden. . . . Take my yoke upon you . . . and ye shall find rest" (*l.c.* xi. 28–30). The advice given by Jesus to his disciples to provide themselves each with a sword (Luke xxii. 36; compare *ib.* verse 49; John xix. 10, though disavowed in Matt. xxvi. 52, 53); the allusion by Simeon the saint to the sword and to the strife as resulting from Jesus' birth (Luke ii. 34, 35); and the disappointment voiced by Cleopas, "We trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel" (Luke xxiv. 21; compare Matt. i. 21, where Jesus is explained as יהושע, Joshua, who shall "save his people from sin")—all these point to some action which gave cause for his being handed over to Pontius Pilate as one who was "perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar" (Luke xxiii. 2); though the charge was refuted by the saying, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's" (Matt. xxii. 21; Mark xii. 17; Luke xx. 25, R. V.). He was tried and crucified as "King of the Jews" or "Messiah"; and all the alleged charges of blasphemy, in that he called himself "Son of God" in the Messianic sense, or announced the destruction of the Temple, prove, in the light of the ancient Jewish law, to be later inventions (Matt. xxvi. 63–65; Mark xiv. 58; Luke xxii. 70). See Crucifixion of Jesus.

The Risen Christ.

That the movement did not end with the crucifixion, but gave birth to that belief in the risen Christ which brought the scattered adherents together and founded Christianity, is due to two psychic forces that never before had come so strongly into play: (1) the great personality of Jesus, which had so impressed itself upon the simple people of Galilee as to become a living power to them even after his death; and (2) the transcendentalism, or other-worldliness, in which those penance doing, saintly men and women of the common classes, in their longing for godliness, lived. In entranced visions they beheld their crucified Messiah expounding the Scriptures for them, or breaking the bread for them at their love-feasts, or even assisting them when they were out on the lake fishing (Luke xxiv. 15, 30, 31, 36; John xx. 19, xxi.). In an atmosphere of such perfect naïveté the miracle of the Resurrection seemed as natural as had been the miracle of the healing of the sick. Memory and vision combined to weave the stories of Jesus walking on the water (compare Matt. xiv. 25, Mark vi. 49, and John vi. 19 with John xxi. 1–14), of the transfiguration on the Mount (compare Matt. xvii. 1–13, Mark ix. 2–13, and Luke ix. 29–36 with Matt. xxviii. 16 *et seq.*), and of his moving through the air to be near the divine throne, served by the angels and the holy (not "wild") beasts ("ḥayyot"), and holding Scriptural combats with Satan (Mark i. 12, 13; Matt. iv. 1–11; compare with Acts vii. 15, vii. 55). The Messiahship of Jesus having once become an axiomatic truth to the "believers," as they called themselves, his whole life was reconstructed and woven together out of Messianic passages of the Scriptures. In him all the Testament prophecies had "to be fulfilled" (Matt. i. 22; ii. 5, 15, 17; iii. 3; iv. 14; viii. 17; xii. 17; xiii. 14, 35; xx. 14; xxvi. 56; xxvii. 19; John xii. 38; xiii. 18; xv. 25; xvii. 12; xviii. 9; xix. 24, 36). Thus, according to the Jewish view, shared by many Christian theologians, there grew up, through a sort of Messianic Midrash, the myths of Jesus' birth from a virgin (after Isa. vii. 14), in Bethlehem, the city of David (after Micah v. 1 *et seq.*; there was a town of Bethlehem also in Galilee, which Grätz identifies with Nazareth; see "Monatsschrift," xxix. 481); the genealogies in Luke iii. 23–38 and

in Matt. i. 1–17, with the singular stress laid upon Tamar, Rahab, and Ruth, the converted sinners and heathens, as mothers of the elect one (compare Gen. R. ii.; Hor. 10b; Nazir 23b; Meg. 14b); likewise the story of Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem riding upon a young ass (after Zech. ix. 9), and of his being hailed by the people's "Hosanna" (after Ps. cxviii. 26; compare Midr. Teh. to the passage; also Matt. xxi. 1–11, and parallels).

Similarly, his healing powers were made proofs of his Messiahship (after Isa. xxxv. 5, 6; compare Gen. R. xcv. and Midr. Teh. cxlviii.), also his death on the cross was taken, with reference to Isa. liii. and old Essene tradition of the suffering Messiah (Pesik. R. xxxiv.–xxxvii.), to be the atoning sacrifice of the Lamb of God slain for man's sin (John i. 29; Acts viii. 32; Rev. xiii. 8; compare Enoch xc. 8), and his resurrection the beginning of a new life (after Zech. xiv. 5; I Chron. iii. 24; Sibyllines, ii. 242; Matt. xxiv. 30; I Thess. iv. 16). Men held their love-feasts in his memory—turned into paschal feasts of the new covenant (Matt. xxvi. 28, and parallels; John xix. 33 *et seq.*)—and led lives of voluntary poverty and of partial celibacy (Acts ii. 44; Matt. xix. 12).

Out of these elements arose the life-picture of Jesus, shaped after later events and to a great extent reflecting the hostile sentiments entertained against the Jewish people by the new sect when, in the final struggle with Rome, the latter no longer shared the views and destinies of the former. Many antinomistic views put into the mouth of Jesus have their origin in Pauline—*i.e.*, anti-Judean—circles. Thus the saying, "Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man; but that which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man" (Matt. xv. 11, and parallels), is irreconcilable with Peter's action and vision in Acts xi. 1–10. What Jesus actually said and did is difficult to determine. Many of his teachings can be traced to rabbinical sayings current in the Pharisaic schools; and many sentences, if not entire chapters, have been taken over from Essene writings (see Didascalia; Essenes; Golden Rule; Jesus of Nazareth; Matthew).

Jesus' Teachings.

On the other hand, there are utterances of striking originality and wondrous power which denote great genius. He certainly had a message to bring to the forlorn, to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (Matt. x. 6, xv. 24), to the outcast, to the lower classes, to the "'am ha-arez," to the sinners, and to the publicans. And whether the whole life-picture is reality or poetic imagination, in him the Essene ideal reached its culmination. But it is not correct to speak, as Christian theologians do, of a possible recognition or an actual rejection of Jesus' Christship by the Jews. Whatever his greatness as teacher or as friend of the people, this could not establish his claim to the Messianic title; and whether his Galilean followers were justified in according it to him, or the authorities at Jerusalem in denying it and in denouncing him to the Roman prefect—probably more from fear than from spite (John xix. 15)—is not a matter that can be decided from the scanty records (compare Matt. xxvi. 5; Luke xiii. 31; xix. 47, 48; xx. 19; xxiii. 43 with Matt. xxvii. 25–28; Mark xv. 14; Luke xxiii. 23 (see Crucifixion). The vehement language of Jesus, in denouncing Sadducean misrule and the hypocrisy and narrowness of the Pharisaic leaders, was not altogether new and unheard of: it was the privilege of the Essene preachers, the popular Haggadists (see Pharisees and Sadducees). Most of his teachings, a great number of which echo rabbinical sayings, and have been misunderstood or misapplied altogether by the late Gospel compilers (see Gospels, The Four), were addressed to a circle of men who lived in a world of their own, far away from the centers of commerce and industry. His attitude toward Judaism is defined by the words: "Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil" (Matt. v. 17). The rejection of the Law by Christianity, therefore, was a departure from its Christ, all the New Testament statements to the contrary notwithstanding. He himself declined even the title of "good master," because he wanted to reserve this epithet for God alone (Matt. xix. 17): Christianity, contrary to all his teaching, turned him into a God.

II. This radical change was brought about by Saul of Tarsus or Paul, the real founder of the Christian Church, though Peter formed the first community of the risen Christ (Matt. xvi. 16; Acts i. 15; I Cor. xv. 5). Having, under the influence of a vision, turned from an earnest persecutor of the new sect into its vigorous champion (Acts ix. 1-14, xxii. 3–16, xxvi. 9–18; I Cor. ix. 1, xv. 8 *et seq.*; Gal. i. 16), he construed the belief in the atoning death of Christ held by the rest into a system altogether antagonistic to Judaism and its Law, claiming to have received the apostleship to the heathen world from the Christ he beheld in his visions. Operating with certain Gnostic ideas, which rendered the Messiah as Son of God a cosmic power, like Philo's "logos," aiding in the world's creation and mediating between God and man, he saw both in the Crucifixion and in the Incarnation acts of divine self-humiliation suffered for the sake of redeeming a world polluted and doomed by sin since the fall of Adam. Faith alone in Christ should save man, baptism being the seal of the belief in God's redeeming love. It meant dying with Christ to sin which is inherited from Adam, and rising again with Christ to put on the new Adam (Rom. vi. 1–4; I Cor. xv.; Gal. iii.–iv.). See Baptism.

Paul's Antinomistic and Gnostic Views.

On the other hand, Paul taught, the law of Moses, the seal of which was Circumcision, failed to redeem man, because it made sin unavoidable. By a course of reasoning he discarded the Law as being under the curse (Gal. iii. 10 *et seq.*), declaring only those who believed in Christ as the Son of God to be free from all bondage (Gal. iv.). In opposition to those who distinguished between full Proselytes and "proselytes of the gate," who only accepted the Noachidian laws (Acts xv. 20), he abrogated the whole Law; claiming God to be the god of the heathen as well as of the Jews (Rom. iii. 29). Yet in enunciating this seemingly liberal doctrine he deprived faith, as typified by Abraham (Gen. xv 6; Rom. iv. 3), of its naturalness, and forged the

shackles of the Christian dogma, with its terrors of damnation and hell for the unbeliever. God, as Father and the just Ruler, was pushed into the background; and the Christ—who in the Gospels as well as in the Jewish apocalyptic literature figured as judge of the souls under God's sovereignty (Matt. xvi. 27, xxv. 31–33; compare Enoch, iv. xiv. *et seq.*; II Esd. vii. 33 with Rom. xiv. 10; II Cor. v. 10) —was rendered the central figure, because he, as head and glory of the divine kingdom, has, like Bel of Babylonian mythology fighting with the dragon, to combat Satan and his kingdom of evil, sin, and death. While thus opening wide the door to admit the pagan world, Paul caused the influx of the entire pagan mythology in the guise of Gnostic and anti-Gnostic names and formulas. No wonder if he was frequently assailed and beaten by the officials of the synagogue: he used this very synagogue, which during many centuries had been made the center of Jewish propaganda also among the heathen for the pure monotheistic faith of Abraham and the law of Moses, as the starting-point of his antinomistic and anti-Judean agitations (Acts xiii. 14, xiv. 1, xvii. 1 *et seq.*, xxi. 27).

Early Christianity a Jewish Sect.

For a long time Christianity regarded itself as part of Judaism. It had its center in Jerusalem (Irenæus, "Adversus Hæreses, i. 26); its first fifteen bishops were circumcised Jews, they observed the Law and were rather unfriendly to heathenism (Sulpicius Severus, "Historia Sacra," ii. 31; Eusebius, "Hist. Eccl." iv. 5; compare Matt. xv. 26), while they held friendly intercourse with the leaders of the synagogue (see Grätz, "Gesch. der Juden," iv. 373 *et seq.*; and Ebionites, Minim, and Nazarenes). Many a halakic and haggadic discussion is recorded in the Talmud as having taken place between the Christians and the Rabbis (see Jacob the Gnostic). Probably the Christian Congregation, or Church of the Saints, did not distinguish itself in outward form from the "Ḳehala Ḳaddisha" at Jerusalem, under which name the Essene community survived the downfall of the Temple (Ber. 9b; compare Eccl. R. ix. 9: 'Edah Ḳedoshah). Of course, the destruction of the Temple and of the Judean state and the cessation of sacrifice could not but promote the cause of Christianity (see Justin, "Dial. cum Tryph." xi.); and under the impression of these important events the Gospels were written and accordingly colored. Still, Jew and Christian looked in common for the erection of the kingdom of heaven by the Messiah either soon to appear or to reappear (see Joël, "Blicke in die Religionsgesch." i. 32 *et seq.*). It was during the last struggle with Rome in the days of Bar Kokba and Akiba that, amidst denunciations on the part of the Christians and execrations on the part of the Jewish leaders, those hostilities began which separated Church and Synagogue forever, and made the former an ally of the arch-enemy. Pauline Christianity greatly aided in the Romanizing of the Church. It gravitated toward Rome as toward the great world-empire, and soon the Church became in the eyes of the Jew heir to Edom (Gen. xxvii. 40). The emperor Constantine completed what Paul had begun—a world hostile to the faith in which Jesus had lived and died. The Council of Nice in 325 determined that Church and Synagogue should have nothing in common, and that whatever smacked of the unity of God and of the freedom of man, or offered a Jewish aspect of worship, must be eliminated from Catholic Christendom.

Paganism Predominant.

Three causes seem to have been at work in making the Pauline system dominant in the Church. First, the pagan world, particularly its lower classes, having lost faith in its old gods, yearned for a redeemer, a man-like god, and, on the other hand, was captivated by that work of redeeming love which the Christian communities practised, in the name of Jesus, in pursuance of the ancient Essene ideals (see Charity). Secondly, the blending of Jewish, Oriental, and Hellenic thought created those strange mystic or Gnostic systems which fascinated and bewildered the minds of the more educated classes, and seemed to lend a deeper meaning to the old beliefs and superstitions. Thirdly, woman appeared on the scene as a new factor of Church life. While the women of Syria and of Rome were on the whole attracted by the brightness and purity of Jewish home life, women in the New Testament, and most of all in Paul's life and letters, are prominent in other directions. Aside from those visions of Mary Magdalene which lent support to the belief in the Resurrection (Matt. xxviii. 1, and parallels), there was an undisguised tendency on the part of some women of these circles, such as Salome; Thecla, the friend of Paul; and others (see "Gospel of the Egyptians," in Clement, "Stromata," iii. 964; Conybeare, "Apology and Acts of Apollonius and Other Monuments of Early Christianity," pp. 24, 183, 284), to free themselves from the trammels of those principles upon which the sanctity of home rested (see Eccl. R. vii. 26). A morbid emotionalism, prizing love as "the greatest of all things" in place of truth and justice, and a pagan view of holiness which tended to make life oscillate between austere asceticism (demanding virginity and eunuchism) on the one side, and licentiousness on the other (see Matt. xix. 12; Sulpicius Severus, "Dialogi Duo," i. 9, 13, 15; Eusebius, "Hist. Eccl." vi. 8; Clement, *l.c.* iii. 4; Cyprian, Ep. iv.; Rev. ii. 14), went hand in hand with Gnosticism. Against this exaggeration of the divine attribute of love and the neglect of that of justice, the Rabbis in the ancient Mishnah seem to utter their warning (Meg. iv. 9; Yer. Ber. i. 3). When, finally, the reaction set in, and Gnosticism both as an intellectual and as a sexual degeneracy (compare Sifre on Num. xv. 39) was checked by a strong counter-movement in favor of positive Christianity, two principles of extraordinary character were laid down by the framers of the Church: (1) the Trinitarian dogma with all its corollaries; and (2) a double code of morality, one for the world-fleeing monks and nuns and the clergy —called the really religious ones—and another for the laity, the men of the world.

Woman's Part in the Early Church.

The Trinitarian formula first occurs in Matthew (xxviii. 19, R. V.) in the words spoken by the risen Christ to the disciples in Galilee: "Go ye therefore,

and make disciples of all the [heathen] nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost"; but it appears to have been still unknown to Paul (I Cor. vi. 11; Acts ii. 38).

Trinitarianism.

It is quite significant for the historian to observe that, while in the older Gospel (Mark xii. 29) Jesus began reciting the first commandment with the Jewish confession, "Hear, O Israel; the Lord our God, the Lord is one," this verse is omitted in Matt. xxii. 37. Christ, the preexistent Messiah (Gen. R. i.), being either identified with the Shekinah or divine glory (Rom. ix. 4; Col. i. 27; see Mayor, "Epistle of James," p. 75, notes), or with the "Memra" or "Logos," Philo's second god ("Fragments," ed. Mangey, ii. 625; compare "De Somniis," i. 39-41, ed. Mangey, i. 655 *et seq.*), was raised by Paul to the rank of a god and placed alongside of God the Father (I Cor. viii. 6, xii. 3; Titus ii. 13; compare I John v. 20); and in II Cor. xiii. 14 the Trinity is almost complete. In vain did the early Christians protest against the deification of Jesus ("Clementine Homilies," xvi. 15). He is in Paul's system the image of God the Father (II Cor. iv. 4; compare I Cor. viii. 6); and, being opposed "to Satan, the god of this world," his title "God of the world to come" is assured. However repugnant expressions such as "the blood," "the suffering," and "the death of God" (Ignatius, "Ad Romanos," iii., v. 13; *idem*, "Ad Ephesios," i. 1; Tertullian, "Ad Praxeam") must have been to the still monotheistic sentiment of many, the opponents of Jesus' deification were defeated as Jewish heretics (Tertullian, *l.c.* 30; see Arianism and Monarchians).

The idea of a Trinity, which, since the Council of Nice, and especially through Basil the Great (370), had become the Catholic dogma, is of course regarded by Jews as antagonistic to their monotheistic faith and as due to the paganistic tendency of the Church; God the Father and God the Son, together with "the Holy Ghost ["Ruaḥ ha-Ḳodesh"] conceived of as a female being," having their parallels in all the heathen mythologies, as has been shown by many Christian scholars, such as Zimmern, in his "Vater, Sohn, und Fürsprecher," 1896, and in Schrader's "K. A. T." 1902, p. 377; Ebers, in his "Sinnbildliches: die Koptische Kunst," 1892, p. 10; and others.

There was a time when the Demiurgos, as a second god, threatened to becloud Jewish monotheism (see Gnosticism and Elisha ben Abuyah): but this was at once checked, and the absolute unity of God became the impregnable bulwark of Judaism. "If a man says: 'I am God,' he lies, and if 'Son of man,' he will repent," was the bold interpretation of Num. xxiii. 18, given by R. Abbahu with reference to Christianity (Yer. Ta'an. ii. 1, 65b). "When Nebuchadnezzar spoke of the 'Son of God' (Dan. iii. 25), an angel came and smote him on the face," saying: "Hath God a son?" (Yer. Shab. vi. 8d). In the Church, Unitarianism was suppressed and persecuted whenever it endeavored to assert its birthright to reason; and it is owing chiefly to Justinian's fanatic persecution of the Syrian Unitarians that Islam, with its insistence on pure monotheism, triumphed over the Eastern Church. Henceforth Moslem and Jewish philosophy stood together for the absolute unity of God, not allowing any predicate of the Deity which might endanger this principle (see Attributes); whereas Christian philosophers, from Augustine to Hegel successively, attempted to overcome the metaphysical difficulties involved in the conception of a Trinity (see David Friedrich Strauss, "Glaubenslehre," i. 425-490).

Persecution of Unitarians.

The next radical deviation from Judaism was the worship of the Virgin Mary as the mother of God; the canonical and, still more, the apocryphal writings of the New Testament offering the welcome points of support to justify such a cult. The Jew could only abhor the medieval adoration of Mary, which seemed to differ little from the worship of Isis and her son Horus, Isthar and Tammuz, Frig and Balder. Yet this was but part of the humanization of the Deity and deification of man instituted in the Church in the shape of image-worship, despite synods and imperial decrees, prohibitions and iconoclasm. The cross, the lamb, and the fish, as symbols of the new faith, failed to satisfy the heathen minds; in the terms of John of Damascus, they demanded "to see the image of God, while God the Father was hidden from sight"; and consequently the second commandment had to give way (see "Image-Worship," in Schaff-Herzog, "Encyc."). It is no wonder, then, that the Jews beheld idolatry in all this, and felt constrained to apply the law, "Make no mention of the name of other gods" (Ex. xxiii. 13; Mek. to the passage and Sanh. 63b), also to Jesus; so that the name of one of the best and truest of Jewish teachers was shunned by the medieval Jew. Still, the Jewish code of law offered some toleration to the Christian Trinity, in that it permitted semi-proselytes ("ger toshab") to worship other divine powers together with the One God (Tosef., Sanh. 63b; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Oraḥ Ḥayyim, 156, Moses Isserles' note).

Medieval Image-Worship.

It was, indeed, no easy matter for the Jew to distinguish between pagan idolatry and Christian image-worship (Shulḥan 'Aruk, Yoreh De'ah, 141). Moreover, image-worship went hand in hand with relic-worship and saint-worship; and so the door was opened wide to admit in the guise of saints the various deities of paganism, the policy of the medieval Church being to create a large pantheon of saints, apostles, and angels alongside of the Trinity in order to facilitate the conquest of heathen nations. In contrast to the uncompromising attitude of Judaism, the Church was ever ready for compromise to win the great multitudes. It was this spirit of polytheism which led to all those abuses the opposition to which was the chief factor of the Reformation—whose aim and purpose were a return to Pauline Christianity and the New Testament with the help of a deeper study of the Old Testament at the hand of Jewish scholarship (see Luther; Reformation; Reuchlin).

But the Trinitarian dogma rested mainly upon Paul's conception of the mediatorship of Christ. For no sooner was the idea of the atoning power

of the death of the righteous (Isa. liii. 4–10; see Atonement) applied to Jesus (Matt. xx. 28; Luke xxii. 37; Acts viii. 32) than Christ became the necessary mediator, "delivering man from the power of Satan and the last enemy—death" (I Tim. ii. 5; Col. i. 13; I Cor. xv. 26).

Mediatorship of Christ.

While Judaism has no room for dualism, since God spoke through the seer, "I formed the light and created the darkness: I make peace and create evil" (Isa. xlv. 7); and while the divine attributes of justice and love, punitive wrath and forgiving mercy, are only contrasted (מדת הדין ומדת הרחמים, Ber. 7a; Philo, "Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres Sit," xxxiv.; Siegfried, "Philo," pp. 213 *et seq.*), but never divided into separate powers, the world of Satan and the world of Christ are arrayed against each other, and an at-one-ment by the blood of the cross is necessitated in the Pauline system (Col. i. 20; Rom. iii. 25).

God had to reconcile the world to Himself through the death of Jesus (II Cor. v. 18) and render "the children of wrath" children of His grace (Ephes. ii. 3; Rom. iii. 25, v. 10). "The love of God required the sacrifice of his own begotten Son" (John iii. 16). This view is regarded as repugnant by the pure monotheistic sentiment of the Jew, itself grounded upon the spirituality and holiness of God, and was opposed by R. Akiba when he, with direct reference to the Christian doctrine, said: "Happy are ye, Israelites! Before whom do ye purify yourselves, and who is the one who purifieth you but your Father in heaven, for it is said: 'Israel's hope ["mikweh," also interpreted as "source of purification"] is God'" (Jer. xvii. 13; Mishnah Yoma, end). But the whole dogma of Jesus' incarnation and crucifixion has for its background a world of sin and death ruled by Satan and his hosts of demons (II Cor. iv. 4; Ephes. ii. 1, vi. 12 *et seq.*; II Tim. ii. 26). In fact, the whole coming of Christ is viewed in the New Testament as a battle with Satan (see Matt. iv. 1 *et seq.*, xii. 29; Luke x. 18; John xii. 31; John iii. 8). The story of Adam's fall, which caused the Book of Wisdom to say (ii. 24) that "through the envy of the devil death came into the world" (compare Ecclus. [Sirach] xxv. 24), was made by Paul (compare II Esdras iii. 7, 21, and Apoc. Baruch, xvii. 3) the keynote of the entire human history (Rom. v. 12). For those of the Rabbis who accepted this view the Law was an antidote against "the venom of the Serpent"—that is, the germ or the inclination to sin ('Ab. Zarah, 22b; Shab. 146a); to Paul, who antagonized the Law, the "breath of the serpent" became a power of sin and everlasting doom of such a nature that none but God Himself, through Christ His son, could overcome it.

In adopting this view as the doctrine of Original Sin the Church deprived man of both his moral and his intellectual birthright as the child of God (Tertullian, "De Anima," xvi., xl.; Augustine, "De Nuptiis et Concupiscentiis," i. 24, ii. 34; Strauss, "Glaubenslehre," ii. 43 *et seq.*), and declared all the generations of man to have been born in sin—a belief accepted also by the Lutherans in the Augsburg Confession and by Calvin ("Institutes," II. i. 6–8; Strauss, *l.c.* ii. 49).

The Doctrine of Original Sin.

In vain did Pelagius, Socinus, and the Arminians protest against a view which deprived man of his prerogative as a free, responsible person (Strauss, *l.c.* p. 53). No longer could the Christian recite the ancient prayer of the Synagogue: "My God, the soul which Thou gavest unto me is pure" (Ber. 60b). And while, in all Hellenistic or pre-Christian writings, Enoch, Methuselah, Job, and other Gentiles of old were viewed as prototypes of humanity, the prevailing opinion of the Rabbis being that "the righteous among the heathen have a share in the world to come" (Tosef., Sanh. xiii. 2; Sanh. 105a; see all the passages and the views of a dissenting minority in Zunz, "Z. G." pp. 373–385), the Church, Catholic and Protestant alike, consigns without exception all those who do not believe in Jesus to the eternal doom of hell (Strauss, *l.c.* ii. 686, 687). Christ's descent into hell to liberate his own soul from the pangs of eternal doom became, therefore, one of the fundamentals of the Apostolic creed, after I Peter iii. 18, iv. 6 (see Schaff-Herzog, "Encyc." art. "Hell, Christ's Descent into"). It is obvious that this view of God could not well inculcate kindly feelings toward Jews and heretics; and the tragic fate of the medieval Jew, the persecutions he suffered, and the hatred he experienced, must be chiefly attributed to this doctrine.

Paul's depreciation of the Law and his laudation of faith (in Christ) as the only saving power for Jew and Gentile (Rom. iii. 28, x. 4; Gal. iii. 7 *et seq.*) had, in the Middle Ages, an injurious effect upon the mental progress of man. Faith, as exhibited by Abraham and as demanded of the people in the Old Testament and rabbinical writings, is אמונה, a simple, childlike trust in God; and accordingly "littleness of faith"—that is, want of perfect confidence in the divine goodness—is declared by Jesus as well as by the Rabbis in the Talmud as unworthy of the true servant and son of God (Gen. xv. 6; Ex. xiv. 31; Num. xiv. 11, xx. 12; Hab. ii. 4; II Chron. xx. 20; Mek. to Ex. xiv. 31; Matt. vi. 30; Soṭah 48b). Paul's theology made faith a meritorious act of saving quality (Rom. i. 16); and the more meritorious it is the less is it in harmony with the wisdom of the wise, appearing rather as "foolishness" (I Cor. i. 18–31). From this it was but one step to Tertullian's perfect surrender of reason, as expressed in "Credo quia absurdum," or, more correctly, "Credibile quia ineptum; certum est quia impossibile est" (To be believed because it is foolish; certain because impossible"; "De Carne Christi," v.). Blind faith, which renders the impossible possible (Mark ix. 23, 24), produced a credulity throughout Christendom which became indifferent to the laws of nature and which deprecated learning, as was shown by Draper ("History of the Conflict between Science and Religion") and by White ("History of the Warfare of Science with Theology"). A craving for the miraculous and supernatural created ever new superstitions, or sanctioned, under the form of relic-worship, old pagan forms of belief. In the name of the Christian faith reason and research were condemned, Greek philosophy and literature were exterminated, and free thinking was suppressed. Whereas Juda-

Faith and Reason.

ism made the study of the Law, or rather of the Torah—which is learning, and included science and philosophy as well as religion—the foremost duty of each member of the household (Deut. vi. 7, xi. 19; Josephus, "Contra Ap." ii. §§ 18, 26, 41), medieval Christianity tended to find bliss in ignorance, because knowledge and belief seemed incompatible (Lecky, "History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne," ii. 203–210; *idem*, "History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe," i. 1–201).

It was the resuscitated pagan thinkers, it was the Mohammedan and the Jew, who kept the lamps of knowledge and science burning; and to them in large measure the revival of learning, through scholastic philosophy in the Catholic cloisters and afterward in western Europe in general, is due. Not merely the burning of witches and heretics, but the charges, raised by priests and mobs against the Jews, of having poisoned the wells, pierced the consecrated host, and slain innocent children in order to use their blood, can mainly be traced to that stupor of the mind which beholds in every intellectual feat the working of Satanic powers, alliance with which was believed to be bought with blood. On the other hand, the Church was ever busy infusing into the popular mind the belief that those rites which served as symbolic expressions of the faith were endowed with supernatural powers, "sacrament" being the Latin word used for "mysterion," the name given to forms which had a certain magic spell for the believer. Both baptism and the eucharist were regarded as miracle-working powers of the Christian faith, on participation in which the salvation of the soul depended, and exclusion from which meant eternal damnation (see the literature in Schaff-Herzog, "Encyc." *s.v.* "Sacrament").

Asceticism in the Monasteries.

The expectation by early Christianity of a speedy regeneration of the world by the reappearance of Jesus exerted a strange influence also on the whole moral and social state of humanity. The entire Christian life being a preparation for the world to come (and this change being expected to take place soon; Matt. x. 23; I Cor. i. 7; I Peter i. 13), only those that renounced the joys of the flesh were certain of entering the latter. This view gave rise to asceticism in the monasteries, for which genuine religiosity was claimed; while marriage, home, and state, and all earthly comforts, were only concessions to the flesh. Henceforth the ideal life for the priest and recluse was to differ from that for the people at large, who were to rank as inferiors (Strauss, *l.c.* i. 41 *et seq.*). Whereas in Judaism the high priest was not allowed to officiate on the Day of Atonement unless he had a wife that made home sacred to him (Yoma i. 1, after Lev. xvi. 11, 17), celibacy and virginity were prized as the higher virtues of the Christian elect, contempt of the world with all its material, social, and intellectual pursuits being rendered the ideal of life (see Ziegler, "Gesch. der Ethik," 1886, pp. 192–242). Thus, to the Jew Christendom, from the days of the emperor Constantine, presented a strange aspect. The Church, formerly the declared enemy of Rome-Babel (Rev. xvii.), had become her ally, accepting Edom's blessing, "By thy sword shalt thou live" (Gen. xxvii. 40), as her own; and, on the other hand, there appeared her priests ("gallaḥ" = hair-clipped) and monks ("kummarim"), in the guise of the old Hebrew Nazarites and saints, claiming to be the true heirs to Israel's prophecy and priesthood. Indeed, medieval Judaism and Christianity formed the greatest contrast. Children of the same household, invoking the same God and using the same Scriptures as His revealed word, they interpreted differently life and its meaning, God and religion. Their Bible, Sabbath, and festivals, their whole bent of mind and soul, had become widely divergent. They no longer understood each other.

Medieval Jewish Views of Christianity.

Yet, while neither Augustine nor Thomas Aquinas, the chief framers of the Church dogma, nor even Luther and Calvin, the Reformers, had any tolerance for Jew or Moslem, the authorities of the Synagogue accorded to Christianity and Islam a high providential mission in human history. SAADIA (died 942), the first to examine the Christian dogma, says (in his "Emunot we-De'ot," ii. 5) that, unconcerned by the sensual Trinitarian belief of the common crowd, he would discuss only the speculative value given by Christian thinkers to the Trinity; and so, with penetrating acumen and profound earnestness and love of truth, he endeavors to lay bare either the metaphysical errors of those who, as he says, make of such attributes as life, power, and knowledge separate parts of the Deity, or the defects of the various philosophical constructions of the divinity of Jesus (see Kaufmann, "Gesch. der Attributenlehre," pp. 38–52; Guttmann, "Die Religionsphilosophie des Saadia," pp. 103–113).

Grander still is the view of Christianity taken by Judah ha-Levi in the "Cuzari." After having rejected as incompatible with reason all the claims of the Trinity and of Christ's origin (i. 5), and remarked that both Christianity and Islam accepted the roots, but not the logical conclusions, of Israel's faith, (iv. 11)—rather amalgamating the same with pagan rites and notions—he declares (iv. 23) that both form the preparatory steps to the Messianic time which will ripen the fruit in which adherents of those faiths, too, will have a share, all the branches thus proving to be "the one tree" of Israel (Ezek. xxxvii. 17; see D. Cassel, "Das Buch Kuzari," 337). This view is shared by Maimonides, who writes in "Yad," Melakim, xi. 4: "The teachings of the Nazarene and the Ishmaelite [Mohammed] serve the divine purpose of preparing the way for the Messiah, who is sent to make the whole world perfect by worshiping God with one spirit: for they have spread the words of the Scriptures and the law of truth over the wide globe; and, whatever of errors they adhere to, they will turn toward the full truth at the arrival of the Messianic time." And in his Responsa (No. 58) he declares: "The Christians believe and profess in common with us that the Bible is of divine origin and given through Moses, our teacher; they have it completely written down, though they frequently interpret it differently."

The great rabbinical authorities, R. Gershom of Mayence (d. 1040; see "Ha-Hoker," i. 2, 45); RASHI

and his school; the French Tosafists of the twelfth century ('Ab. Zarah, 2a); Solomon ben Adret of Barcelona, of the thirteenth century; Isaac b. Sheshet of the fourteenth century (Responsa No. 119); Joseph Caro (Shulḥan 'Aruk, Oraḥ Ḥayyim, 156, end; Yoreh De'ah, 148; and Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 266), and Moses Isserles of the sixteenth century declare that Christians are to be regarded as Proselytes of the Gate and not as idolaters, in spite of their image-worship. Still more emphatic in the recognition of Christianity, as teaching a belief in the Creator, revelation, retribution, and resurrection, is Joseph Yaabeẓ, a victim of Spanish persecution (1492), who, in his "Ma'amar ha-Aḥdut," iii., goes so far as to assert that "but for these Christian nations we might ourselves have become infirm in our faith during our long dispersion."

Christianity Compared with Islam.

The same generous view is taken by his contemporary Isaac Arama ("'Aḳedat Yiẓḥaḳ," lxxxviii.). Eliezer Ashkenazi (sixteenth century) warns his co-religionists, in his "Ma'asc ha-Shem," written in Turkey, "not to curse a whole Christian nation because a portion wrongs us, as little as one would curse one's own brother or son for some wrong inflicted." Jacob Emden at the middle of the eighteenth century wrote: "Christianity has been given as part of the Jewish religion by the Apostles to the Gentile world; and its founder has even made the moral laws stricter than are those contained in Mosaism. There are, accordingly, many Christians of high qualities and excellent morals who keep from hatred and do no harm, even to their enemies. Would that Christians would all live in conformity with their precepts! They are not enjoined, like the Israelites, to observe the laws of Moses; nor do they sin if they associate other beings with God in worshiping a triune God. They will receive reward from God for having propagated a belief in Him among nations that never heard His name; for 'He looks into the heart.' Yea, many have come forth to the rescue of Jews and their literature" ("Resen Mat'eh," p. 15b, Amsterdam, 1758, and "Leḥem ha-Shamayim" to Ab. v. 17). Leone del Bene (Judah Asahel Meha-Ṭob) also may be mentioned, who, in his "Kis'ot le-Bet David," 1646, xxiv., xxvi., xlvi., xlviii., compares Mohammedanism with Christianity, and declares the latter as superior, notwithstanding its Trinitarian dogma. A highly favorable opinion of Jesus is expressed also in a Karaite fragment noted in Steinschneider, "Oẓerot Ḥayyim," Catalogue of the Michael Library, pp. 377 *et seq.*, Hamburg, 1848. Compare Jew. Encyc. i. 223, *s.v.* Afendopolo.

The persistent attacks of Christian controversialists against the Jewish belief gave rise, of course, to a number of polemical works, written in self-defense, in which both the Christian dogmas and the New Testament writings are submitted to unsparing criticism. Foremost among these—not to mention Naḥmanides' published disputation with Pablo Christiani—is that of Ḥasdai Crescas, who, in a Spanish "tratado" on the Christian creeds (1396), showed the irrationality of the doctrines of Original Sin, the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Virginity of Jesus' Mother, and Transubstantiation, and who investigated the value of baptism and of the New Testament compared with the Old; beginning with the following three axioms: "(1) Reason can not be forced into belief; (2) God Himself can not alter the laws of a priori truth and understanding; (3) God's justice must comprise all His children." Another vigorous defender of Judaism against Christianity was Simon ben Ẓemaḥ Duran (1361–1440), who, in his great work, "Magen Abot," reiterates the assertion that Jesus, according to his own words, did not come to abrogate the Law; and then exposes the many self-contradictory statements in the New Testament concerning Jesus. The "Iḳḳarim" of Joseph Albo is (not merely in ch. xxv. of sect. iii., but in its totality) a defense of liberal Jewish thought against Christian dogmatism; and it therefore dwells with especial emphasis on the fact—which all Jewish thinkers from Saadia and Maimonides down to Mendelssohn accentuated—that miracles can never testify to the verity of a belief, because every belief claims them for itself. As to the two Hebrew standard works of New Testament criticism in the Middle Ages, written for apologetic purposes, the "Sefer Niẓẓaḥon" and the "Ḥizzuḳ Emunah," see Mühlhausen; Lippmann, and Isaac ben Abraham Troki.

Christianity's Historic Mission.

III. To offer to the great Gentile world the Jewish truth adapted to its psychic and intellectual capacities—this was the providential mission of Christianity. Yet, in order to become a unifying power for all the nations on the globe, shaping and reshaping empires, and concentrating the social, political, and spiritual forces of humanity in a manner never before attempted or dreamed of, it required an inspiring ideal of sublime grandeur and beauty, which should at once fascinate and stir souls to their very depths and satisfy their longings. Nothing less than the conquests of Cyrus the Lord's "anointed," called "to subdue nations and to break their prison doors" (Isa. xlv. 1, 2), than Alexander's great empire over the earth, still more than a kingdom that would encompass all that for which Rome and Alexandria and Jerusalem stood—"a kingdom of the people of the saints of the Most High" (Dan. vii. 17–27)—nothing less than this was the goal which they that were told to "go forth and make disciples of all nations" (Matt. xxviii. 19) had in view. The Jewish propaganda, begun in the Babylonian Exile (Isa. xlv. 6; xlix. 6; lvi. 6, 7; lxvi. 21), and systematically pursued in Alexandria and Rome (Matt. xxiii. 15; Schürer, "Gesch." iii. 302 *et seq.*, 420 *et seq.*), was to be left far behind, and, by battering down the barriers of the Law and the Abrahamic faith, was to be rendered elastic enough to suit the needs of a polytheistic world. Such was the view of the missionary of Tarsus.

But it was, after all, the glad tidings of the Jew Jesus which won humanity for Abraham's God. Jewish righteousness, "Ẓedaḳah," which is the power of helpful love readjusting social inadequacies, was destined to go forth from the Synagogue in order to lift the burden of wo from suffering humanity and to organize everywhere works of

charity. By this the Church, "the congregation of the Lord," conquered the masses of the vast Roman empire, and, as she learned the better to apply the Jewish system (see Essenes) to the larger field opened, achieved ever-increasing wonders with the mighty resources at her disposal. The poorhouse, or hospital, "transplanted as a branch of the terebinth of Abraham to Rome" (see Charity), became a mighty factor of human beneficence, and moved the deepest forces of the Church to glorious activity. Christianity, following the matchless ideal of its Christ, redeemed the despised and outcast, and ennobled suffering. It checked infanticide and founded asylums for the young; it removed the curse of slavery by making the humblest bondsman proud of being a child of God; it fought against the cruelties of the arena; it invested the home with purity and proclaimed, in the spirit of Ezek. xviii. and Yer. Sanh. iv. 22a, the value of each human soul as a treasure in the eyes of God; and it so leavened the great masses of the empire as to render the cross of Christ the sign of victory for its legions in place of the Roman eagle. The "Galilean" entered the world as conqueror. The Church became the educator of the pagan nations; and one race after another was brought under her tutorship. The Latin races were followed by the Celt, the Teuton, and the Slav. The same burning enthusiasm which sent forth the first apostle also set the missionaries aglow, and brought all Europe and Africa, and finally the American continent, under the scepter of an omnipotent Church. The sword and the cross paved the way through vast deserts and across the seas, and spread the blessings of a civilization claimed to be Christian because its end was the rule of Christ.

Judaism, however, denies the validity of this claim. As Isaac Troki (in his "Ḥizzuḳ Emunah," i. 2, 4a, 6) says, "none of the Messianic promises of a time of perfect peace and unity among men, of love and truth of universal knowledge and undisturbed happiness, of the cessation of all wrong-doing, superstition, idolatry, falsehood, and hatred [Isa. ii. 1 *et seq.*, 18; xi. 1–9, lxv. 19, 23; Jer. iii. 17; Ezek. xxxiv. 25, xxxvi. 25 *et seq.*, xxxvii. 26; Zech. xiii. 2, xiv. 9; Zeph. iii. 13] have been fulfilled by the Church." On the contrary, the medieval Church divided men into believers and unbelievers, who are to inherit heaven and hell respectively. With the love which she poured forth as the fountain of divine grace, she also sent forth streams of hatred. She did not foster that spirit of true holiness which sanctifies the whole of life—marriage and home, industry and commerce—but in Jewish eyes seemed to cultivate only the feminine virtues, love and humility, not liberty and justice, manhood and independence of thought. She has done much in refining the emotions, unfolding those faculties of the soul which produce the heavenly strains of music and the beauties of art and poetry; but she also did all in her power to check intellectual progress, scientific research, and the application of knowledge. Her tutorship sufficed as long as the nations under her care were in the infant stage; but as soon as they awoke to self-consciousness and longed for freedom, they burst the shackles of dogma and of ecclesiastical authority. Thus the Church was broken up into churches. Under the influence of Judaism and of Arabic philosophy, Scholasticism arose, and then came the Reformation; and the process of disintegration continues throughout Protestantism. The tendency of historical inquiry and Biblical criticism is to leave nothing but the picture of the man Jesus, the Jew, as a noble type of humanity, and to return to simple monotheism (see Renan, "Le Judaisme et le Christianisme," 1883; *idem*, "L'Eglise Chrétienne," 1879, p. 248; Alexander von Humboldt, in Samter, "Moderne Judentaufen," and in A. Kohut, "Alexander von Humboldt und das Judenthum," 1871, p. 176; Berner, "Judenthum und Christenthum," 1891, p. 31; Alphonse de Candolle, in Jellinek, "Franzosen über Juden," 1880, p. 27; Singer, "Briefe Berühmter Christ. Zeigenossen," p. 114. No human individual, however great in his own environment, can, according to the Jewish view, present a perfect ideal of humanity for all ages and phases of life. "No one is holy but God": to this Jewish conception of man Jesus also gave expression (Matt. xix. 17). Man as the image of God requires all the ages and historical conditions of progress to unfold the infinite possibilities of the divine life planted in him. "Each age has its own types of righteousness" (Tan., Miḳeẓ, Vienna ed., p. 48), and only by the blending of all human efforts toward the realization of the true, the good, and the beautiful can the highest perfection be attained at the end of history, "each mount of vision forming a stepping-stone to Zion as the sublime goal" (Midr. Teh. to Ps. xxxvi. 6).

Messianic Promises Not Fulfilled.

Christianity is not an end, but the means to an end; namely, the establishment of the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God. Here Christianity presents itself as an orb of light, but not so central as to exclude Islam, nor so bright and unique as to eclipse Judaism, the parent of both. Moreover, room is left for other spiritual forces, for whatever of permanent value is contained in Brahmanism, especially its modern theistic sects, and in Buddhism (see Eucken, "Der Wahrheitsgehalt der Religion," Leipsic, 1901; Happel, "Die Religiösen und Philosophischen Grundanschauungen der Inder," 1902), and in the theosophic principles derived from it, and for all religious and philosophical systems that may yet be evolved in the process of the ages. In fact, whatever constitutes humanity and bears the image of God, whatever man does in order to unfold the divine life (Gen. i. 27; Lev. xviii. 5; Ps. viii. 6; Job xxviii. 28; Eccl. xii. 13)—that helps to make up the sum of religion.

For the modern tendency toward pure theistic and humanitarian views among the various systems of religious thought, see Ethical Culture; Unitarianism.

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K.

CHRISTINA AUGUSTA: Queen of Sweden; born at Stockholm Dec. 7, 1626; died at Rome April 19, 1689. She was a daughter of Gustavus Adolphus and Mary Eleanora of Brandenburg, and reigned from 1632 to 1654. Her attitude toward the Jews was most benevolent. Acquainted with Hebrew literature, which she eagerly studied in her youth, she welcomed eminent Hebrew scholars at her court. Thus Menasseh ben Israel, recommended to her by Vossius, was kindly received; and his pleadings for the Jews and their literature met with great sympathy.

Christina was, furthermore, interested, together with England, in permitting Jews to settle in the West Indies, and especially favored a Portuguese Marano, Isaac Manoel Texeira, whom she appointed financial agent and resident minister at Hamburg, and on account of whom she more than once remonstrated with the Senate of Hamburg, demanding for her Jewish minister the honors enjoyed by other ministers resident. During her sojourn at Hamburg she resided at the home of Manoel Texeira, regardless of the severe censures pronounced upon her from the Protestant pulpits. She appointed as her physician Benedito de Castro (Baruch Nehemiah).

Christina contrived by every possible means to prevent the banishment of the Jews of Vienna, decreed by Emperor Leopold in 1670; but unfortunate circumstances rendered her efforts futile.

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G. I. Br.

CHRISTOLOGY. See Messiah.

CHRONEGK, LUDWIG: German actor; born at Brandenburg-on-the-Havel Nov. 3, 1837; died at Meiningen July 8, 1890. He was the stage-manager and "Intendanzrath" of the famous Meininger troupe established at Weimar by Duke George of Meiningen. Chronegk had but little schooling, as his bent for the stage asserted itself while he was still a boy. At eighteen he went to Paris to study French methods. A year later, 1856, he returned to Berlin, where he continued in histrionic training under Görner, the manager of Kroll's Theater. On being graduated, Chronegk went to Liegnitz, Görlitz, Hamburg (Thalia Theater), and Leipsic (Stadttheater), playing juvenile rôles.

In 1866 he joined the Meiningers, with whom he acted until 1870, when he became "regisseur." Two years later he was appointed stage-director, and from that time dates the fame of both company and director. Chronegk, whose eye for stage-realism was far in advance of his time, realized that the puppet-like maneuvers of the supernumeraries were neither natural nor graceful, and he took each individual in hand and converted him or her into an independent force. He reanimated the various individuals of the mobs, caused them to act as human beings, and in so doing revolutionized German stage-methods. This course antagonized the conservative element, and in consequence Chronegk was denounced by members of his profession, and more particularly by a short-sighted press. He persisted, however, and lived to see his methods indorsed and imitated.

But whatever good Chronegk accomplished in this one direction, he almost counteracted by the harm he did in another. In perfecting the ensemble, he sacrificed the individual, and as a consequence the Meiningers gave performances which, though exceptional as a whole, were yet full of flaws when viewed critically and analytically. When the company appeared in London in 1881, this fact was most apparent, especially in "Julius Cæsar," which was produced with a *Brutus* so pitifully weak as to mar the entire performance. It was the same with "Othello," in which Ludwig Barnay alone escaped being classed as respectably mediocre.

During the twenty-six years that Chronegk was with the Meiningers, from May 1, 1874—when they first appeared at the Friedrich-Wilhelm Theater, Berlin—until 1890, he staged 2,591 plays, in eighteen foreign and eighteen German cities.

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S. E. Ms.

CHRONICLES. See Historiography.

CHRONICLES, BOOKS OF.—Biblical Data: The two books of Chronicles form a history of the Temple and its priesthood, and of the house of David and the tribe of Judah, as guardians of the Temple, with references to the other tribes, and with some connected material. The contents may be briefly summarized as follows:

(a) I Chron. i.–ix. contains chiefly genealogies, from Adam, through Noah's sons, and then particularly through the line of Shem to Esau and Israel and their descendants. The last twelve verses of ch. i. contain a list of Edomitish kings and chiefs. Brief narratives from various periods are interspersed among the genealogies (*e.g.*, ii. 23; iv. 9, 10, 39–43; v. 9, 10, 18–22, 25, 26). The last genealogy in this collection, ix. 35–44, that of Saul's family, forms a kind of transition to the following section.

(b) I Chron. x.–xxix. This section is concerned with David's reign, the introduction being the last battle and the death of Saul (x. 1–12, parallel to I Sam. xxxi. 1–13), and the conclusion, the accession of Solomon (xxiii. 1; xxviii. 5 *et seq.*; xxix. 22 *et seq.*).

(c) II Chron. i.–ix. is devoted to Solomon's reign. The first chapter speaks of his sacrifice at Gibeon (vs. 1–13) and Solomon's splendor (vs. 14–17). The building of the Temple is described in ch. ii.–iv., and its dedication in v. 1–14. The following chapters speak of Solomon's prayer, vision, sacrifices, glory, and in ix. 31 the death of Solomon is mentioned.

(d) II Chron. x.–xxxvi. contains the history of the kingdom of Judah down to the fall of Jerusalem, with the division of the kingdoms as preface, and the restoration-edict of Cyrus as appendix (viz., x. 1–19, accession of Rehoboam and division of the kingdom; xi. xii., Rehoboam; xiii. 1–22, Abijah; xiv.–xvi., Asa; xvii.–xx., Jehoshaphat; xxi., Jeho-

ram; xxii. 1–9, Ahaziah; xxii. 10–12, xxiii., Athaliah; xxiv., Joash; xxv., Amaziah; xxvi., Uzziah; xxvii., Jotham; xxviii., Ahaz; xxix.–xxxii., Hezekiah; xxxiii. 1–20, Manasseh; xxxiii. 21–25, Amon; xxxiv., xxxv., Josiah; xxxvi. 1–3, Jehoahaz; xxxvi. 4–8, Jehoiakim; xxxvi. 9, 10, Jehoiachin; xxxvi. 11–13, Zedekiah; xxxvi. 17–21, fall of Jerusalem; xxxvi. 22, 23, restoration-edict of Cyrus.

——**In Rabbinical Literature:** Rabbinical literature does not recognize the division of Chronicles into two books. In B. B. 15a it is named as one דברי הימים (ספר), and the Masorah counts the verse I Chron. xxvii. 25 as the middle of the book. Tradition regards this one book as consisting of two unequal parts; viz., (1) lists largely of a genealogical nature with brief historical details; and (2) an extensive history of the kings in Jerusalem. The authorship of the first part, which is designated "Yaḥas" (יחס = "genealogy") of the "Dibre ha-Yamim" is ascribed to Ezra (B. B. 15a). In Pes. 62b this part is connected with a Midrash and quoted as ספר יוחסין ("Book of the Descents"); while Rashi names the Midrash (מתניתין דדברי הימים), "Mishnah of Dibre ha-Yamim," etc., which, according to him, contained expositions of certain passages of the Torah. This part was not to be explained to the men of Lud nor to those of Nehardea, for reasons not stated; perhaps it was feared that these interpretations might meet with irreverence.

On the whole, Chronicles was regarded with suspicion; its historical accuracy was doubted by the Talmudic authorities, it being held to be a book for homiletic interpretation, לא נתנו דברי הימים אלא לידרש (Lev. R. i. 3; Ruth R. ii., beginning; compare Meg. 13a). The names were treated with great freedom; and many which clearly belonged to different persons were declared to indicate one and the same man or woman (Soṭah 12a; Ex. R. i. 17, *et passim*). Numerous as these fanciful interpretations of verses in Chronicles are in Talmudic-Midrashic literature, the loss of many similar expositions was deplored (Pes. 62b). E. G. H.

——**Critical View.—I. Position in Old Testament Literature:** Chronicles, which in the Hebrew canon consists of a single book, is called in the Hebrew Bible דברי הימים ("Annals"); in the LXX.—Codex B, παραλειπομένων ("of things left out"); Codex A adds (τῶν) βασιλέων Ιουδὰ ("concerning the kings of Judah"); *i.e.*, a supplement to the Book of Kings; in the Vulgate, Liber Primus (and Secundus) "Paralipomenon." The modern title "Chronicles" was suggested by Jerome's speaking of the book in his "Prologus Galeatus" as "Chronicon totius divinæ historiæ." The book belongs to the Hagiographa, or "Ketubim," the third and latest-formed section of the Hebrew canon.

Title.

The view that its canonicity was matter of discussion among the Jews seems to rest on insufficient evidence (Buhl, "Kanon und Text des A. T." Eng. ed., p. 31). In Hebrew lists, manuscripts, and printed Bibles, Chronicles is placed either first (Western or Palestinian practise, as in the St. Petersburg Codex), or last (Eastern or Babylonian, as in the Babylonian Talmud); see Ginsburg, "Introduction," pp. 1–8. In Greek and Latin lists, and in manuscripts and editions of the LXX. and Vulgate, Chronicles usually follows Kings; the exceptions are more numerous in the Latin lists (Swete, "The Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint," Introduction, pp. 201–230).

Chronicles, originally a single work, is first found divided into two books in Codices A and B of the LXX., which were followed by subsequent versions, and ultimately by printed editions of the Hebrew text. It is part of a larger work, Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, composed (see Section II.) in the Greek period between the death of Alexander (B.C. 323) and the revolt of the Maccabees (B.C. 167). It expresses the piety of the Temple community, and their interest in its services and history. They felt that the services had reached an ideal perfection, and were led to think of the "good kings" as having shaped their religious policy according to this ideal. Probably the author of Chronicles did not intend to supersede Samuel and Kings. There are slight traces of Chronicles in Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), (*e.g.*, xlvii. 8 *et seq.*; compare I Chron. xxv.); perhaps also in Philo (see Ryle, "Philo and Holy Scriptures," pp. 286 *et seq.*), and in the N. T. (for example, compare II Chron. xxiv. 21 with Matt. xxiii. 35). The references to Samuel-Kings are more numerous. The omission (see Swete, *l.c.* p. 227) of Chronicles from some Christian lists of canonical books is probably accidental.

II. Composition: (a) *Relation to Ezra-Nehemiah.* Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah were originally a single work. This is shown by the identity of style, theological standpoint, and ecclesiastical interests, as well as by the fact that Chronicles concludes with a portion of a paragraph (II Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23) which is repeated and completed in Ezra i. 1–4. Comparison shows that Chronicles ends in the middle of a sentence. The division of the original work arose from the diverse nature of its contents: Chronicles was merely a less interesting edition of Samuel-Kings; but Ezra-Nehemiah contained history not otherwise accessible. Hence readers desired Ezra-Nehemiah alone; and Chronicles (from its position in many manuscripts, etc., after Nehemiah) only obtained its place in the canon by an afterthought.

Authorship and Date.

(b) *Author.* The author's name is unknown; the ascription by some Peshiṭta manuscripts to "Johanan the priest," perhaps the Johanan of Neh. xii. 23 (Barnes, "Chronicles," p. xii., in "Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges"; *idem*, "An Apparatus Criticus to Chronicles in the Peshiṭta Version," p 1), can have no weight. From the keen interest shown in the inferior officials of the Temple, especially the singers, the author seems to have been a Levite, possibly one of the Temple choir.

(c) *Date.* Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah must be later than the times of Ezra and Nehemiah (458–432). In style and language the book belongs to the latest period of Biblical Hebrew. The descendants of Zerubbabel (I Chron. iii. 24) are given, in the Masoretic text, to the sixth generation (about B.C. 350); in the LXX., Syriac, and Vulgate, to the eleventh generation after Zerubbabel (about B.C. 200). The list of high priests in Neh. xii. 10, 11, extends to Jaddua (*c.* 330). These lists might, indeed, have been

made up to date after the book was completed; but other considerations point conclusively to the Greek period; *e.g.*, in Ezra vi. 22, Darius is called "the king of Assyria." On the other hand, the use of the book in Ecclesiasticus (Sirach) referred to above, the absence of any trace of the Maccabean struggle, and the use of the LXX. Chronicles by Eupolemus (*c.* B.C. 150; see Swete, *l.c.* p. 24), point to a date not later than B.C. 200. Hence Chronicles is usually assigned to the period B.C. 300–250.

(d) *Sources.* Chronicles contains (see Section I.) much material found, often word for word, in other books of the Bible, and has also frequent references to other authorities. In regard to these sources, the contents may be classified thus: (*A*) passages taken from other O. T. books, with textual or editorial changes, the latter sometimes important; (*B*) passages based upon sections of other O. T. books, largely recast; (*C*) passages supposed on internal evidence to have been taken from or based on ancient sources, no longer extant and not much later than the close of the Exile, and in some cases perhaps earlier (see classification, p. 62); (*D*) passages supposed on internal evidence to be the work of late

I Chronicles.

Chapters.	Contents.	A.	B.	C.	D.
i. to ix.	Genealogies: from Adam to David; of the tribes and clans; of the houses of Saul, David, the high priests, etc.	vi. 54–81 = Josh. xxi. 5–39.	i. 1–ii. 17, based on Gen., Num., Josh., I Kings, and Ruth. iii. 1–16, based on II Sam. and Kings. iv. 24, 28–33, based on Gen., Ex., Num., and Josh.	ii. 9, 25–33, 42–45, 49. iv. 1–20, 25–27, 35–43. vi. 1 15. vii. 14–24.	iii. 17–24. iv. 21–23. v. vi. 16–53. vii. 1–13, 25–40. viii., ix.
x. to xxi.	History of David, from the death of Saul to the Census and Plague.	x. 1–xi. 41a = I Sam. xxxi.; II Sam. v. 1–3, 6–10; xxiii. 8–39. xiii. 6–xiv. 17 = II Sam. vi. 1–11; v. 11–23. xvi. 8–24 = Ps. cv. 1–15; xcvi. 1–13; cvi. 1, 47 *et seq.* xvii.–xx. = II Sam. vii.; viii.; x.; xi. 1; xii. 26, 30, 31; xxi. 18–22.	xv. 1–xvi. 7, 37–43, based on II. Sam. vi. 12–20. xxi., based upon II Sam. xxiv.	x. 41b–47.	xii. 1–xxiii. 5.
xxii. to xxix.	Preparations for building the Temple, anointing of Solomon, death of David.				xxii.–xxix.

II Chronicles.

Chapters.	Contents.	A.	B.	C.	D.
i. to ix.	Solomon.	i. 14 17 = I Kings x. 26–29. viii. 1–11 = I Kings ix. 10, 11, 17–24. viii. 17–ix. 31 = I Kings ix. 25–x. 28; xi. 41–43.	i. 1–13, based upon I Kings 4–13. ii.–vii., based upon I Kings v.–ix.		viii. 12–16.
x. to xxviii.	Rehoboam to Ahaz.	x. 1–xi. 4 = I Kings xii. 1–24. xv. 16–xvi. 6 = I Kings xv. 13–22. xviii. = I Kings xxii. 2–35a. xxi. 1, 5–10a = I Kings xxii. 50, II Kings viii. 17–22, 24a. xxv. 1 4, 17–28 = II Kings xiv. 2–14, 17, 19, 20. xxvi. 1–4 = II Kings xiv. 21, 22; xv. 2, 3. xxvii. 1–3, 7–9 = II Kings xv. 33–35, 38.	xii. 2a, 9–xiii. 2, 22, based on I Kings xiv. 21, 25–28; xv. 1, 2, 7. xx. 31–37, based on I Kings xxii. 41–49. xxii., xxiii., based on II Kings vii. 24–xi. 20. xxiv., based on II Kings xi. 20–xii. 21. xxvi. 20–23, based on II Kings xv. 5–8. xxviii., based on II Kings xvi.	xi. 5–12. xiv. 8, 9, 11, 12. xxvi. 6–10. xxvii. 4–6.	xi. 13–xii. 8. xiii. 3–21. xiv. 1–7, 9–11, 13–xv. 15. xvi. 7–14. xvii. xix. 1–xx. 30. xxi. 2–4, 10b–20. xxv. 5–16. xxvi. 5, 11–20.
xxix. to xxxvi.	Hezekiah to the return from the Exile.	xxxii. 1 10 = II Kings xxi. 1–10, 18. xxxvi. 22, 23 = Ezra i. 1–3a.	xxix.–xxxii., based on II Kings xviii.–xx. xxxiii. 21–25, based on II Kings xxi. 19–24. xxxiv. 1–xxxvi. 21, based on II Kings xxii.–xxv.	xxxii. 30.	xxxiii. 11–19.

post-exilic writers (compare *ib.*). In the preceding table space prevents the presentation of details. In *C* and *D*, Kittel's analysis in "S. B. O. T." is mostly followed, but not in all details, nor in his separation of the *D* material into various strata. Small portions from extant books embedded in *B*, *C*, and *D* are not indicated.

The non-Biblical sources may be classified thus:

(1) An earlier historical work cited as: "The Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel" (II Chron. xvi. 11, xxv. 26, xxviii. 26); "The Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah" (*ib.* xxvii. 7, xxxv. 26); "The Acts of the Kings of Israel" (*ib.* xxxiii. 18); and perhaps also as "The Midrash of the Book of Kings" (*ib.* xxiv. 27).

(2) Sections of a similar history of David and Solomon (unless these references are to that portion of the former work which dealt with these kings), cited as: "The Words of Samuel the Seer" (I Chron. xxix. 29); "The Words of Nathan the Prophet" (*ib.*; II Chron. ix. 29); and "The Words of Gad the Seer" (I Chron. xxix. 29).

(3) Sections of "The Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah," and possibly of other similar works, cited as: "The Words of Shemaiah the Prophet and of Iddo the Seer" (II Chron. xii. 15); "The Words of Jehu the Son of Hanani" (*ib.* xx. 34); "The Words of the Seers" (LXX., R.V., margin); "of his Seers" ("S. B. O. T."); "of Hozai" (II Chron. xxxiii. 19–20, R. V.); "The Vision of Iddo the Seer" (*ib.* ix. 29); "The Vision of Isaiah the Prophet" (*ib.* xxxii. 32); "The Midrash of the Prophet Iddo (*ib.* xiii. 22); "The Acts of Uzziah, Written by Isaiah the Prophet" (*ib.* xxvi. 22); and "The Prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite" (*ib.* ix. 29).

In the absence of numbered divisions like the present chapters and verses, portions of the work are indicated by the name of the prophet who figures in it—probably because the Prophets were supposed to have been the annalists (*ib.* xxvi. 22). Thus, "the Vision of Isaiah" is said to be in "The Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel"; and "the Words of Jehu the son of Hanani," inserted in "The Book of the Kings of Israel."

Thus the main source of Chronicles seems to have been a late post-exilic Midrashic history of the kings of Judah and Israel. Possibly, this had been divided into histories of David and Solomon, and of the later kings. The author may also have used a collection of genealogies; and perhaps additions were made to the book after it was substantially complete. In dealing with matter not found in other books it is difficult to distinguish between matter which the chronicler found in his source, matter which he added himself, and later additions, as all the authors concerned wrote in the same spirit and style; but it may perhaps be concluded that details about Levites, porters, and singers are the work of the chronicler (compare Section III. of this article).

III. Relationship to Samuel-Kings: (a) *Comparison of Contents.* Chronicles omits most of the material relating to Saul and the northern kingdom, including the accounts of Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha, and most of what is to the discredit of the "good kings"; *e.g.*, the story of Bathsheba. Chronicles adds (see table, *B* and *D*) long accounts of the Temple, its priests and its services, and of the observance of the Pentateuchal laws; also records of sins which account for the misfortunes of "good kings"—*e.g.*, the apostasy of Joash (II Chron. xxiv.); of the misfortunes which punished the sins of "bad kings"—*e.g.*, the invasions in the reign of Ahaz (*ib.* xxviii.); and of the repentance which resulted in the long reign of Manasseh (*ib.* xxxiii.); besides numerous genealogies and statistics. Chronicles has numerous other alterations tending, like the additions and omissions, to show that the "good kings" observed the law of Moses, and were righteous and prosperous (compare *ib.* viii. 2 and I Kings ix. 10, 11; see also below).

(b) *Literary Connection.* It might seem natural to identify the main source of Chronicles with Samuel-Kings, or with "The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" and "The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah," frequently referred to in Kings. But the principal source can not have been Kings, because "The Book of the Kings" is sometimes said to contain material not in Kings—*e.g.*, the wars of Jotham (II Chron. xxvii. 7); neither can it have been the "Chronicles" cited in Kings, because it is styled "Midrash" (A. V., "story"; R. V., "commentary"), which was a late form of Jewish literature (II Chron. xiii. 22, xxiv. 27). This main source, "The Book of the Kings," is therefore commonly supposed (see II. d) to have been a post-exilic work similar in style and spirit to Chronicles. The relation of this source to Kings is difficult to determine. It is clear that Chronicles contains matter taken either directly or indirectly from Kings, because it includes verses inserted by the editor of Kings (compare II Chron. xiv. 1, 2 and I Kings xv. 8,11). Either Chronicles used Kings and "The Book of the Kings," both of which works used the older "Chronicles" (so Driver, "Introduction to the Literature of the O. T." 6th ed., p. 532), or Chronicles used "The Book of the Kings," which had used both Kings and the older "Chronicles," or works based on them.

(c) *Text.* It is not always possible to distinguish minor editorial changes from textual errors; but, when the former have been eliminated, Chronicles presents an alternative text for the passages common to it and Samuel-Kings. As in the case of two manuscripts, sometimes the one text, sometimes the other, is correct. For example, I Chron. xviii. 3 has, wrongly, "Hadarezer," where II Sam. viii. 3 has "Hadadezer"; but conversely I Chron. xvii. 6 has, rightly, "judges," where II Sam. vii. 7 has "tribes."

IV. Historical Value: (a) *Omissions.* Almost all these are explained by the chronicler's anxiety to edify his readers (compare Section III. a); and they in no way discredit the narratives omitted.

(b) *Contradictions.* Where Chronicles contradicts Samuel-Kings preference must be given to the older work, except where the text of the latter is clearly corrupt. With the same exception, it may be assumed that sections of the primitive "Chronicles" are much more accurately preserved in Samuel-Kings than in Chronicles.

(c) *Additions.* The passages which describe the

Temple ritual and priesthood and the observance of the Pentateuchal law before the Exile are a translation of ancient history into the terms of the chronicler's own experience. The prophetical admonitions and other speeches are the chronicler's exposition of the religious significance of past history according to a familiar convention of ancient literature. Such material is most valuable: it gives unique information as to the Temple and the religious ideas of the early Greek period. Most of the material included under *C* in Section II. d, above has apparently been borrowed from an older source, and may constitute an addition to present knowledge of pre-exilic Israelitish history. The religious and other interests of the chronicler and his main source do not seem to account for the origin of the genealogies, statistics, accounts of buildings, etc., in *C*.

The character of another set of additions is not so clear; viz., Abijah's victory (II Chron. xiii.), Zerah's invasion (*ib.* xiv., xv.), and Manasseh's captivity (*ib.* xxxiii.). However little the chronicler may have cared about writing scientific history, the fact that he narrates an incident not mentioned elsewhere does not prove it to be imaginary. Kings is fragmentary; and its editors had views as to edification different from those of the chronicler (see JUDGES), which might lead them to omit what their successor would restore. Driver and others hold that Chronicles is connected with early sources by another line than that through Kings (note also *C*, Section II. d). Hence the silence of Kings is not conclusive against these additions. Nevertheless, such narratives, in the present state of knowledge, rest on the unsupported testimony of a very late and uncritical authority. Much turns on internal evidence, which has been very variously interpreted. Some recognize a historical basis for these narratives (W. E. Barnes, in "Cambridge Bible," pp. xxx. *et seq.*; A. H. Sayce, "The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments," p. 465); others regard them as wholly unhistorical (see "Chronicles, Books of," in "Encyc. Bibl."). As to Chronicles in general, Professor Sayce writes (*l.c.* p. 464): "The consistent exaggeration of numbers on the part of the chronicler shows us that from a historical point of view his unsupported statements must be received with caution. But they do not justify the accusations of deliberate fraud and 'fiction' which have been brought against him. What they prove is that he did not possess that sense of historical exactitude which we now demand from the historian."

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E. G. H. W. H. B.

CHRONOGRAM (from the Greek χρόνος = "time," and γράμμα = "writing"): A sentence or verse certain letters of which express a date, while the sentence itself alludes to or is descriptive of the event to which the date belongs. The words "chronograph," "chronicon," "chronostichon," "eteostichon," and "eteamenchemerodistichon" are all synonyms for "chronogram"; but the latter is now almost exclusively used. In general, the Latin literature of the Middle Ages is the richest in chronograms; but they are also found in German, Dutch, Belgian, and Hungarian. In English and French but few are found, and in Italian hardly any. Chronograms are especially popular in the East, there being several books in Persian on the art of constructing a "ta'rikh," the Persian equivalent for "chronogram" (see Rodgers, "Tarikhs," in "Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc." 1898, pp. 715–739). It is not improbable that the chronogram originated in the East, where such poetic juggling is common. The great popularity of chronograms among the Jews, and the extent to which they have been cultivated, may be explained by the fact that they are a variety of GEMATRIA, which latter was highly regarded by the Jews and much practised by them.

The earliest chronogram in Jewish literature is one found in a Hebrew poem of the year 1205 by Al-Ḥarizi (ed. Kaminka, p. 412; compare Rapoport, in "Kerem Ḥemed," vii. 252), while the earliest Latin chronogram is dated five years later (compare Hilton, "Chronograms," iii. 4). According to Firkowich, Hebrew chronograms date back to 582 (compare the epitaphs in his work "Abne Zikkaron," p. 10); but the inscriptions cited by him are probably forgeries. In the thirteenth century chronograms are found in the epitaphs of German Jews (Lewysohn, "Nafshot Ẓaddiḳim," No. 14, of the year 1261; No. 16, of the year 1275).

In Epitaphs.

It is evident, therefore, that for a period of five hundred years chronograms occurred in the epitaphs of European Jews. Thus the dates of the epitaphs of the family of Asher b. Jehiel in the first half of the fourteenth century are indicated by chronograms (Almanzi, "Abne Zikkaron," pp. 4, 6, 9); and among sixty-eight Frankfort epitaphs of that century four chronograms have been preserved (Horowitz, "Inschriften . . . zu Frankfurt-am-Main," Nos. 8, 29, 36, 68). The German Jews seem to have possessed little skill in the composition of chronograms, there being only about twenty-five (and these very simple) in a total of some 6,000 inscriptions. In Bohemia and Poland, chronograms in epitaphs occur more frequently, and are often very clever; for example, the epitaph of the physician Menahem b. Asher Mazzerato, who died at Prague in 1680, reads as follows: אִישׁ צַדִּיק יָשָׁר חָכָם וְעָנָו הָאֱלוֹף מֹהַר"ר מְנַחֵם רוֹפֵא מוּכְתָּח (Lieben, "Gal 'Ed," p. 36); and the numerical value of the marked initial letters therein amounts to 440; *i.e.*, 5440, the Jewish year in which Menahem died. The year of death of the associate rabbi of Prague, Zalman, who perished in the great fire of 1689 (=5449 Jewish era), is indicated by the words בְּאִשׁ יְצָא מֵאֵת ד' (*ib.* No. 59).

In Books.

While the epitaphs, in addition to the chronograms, in many cases directly mention the dates, many manuscripts, and an even greater number of printed books, are dated simply by means of chronograms; authors, copyists, and typographers rivaling one another in hiding the dates in intricate chronograms, most difficult to decipher. Hence, many data of Jewish bibliography still remain to be determined.

or at least rectified. Down to recent times the custom of indicating dates by means of chronograms was so prevalent in Jewish literature that but few books are dated by numerals only. In the earliest printed books the chronograms consist of one or two words only: the Soncino edition of the Talmud, for instance, has for its date the earliest printed chronogram, גמרא ("Gemara") = 244 (1484 C.E.). Words like רננו ("rejoice ye!"), שמחה ("joy"), ברנה ("with rejoicing") were especially used for this purpose, as they express happiness. Later on, entire verses of the Bible, or sentences from other books, having some reference to the contents or title of the book, or to the name of the author, publisher, printer, etc., were used. In longer sentences, in which some of the letters were not utilized in the chronogram, those that counted were marked by dots, lines, or different type, or were distinguished in other ways. Innumerable errors have been made by bibliographers because the distinguishing marks were missing or blotted, or had been omitted. To this source of confusion must be added the varying methods of indicating the "thousand" of the Jewish era. The Italian, Oriental, and earlier Amsterdam editions frequently designate the thousand as לפ"ג (= לפרט גדול, "the major era"). The German and Polish editions omit the thousand, considering only לפ"ק (= לפרט קטון, "the minor era"); but as neither the former nor the latter is employed throughout the respective editions, many errors arise. The following chronogram, which Samuel Schotten adds to his work "Kos ha-Yeshu'ot" (Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1711), shows how artificial and verbose chronograms may be: "Let him who wishes to know the year of the Creation pour the contents out of the cup [*i.e.*, count the word "kos," כוס, with defective spelling כס = 80] and seek aid [ישועה = 391; together 471] in the sixth millennium." The days of the month and week are indicated in the same way.

The chronograms on the works and documents of persons who were followers of Shabbethaism, and who in this manner indicated their belief, are most interesting. Thus, Samuel b. David ha-Levi's well-known work, "Naḥalat Shib'ah" (Amsterdam, 1667), has the date משיח בן דוד בא ("Messiah, son of David, is come!") on the title-page; and the community of Holleschau, in Moravia, similarly engraved in the epitaph of its beloved rabbi, Shabbethai b. Meïr ha-Kohen, the words היום בא משיח לגאולה ("Messiah is come to-day for a redemption"; compare Weisse, in "Kokebe Yiẓḥaḳ," i. 77). Many important years in Jewish history are indicated by their respective chronograms; *e.g.*, the year 1492 by מזרה ("scatterer" = 252, after Jer. xxi. 10, which says that God scattered Israel). This was the year when the Jews were expelled from Spain (Abravanel's Introduction to his Commentary on Kings).

In Poetry.

Neo-Hebraic poetry, which laid especial stress on the formal side of verse, also cultivated chronograms. A number of Hebrew poems were produced in the first half of the nineteenth century, in which the letters of each verse have the same numerical value, being generally the year in which it was written. A New-Year's poem in this style, written in the year 579 (=1819), is found in Shalom Cohen's "Ketab Yosher" (ed. Warsaw, p. 146). Two years later Jacob Eichenbaum wrote a poem in honor of a friend, each line of which had the numerical value of 581 ("Ḳol Zimrah," ed. Leipsic, pp. 50–53). While this poem is really a work of art, in spite of the artifice employed, Eichenbaum's imitators have in their translations merely produced rimes with certain numerical values. Gottlober (in "Ha-Kokabim," i. 31) wrote an excellent satire on these rimesters, each line of his poem having the numerical value of 618 (=1858). The first two verses of the poem are as follows:

עם הלפקים כה אריבה
ולאלה כנמול ידם להם אשיבה

But even poets like I. L. Gordon and A. B. Lewensohn have a great weakness for the לפקים ("minor eras"), though employing them only in the superscriptions to their poems. The modern school of Hebrew poets has given up these artifices, the "minor eras" being now chiefly employed for New-Year congratulations, especially by the poor of Palestine, who frequently distribute printed New-Year cards, the wish consisting of a verse whose numerical value is equal to the year.

Bibliography: James Hilton, *Chronograms*, i. 542–545, ii. 593–600; Steinschneider, *Jüdische Typographie*, in Ersch and Gruber, *Encyc.* xxviii. 27–28; Zunz, *Z. G.* pp. 214 *et seq.*

G. L. G.

CHRONOLOGY* (I.): The science that treats of the computation and adjustment of time or periods of time, and of the record and arrangement of events in the order of time. The chronology of Jewish literature may be divided into two periods: (1) that of the Biblical books; and (2) that of post-Biblical times.

Division of Time in the Biblical Books: From the earliest periods the day was divided into night and morning. Genesis records the division into two parts of what is now termed the "tropical or solar day." It is probable that the Israelites divided the day into twelve "dihoræ," or twenty-four hours; but in the Hebrew texts no trace thereof is found. The earliest mention of the hour ("sha'ah") is in the Aramaic texts of Daniel (iii. 6, 15). In documents of the Greek epoch, as also in the Assyrian texts, references occur to "night-watches" ("ashmurah"), by which the night was divided into three parts (Ps. xc. 4; Lam. ii. 19). As regards instruments for measuring time, II Kings (xx. 11) and Isaiah (xxxviii. 8) give some vague information concerning the gnomon of King Ahaz, and the degrees marked on his sun-dial (see Dial).

The week, with the attribution of each day to one of the seven planets, is one of the most ancient institutions of the Babylonians. This nation commenced the hebdomadal period with the sun, followed by the moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn. Every planet in succession presided over twenty-four hours, but not in the order assumed for their spheres, which was as follows: the sun, Venus, Mercury, the moon, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars. The

*The foundations of Biblical chronology being still a matter of discussion, it is deemed desirable to present the divergent views in separate articles.

initial hour of the first day was consecrated to the sun; the twenty-fifth, or the initial hour of the second day, to the moon; the forty-ninth to Mars; the seventy-third to Mercury; the ninety-seventh to Jupiter; the one hundred and twenty-first to Venus; and the one hundred and forty-fifth to Saturn.

It has been claimed that this arrangement is of more modern invention; but indications of its existence are found in the earliest texts. The Mosaic accounts of Creation, of course, ignore the assignment of the week-days to divers stars; but, independently of all astral influence, the seventh day was instituted as a sacred day, quite distinct in character from the seventh day of the lunar synodic month, which was regarded as a holy day by the Chaldeans.

From the Mosaic times down the synodical month in the Jewish calendar was calculated, as in the Babylonian, from one new moon to the next. This is proved by the well-known passage in Ex. xii. 2. Here no Egyptian influence may be assumed. But the system of thirty-day months, also, seems to have been recognized by the Jewish calendar.

The Jewish year was solar-lunar. In the early Biblical statements no indication whatever is found of an intercalary month. Still it is safely assumed that the difference of ten or eleven hours between the twelve synodical months and the tropical year was equalized by the insertion of an embolismic month; and in the cuneiform Sumerian texts express mention is made of this intercalation as far back as the fifth millennium B.C. It is very probable that the equivalence of 19 tropical years and 235 synodical months was known in the most remote times; but a regular intercalary system was not introduced before Greek influence asserted itself—that is, not before 367 B.C. In Chaldea the embolismic months were inserted merely for astrological reasons: the methods employed later by the Jewish authorities (see CALENDAR) to adjust astronomical irregularities can not be held to have been in vogue among the Chaldeans.

Post-Biblical Times: The modern Jewish calendar is adapted to the Greek computation exclusively. The Talmudic tractate Rosh ha-Shanah (ch. i.) indicates that four ways for commencing the year were known and observed. The day was divided into twenty-four hours, and each hour into 1,080 "ḥalaḳim." The passage in Rosh ha-Shanah gives, almost exactly, the length of the average synodical month as 29 days, 6 hours, and 793 ḥalaḳim (44 minutes, $3\frac{1}{3}$ seconds), which is only $\frac{4}{9}$ second too long; the real duration being 29 days, 6 hours, 44 minutes, 2.89 seconds. This estimate is of Greek origin, like the Metonic embolismic cycle of the years 3, 6, 8, 11, 14, 17, 19 of the nineteen-year Metonic period. The new Jewish calendar seems to have been inaugurated in 363 (Tishri), and Rabbi Hillel apparently modified it by introducing some innovations; but it is not known exactly what they were. Some hints in Talmudic texts, which can not be dwelt upon here, seem to indicate that the "forbidden days"—that is, days of the week on which Rosh ha-Shanah (New-Year) could not fall—were introduced at that time. The Talmud speaks of Shabu'ot falling on a Saturday, which can not happen now. The first of Tishri can not fall on Sunday, Wednesday, or Friday (אדו); nor can the first of Nisan be on Monday, Wednesday, or Friday (בדו). These forbidden days cause a great complication of the calendar. As a starting-point for calculation, the first of Tishri in the year 1 is indicated by the symbol בהרד, signifying Monday (ב or second day of week), 5 (ה) hours, 204 (רד) ḥalaḳim, corresponding to Oct. 7 in the Julian, or Sept. 7 in the Gregorian, calendar of the year 3761–3760 B.C. (6240 of the modern computation, which adds 10,000 years to the common era). This is the astronomical day 347,999. The cycles ("maḥzor") count from that epoch. In order to ascertain the year of the cycle, the number is divided by 19, the remainder giving the year of the cycle; for example: 5661 (1900–1901) ÷ 19 = 297 + 18; *i.e.*, the year 5661 is the eighteenth year of the 298th cycle.

The idea of an era beginning with and counted from an historical event is an ingenious invention of the Greeks, who represented by an impersonal fact computations referring to a person. The first public application of it was the Seleucid era, dating from Oct., 312 (or, at Babylon, from April 2, 311) B.C.; and this era was accepted by the Jews, who maintained it generally down to the eleventh century; in Egypt, however, it survived into the sixteenth century, when Rabbi David ibn Abi Zimra brought about its disuse, while in South Arabia it was used, along with the "æra mundi," even as late as the nineteenth century. For the Temple and the dating of private records there existed the era from the Exodus. Not only is the existence of this era a mathematical conclusion based on the 200 dates in Kings, but it is also definitely indicated in I Kings vi. 1, where the beginning of the construction of Solomon's Temple is assigned to the year 480 of the Exodus era. The Hebrew context is of such characteristic precision that no one can seriously pretend this to be an intentional combination of 12 times 40 years. Why this number and not another? It would be no less absurd to claim that the 480 years of the Roman republic (510–30 B.C.) or the equal duration of the Parthian realm (256 B.C.–225 C.E.) had been assumed only in order to have the product of 12×40, or 60×8. The question to be decided is whether the date then obtained for the Exodus—viz., 1492 B.C.—is the real one; for whether or not the chroniclers of this period were mistaken as to the epoch or the era is quite a different matter for examination. Most of the eras in use assume a conventional starting date which is not accurately that of the event from which the name is derived. The Dionysian era of the birth of Jesus, perhaps the Mohammedan one of the Hegira, or flight of the prophet from Mecca to Medina, the Jewish one of the Creation, besides some 150 other modes of starting a chronological series, are illustrations of this common practise.

Eras.

The months in the era employed by the Biblical chronographers were counted from Nisan, the first month, to Adar, the twelfth, or We-Adar, the thirteenth. On the other hand, it is found that Biblical texts in giving the years of the kings commence with the dates of their accession to the throne, just as the kings of England and the popes determine

their regnal years. Thus in II Chron. xxix. 3 the reference to the first day of the first month in year 1 of Hezekiah is not to the day of his accession, but to the first of Nisan of the first year of his reign; that is, according to the modern computation, March or April, 726 B.C. If the date of 1492 for the Exodus is correct, the starting date for the annals is 767 B.C. By this system it is possible to assign with certainty the destruction of the First Temple to Sunday, Aug. 27 (Julian), 587 B.C. (9413; astronomical day 1,507,261); that is, the 9th of Ab of the year 906 of the era of the Exodus.

The Biblical figures are given in the nth year; that is, from the accession to the throne down to the event there had elapsed $n-1$ year plus a fraction of a year, which fraction is expressed by a Greek letter. For instance, Uzziah reigned fifty-two years; in his fifty-second year Pekah of Israel was king; and Uzziah died in the second year of Pekah. This example, among many similar ones, shows mathematically that the beginning of the royal years can not be the same. The problem may be stated as follows:

Uzziah reigned before Pekah.....	$51+\alpha$
Uzziah reigned simultaneously with Pekah.....	$1+\beta$
Total length of Uzziah's reign.....	$52+(\alpha+\beta)$ years

where the sum of the fractions α and β does not amount to one-half.

All the Biblical calculations start from a different date, the date of accession; and the agreement of all these figures proves that the original date must have been changed to conform with the fixed harmonizing scheme of the annalist, the synchronous tables of the kings' reigns.

Jewish chronology includes: (1) the non-chronological, mythical numbers of Genesis; and (2) the real chronology, from the Exodus to the end of the Jewish dominion (1492 B.C. to 70 of the common era).

The Non-Chronological, Mythical Numbers of Genesis: The figures of Genesis, handed down in their original form by the Hebrew texts followed by the Vulgate, are the results of a fictitious reduction of the enormous numbers put forth by the Chaldeans, the Egyptians, and the Hindus. The Jews and Greeks were not willing to admit that the world had been created long before their appearance in history. The original figures of one of the systems named were reduced to a certain scale. Only one of the Chaldean systems, preserved by the fragments of Berosus, is known. It is probable that his figures are those of the Babylonian school; while those of Sippara and Orchoë had possibly other units of time to express the same original arithmetical numbers.

The Creation: One of the Chaldean schools assumed seven periods, each of 240,000 years; that is, 1,680,000 years. Each period of 10,000 years is measured by an hour of the seven days which comprise Creation in Genesis ($168=7\times24$).

From the Creation to the Deluge: The Chaldeans admitted the eternity of the world without any beginning; but the existing astronomical bodies had a commencement. For the time from the creation of these to the great cataclysm, or the Deluge, they assumed a sexagesimal unit, the number of the seconds of the day: $60\times60\times24$, or 86,400 units. The unit of the Babylonian school was 60 months, or 5 years; that is, 432,000 years. The Hindus fix the unit at 5,000 years, or 432,000,000. The Jews reduced this to 86,400 weeks, or 1,656 years; that is, 72 periods of 23 years each. The 23 years give just 8,400 days, or 1,200 weeks; the unit of 72 periods being divided into three unequal parts, containing respectively 20, 18 (which is one-fourth of 72), and 34 periods of 1,200 weeks or 23 years each. The number 23 is found in the number resulting from adding the years elapsing between the births of father and son in the three groups given in Gen. v.; namely:

(1) Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, and Jared: $130+105+90+70+65=460=20\times23$, or $20\times1,200=24,000$ weeks.
(2) Mahalaleel, Enoch, Methuselah: $162+65+187=414=23\times18$ (the fourth of the period, as in the Chaldean) $=1,200\times18=21,600$ weeks.
(3) Lamech: $182+600=782=23\times34=40,800$ weeks.

The corresponding Babylonian figures relating to the ten antediluvian kings are:

The first three together.....	93,600 years	= 18,720 lustra
The following two together,	108,000 "	= 21,600 "
The remaining five (?).....	230,400 "	= 46,080 "
	432,000 "	= 86,400 "
The Bible has.....		86,400 weeks
The Chaldean texts have.....		86,400 lustra

The three periods correspond to legends now altogether lost, as the chronological tables in Genesis show.

The postdiluvian times down to the end of Genesis include:

From the Deluge to the birth of Abraham	292 years
From the birth of Abraham to the end of Genesis.....	361 "
	653 "

These 292 and 361 years are the reduction to one-sixtieth of the Berosian figures, which give:

For the first two kings.....	5,100 years
For the 86 following	34,080 "
	39,180 "

These 39,180 years are composed of 12 Sothic periods of 1,460 years, and of twelve lunar periods (Assyrian, "tupḳot nannar") of 1,805 years. After 1,805 years the eclipses recur in the same order; and this cycle was known to the Chaldeans, not by calculation, but by actual observations and registrations of eclipses during centuries and millennia.

The Babylonian figures are controlled by the sexagesimal notation of sosses ("shushi" = σῦσσος) of 60, ners ("neru" = νῆρος) of 600, and sars ("shar" = σάρος) of 3,600 years. There are thus:

12 Sothic periods of 1,460 years	= 17,520 years,	or 292 sosses	
12 lunar " " 1,805 "	= 21,660 "	" 361	"

The Biblical number of 292 years, quoted by Josephus ("Ant." i. 6, § 5) comprises the nine generations from Arphaxad to Terah, the father of Abraham; namely:

$$2+35+30+34+30+32+29+30+70=292 \text{ years.}$$

In order to obtain the necessary 292, Terah must have reached his seventieth year before begetting Abraham.

From the birth of Abraham to that of Isaac...	100 years
From the birth of Isaac to that of Jacob.....	60 "
From the birth of Jacob to that of Joseph.....	91 "
Lifetime of Joseph, end of Genesis.....	110 "
	361 "

In order to secure the total of 361 years which the system required, Joseph must be given neither more nor less than 110 years.

Besides this computation of generations, there existed another, originally quite independent thereof, enumerating only the years of life of each ancestor. These numbers referring to the length of life might have been derived from Babylonian statements; but the almost complete destruction of cuneiform historical documents has removed all tradition of this kind. It must be remarked that the prime number 23 is also found in the sums of this series, a phenomenon which is probably to be explained by assuming that some analogous fact existed in the Chaldean mythology.

The Biblical sums are as follows:

From Adam to Cainan	$3,657 = 23 \times 159$ years
From Mahalaleel to Shem.....	$5,520 = 23 \times 240$ "
From Arphaxad to Jacob.....	$2,898 = 23 \times 126$ "
	"
	$12,075 = 23 \times 525$ "

It is, of course, very strange that these 12,075 years should be equal to $525 \times 1,200$ weeks, or 630,000 weeks; that is, the result of 70, 90, and 100. It would correspond to a Babylonian epoch of 3,150,000 years.

These two different traditions have been combined by the redactors of the Biblical text, in order to explain the now lost legends of the antediluvian and postdiluvian times of the Jewish people. An exact scrutiny of the figures as they are found in the present form of the text provides the basis for very singular and awkward results, of which Biblical tradition compels acceptance, and which have during many centuries caused numerous falsifications and discussions.

Chronology of Genesis.

Antediluvian Period, 86,400 Weeks.

First part, 24,000 weeks.

Year of Creation.		Year of Creation.	
1	Adam born	325	Cainan born
130	Seth "	395	Mahalaleel born
235	Enos "	460	Jared born

Second part, 21,600 weeks, one-quarter of the whole.

Year of Creation.		Year of Creation.	
460	Jared born	687	Methuselah born
622	Enoch "	874	Lamech "

Third part, 40,800 weeks. All die except Noah and Shem.

Year of Creation.		Year of Creation.	
874	Lamech born	1290	Mahalaleel dies
930	Adam dies	1422	Jared dies
987	Enoch translated	1556	Shem born
1042	Seth dies	1654	Lamech dies
1056	Noah born	1656	Methuselah dies
1140	Enos dies		The Deluge
1235	Cainan "		

Postdiluvian Period, 653 Sosses, Reduced to 653 Years.

First part, from the Deluge to the birth of Abraham. No one dies.

Year of the Deluge.		Year of the Deluge.	
2	Arphaxad born	163	Serug born
37	Salah "	192	Nahor "
67	Eber "	222	Terah "
101	Peleg "	292	Abraham born
131	Reu "		

Second part, from the birth of Abraham to the end of Genesis, 361 sosses, reduced to 361 years. All die.

Year of the Deluge.		Year of the Deluge.	
292	Abraham born	452	Jacob born
340	Peleg dies	457	Abraham dies
341	Nahor "	470	Salah "
350	Noah " (!)	502	Shem dies (!)
365	The calling of Abraham	531	Eber "
		543	Joseph born
370	Reu dies	572	Isaac dies
392	Isaac born	582	Arrival of Jacob in Egypt
393	Serug dies		
427	Terah "	599	Jacob dies
440	Arphaxad dies	653	Joseph "

These figures had been known for centuries. Shem survived Abraham; therefore legends pretend that Melchizedek was really Shem and had handed down the antediluvian traditions. The antediluvian times produced a great many traditions that have been altogether lost. In the first fortunate period nobody died; in the second, death may have been threatened; in the third, all men perished, and the aged Methuselah died in the actual year of the Deluge.

The combination of the two systems has produced considerable bewilderment among subsequent translators and exegetes. The LXX., to avoid awkward chronological results, hit upon the expedient of falsifying the real figures, by adding to each of the post-Semitic personages 100 years. Instead of 2 they have 102; for 35 they substituted 135; and so on.

When this chronology of cycles was invented, it is idle to discuss. It is highly possible that it arose during the time of the First Temple; and there is no reason for bringing its origin down to the post-exilian epoch. Israel and Judah had at this period a systematized chronology; and there had existed, beginning with the seventeenth century B.C., a close connection between Palestine and Chaldea.

Real Chronology: 1. *From the Exodus to the Destruction of the First Temple (1492 to 587 B.C.).*

The first part, the four centuries between the Exodus and David (1492–1047), can not be fixed with certainty. The duration of the several judges' reigns is involved in doubt, and arguments can not be advanced with the slightest hope of success; for the needed documents are wanting. With David commences a sound and really historical chronology. The two hundred chronological dates handed down by the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles are, with one or two exceptions (*e.g.*, the twelfth year of Ahaz, instead of the thirteenth year; see II Kings xvii. 1), of remarkable consistency. In a few cases, again, the figures are rightly given, but are by the present text attributed to some other event, owing to the transposition of the fragments of records saved from destruction at the fall of the First Temple. For example: the fourteenth year of Hezekiah is not the year of the expedition of Sennacherib, but that of the sickness of Hezekiah and of the embassy of Merodach-baladan, King of Babylon. The twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam II., King of Israel (II Kings xv. 1), is mentioned as the first year of Uzziah, in flagrant contradiction to all the statements of the previous chapter, which makes it correspond with the fifteenth or sixteenth year.

Intentional mutilation of the text and suppression of all notice of the temporary suspension of the independence of the kingdom of Israel by the Syrians are the real cause of the larger number (15 or 16) given in ch. xiv.: the end of that chapter, and Isa. vii. 3, which can not be understood otherwise, indicate clearly that for eleven years Jeroboam II. had been expelled from Samaria by the Syrians. The subsequent passages have been ruthlessly altered, in order to obviate the slightest mention of this cessation of Israel's realm. A similar mutilation has been practised at the end of ch. xv., where the interruption of Pekah's reign for nine years, and his supersession by Menahem II. mentioned in the Tiglath-pileser texts, are passed over in perfect silence.

The statements are always to be analyzed in the only possible mathematical manner; *i.e.*, by the formula that the *n*th year signifies n−1 years and a fraction of a year after the event.

For the absolute fixation we have the solar eclipse of the eponym "Isid-seti-igbi," June 13, 809 B.C., 91 years before which occurred the battle of Karkor, during Ahab's lifetime, and 78 years before which Jehu sent his tribute to Shalmaneser III. of Nineveh.

The eponymic tablets and the Babylonian chronicle fix the date of the downfall of Samaria as Jan., 721 B.C.

The two eclipses of the year 7 of Cambyses (523–522 B.C.) fix the date of Nebuchadnezzar's accession as May–June, 605 B.C., and the date of the delivery of Jehoiachin by Evil-merodach, son of Nebuchadnezzar, as the 27th (II Kings xxv. 27) or 25th (Jer. lii. 31) of Adar, either Sunday, Feb. 29, or Tuesday, March 2, 561 B.C.

These starting-points admit of the establishment of the chronology with certainty in the following manner—the only one possible—without alterations of the text in the historical documents:

Kings of Judah.

David	1047–1017	Amaziah	840–811
Solomon	1017–978	Uzziah or Azariah	811–758
Rehoboam	978–960	Jotham	758–742
Abijam (Abijah)	960–958	Ahaz	742–727
Asa	958–917	Hezekiah	727–698
Jehoshaphat, alone	917–895	Manasseh	698–642
Jehoshaphat and Joram	895–892	Amon	642–640
Joram alone	892–888	Josiah	640–609
Ahaziah	888–887	Joahaz	–609
Athaliah (Queen)	887–881	Jehoiakim	609–598
Joash	881–840	Jehoiachin	–598
		Zedekiah	598–587

Destruction of the Temple, Sunday, Aug. 27, 587 B.C.

Kings of Israel.

Jeroboam I.	977–956	Domination of Syria	799–788
Nadab	956–955	Jeroboam II., second reign	788–773
Baasha	955–932	Zachariah (six months)	773–772
Elah	932–931	Shallum (one month)	–772
Zimri (seven days)	–931	Menahem I.	772–761
Omri with Tibni	931–927	Pekahiah	761–759
Omri, alone	927–920	Pekah, first reign	759–744
Ahab	920–900	Menahem II., under the Assyrian Tiglath-pileser	744–735
Ahaziah	900–899	Pekah, second reign	735–730
Joram	899–887	Hoshea	730–721
Jehu	887–859		
Jehoahaz	859–842		
Joash	842–825		
Jeroboam II., first reign	825–799		

Destruction of Samaria, Jan., 721 B.C.

The great chronologists of the seventeenth century have long pointed out the apparent discrepancy between the statements of the duration of the reigns of Jeroboam II. and Pekah and the time resulting from the synchronisms. But there is no error. Indeed, between the commencement and the end of the reign of Jeroboam II. fifty-two years elapsed; but during eleven of these he was superseded, and his de facto occupation of the throne counts only forty-one years, as the Biblical text affirms. Similarly Pekah reigned only twenty years in Samaria, although twenty-nine intervened between his accession and his death.

2. *From the Destruction of the First Temple to that of the Second under Titus (587 B.C. to 70 of the Common Era).*

The important events and dates are as follows:

B.C.	
587–168	Loss of Jewish independence.
538	Decree of Cyrus, King of Babylon, signed Oct., 539, allowing the Jews to return to Palestine.
473	Institution of the Feast of Purim under Xerxes (Ahasuerus); troubles in Palestine caused by the enemies of the Jews.
398	Ezra, under Artaxerxes Mnemon.
385	Nehemiah's second organization. Government of the high priest.
332	Alexander subdues Palestine.
312	Establishment of the Syrian power.
170	Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes) plunders Jerusalem. The Jews lose their independence, 168 B.C. to 6 C.E.
168	Mattathias the Hasmonean or Maccabean.
58	Herod supersedes the Hasmoneans.
4	Early in April, death of Herod, and division of Palestine into four independent provinces.
C.E.	
6	Judea a province of Rome.
69	Revolt of the Jews.
70	Sunday, Aug. 5, destruction of the Second Temple.

Bibliography: Jules Oppert, *Salomon et Ses Successeurs*, 1877; idem, *Noli Me Tangere*, in *Proceedings of Soc. of Biblical Archeology*, Dec., 1897.

E. G. H. J. O.

(II.) Biblical: In this article there will be briefly given (1) the methods used for dating events and periods in the Old Testament; (2) the scientific data upon which the most reliable chronological system has been founded; and (3) the most valuable results in the fixing of important dates.

1. Methods of Dating: Two main stages may be distinguished in the attempts made by Bible writers of the various periods to indicate the times of occurrence of events. The first is that in which the narrator chooses any one out of a number of well-known events as a time-mark; and the second is that in which an authoritative system is assumed as already prevailing.

Unsystematic Usages: Reference is made to: (*a*) a memorable phenomenon of nature; thus Amos (i. 1) dates from an earthquake (compare Zech. xiv. 5); (*b*) a great national movement; thus, the establishment of the Hyksos dynasty in Egypt is marked by the building of the city of Zoan (Num. xiii. 22); (*c*) a decisive military movement, as the expedition of Sargon of Assyria against Ashdod (Isa. xx. 1); (*d*) the death of a king of the writer's country, as of Uzziah or of Ahab (Isa. vi. 1, xiv. 28).

A Conventional System: Such devices as the above-named could have only local vogue and value. Familiarity with the businesslike methods of outside communities, especially in the days of the later kings and during the Exile, led to the adoption of a methodical scheme for the dating of events. The decisive epoch was the period between Isaiah and Jeremiah, when the Judahites were completely under Assyrian domination. Dates are attached to several individual prophecies of Jeremiah; and the statements are, for the most part, of contemporary origin (Jer. xxvii. *et seq.*). The point of departure in the reckoning is the beginning of the reign of the then King of Judah, sometimes with the addition of the regnal year of the great King of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar (*e.g.*, xxxii. 1). A little later Ezekiel's prophecies were regularly dated, as was natural to a writer living in Babylonia. In accordance with the same custom several of the prophetical books were furnished with headings indicating the limits of the professional careers of the authors. But these were added by later editors.

Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

More systematic and extensive are the chronological data of the books of Kings and Chronicles, where, throughout the history of the divided kingdoms, are found not only the lengths of the reigns of the several rulers, but the dates of their accessions, in two separate series of synchronisms. Thus it is said: "In the twentieth year of Jeroboam king of Israel began Asa to reign over Judah. . . . Forty and one years reigned he in Jerusalem" (I Kings xv. 9, 10). Many of the numbers given, especially the synchronisms, are erroneous, as is proved by the fact that no attempt to harmonize the two series has been successful [see, however, Chronology (I.)]. The sum of the years of the kings of Israel from the schism to the Exile is 242; while that of the years of the kings of Judah for the same period is 260. Startling inconsistencies are also found where the several synchronisms for the same king are worked out. Thus, for the accession of Ahaz of Judah one has to choose between 727, 720, and 715 B.C., according as one set of data or another is followed. Inferential evidence points conclusively to the fact that all of these numbers were inserted, as a separate part of the narrative, in the editorial period that followed the loss of Jerusalem. It is equally certain that the synchronisms were a matter of independent calculation. But there is good reason to believe that if the regnal years were not found in surviving royal annals, they were at least preserved by a fairly reliable tradition supported in part by documentary testimony. By the help of Assyrian data they may be used with a fair degree of accuracy.

Jeroboam and Asa.

The Dates Assigned to Ahaz.

One step backward beyond the division of the kingdom, Solomon, David, and Saul are each credited with a reign of forty years. This suggests a conjectural systematization. The hypothesis is strengthened by the frequent occurrence of the number forty in numerations made for still earlier personages and events. Indeed, the summation of the years between the Exodus and the beginning of Solomon's Temple, found in I Kings vi. 1, has been plausibly conjectured to be made up of twelve generations, each of forty years. The number 480 thus given is, however, too large by one-half; since the Exodus can not have occurred much before 1200 B.C., and the Temple was built about 960 B.C.

From the Exodus to Solomon.

For the chronology of the long period before Moses there are no sure data, since the numbers of the Masoretic text differ widely from those variously given by the Septuagint, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Book of Jubilees (first century C.E.). In the Masoretic data there are, moreover, several artificial schemes of systematization. For the details of these any good modern commentary on Genesis or special treatise on Bible chronology may be consulted.

The Earliest Period.

2. Scientific Data: All chronological accuracy depends upon the fulfilment of two conditions. To ascertain or verify the date of any event there must be a fixed point of departure, from which or to which the event in question is to be reckoned. Again, the data from which the time of the event is inferred must be adjusted to a connected system of time-reckoning reliable throughout. In other words, some ancient authority, referring to an established scheme or system, must have made a notation of the event itself or of something synchronous with it.

The Babylonians, and their kindred and disciples, the Assyrians, were the only people of Oriental antiquity who duly kept such a required system of time-notation. It is to them that the current divisions of time generally, as well as the beginnings of mathematics and astronomy, are due. They had already in their earliest recorded history the sense of number and computation. The Hebrew writers were still working with

Babylonian Methods of Numeration.

round numbers and employing primitive and uncertain eras thousands of years after the Babylonians had begun to keep their sacred and public records by separate and successive years and to preserve the results for later reference or tabulation.

Naturally, most is gained for Biblical chronology from the synchronisms with contemporary Assyrian or Babylonian history. Of special importance are those available for the period of the kings of Israel and Judah, when the relations with Assyria were close and continuous, and at the same time the Biblical data are most abundant. There are three main sources of information in the inscriptions. One is the royal annals, in which events are often described as occurring in a given year of the king's reign, or in the year of office of a given eponym. The second is the lists of such eponyms as were chosen successively from among Assyrian rulers of different grades to mark their respective years, which were accordingly called by their names. These lists are preserved in more than one form; and by combining them it is possible to make up a complete series for the period 893–666 B.C., as well as for shorter intervals both before and after. Their accuracy has been confirmed by every possible check. Not only historical events, but business documents also, were dated by the years of the proper eponyms. The third aid of this kind consists of lists of kings in the order of their succession, with the lengths of their several reigns, as well as brief summaries of important events, usually referred to by modern scholars as "chronicles."

Helpful Cuneiform Records.

An instance of the application of Assyrian data to Old Testament chronological problems may be given here. Shalmaneser II., who reigned 860–825 B.C., describes frequent expeditions to Syria and Palestine, and mentions by name Ahab and Jehu of Israel. He relates that in the year of his reign which is found to correspond to 842 B.C., he received tribute from Jehu. Presumably this was at the accession of Jehu, who would be anxious to secure support for his new pretensions; but this is only a conjecture. He mentions, also, that in 854 he fought a great battle against a league of western rulers, among whom were Ahab of Israel and Ben-hadad of Damascus. The history of Ahab, as given in the Bible, indicates that there was only one occasion on which Ahab and Ben-hadad could have made such a league with each other; namely, in the brief period between the peace of Aphek (I Kings xx. 34) and the death of Ahab in the third year thereafter (*ib.* xxii. 2 *et seq.*). The middle year of this interval suggests itself as the date of the league, 854 B.C. Ahab, therefore, must have died in 853 B.C. According to the narrative in Kings, Jehu came to the throne in the twelfth year thereafter; that is to say, in 842. Using with necessary caution the Biblical numbers, one may now reckon backward and forward from these dates and obtain a fairly correct chronology of the whole period from the schism to the close of the Exile.

Application of Assyrian Data.

3. Results: The following are some of the most important dates which have been ascertained from combinations and inferences made upon the principles set forth above. Others had already been learned by the aid of Greek writers, especially Ptolemy.

B.C.	
934	Division of the kingdom.
886	Omri made King of Israel. Samaria founded.
855	Peace with Damascus.
853	Death of Ahab.
842	Jehu made king and pays tribute to Assyria.
797	Damascus taken by the Assyrians.
763	Amos prophesies.
738	Isaiah prophesies. Death of King Uzziah. Northern Israel tributary to Tiglath-pileser III.
734	Judah under Ahaz pays homage to Assyria.
733	Damascus and Samaria taken by Tiglath-pileser. Part of Israel deported.
722–21	Fall of Samaria. Deportation of people by Sargon of Assyria, who acceded in Jan., 721.
567	Nebuchadnezzar invades Egypt.
539	In July, Babylon taken by Gobryas the Mede, general of Cyrus. In October, Cyrus himself enters the city.

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Post-Biblical: The chronological system of the Jews was derived, like most of their science, from the Greeks. They used the "minyan shetarot" (era of contracts, really the Seleucidan era, dating from 312 B.C.) till the Middle Ages, when the method of reckoning from the creation of the world was introduced—probably by the later geonim, as it was employed by R. Sherira (987 C.E.). This era begins with the year corresponding to 3760 B.C. Maimonides on occasions used no less than three eras, as in the Mishneh Torah (Shemiṭṭah, x. 4): "In the year 1107 of the destruction of the Temple, 1487 of the Seleucidan era, 4936 of the Creation." For a short time the era of the Hasmoneans, dating from the autumn of 143 B.C. (see I Macc. xiii. 41–42), was in use. See ERA.

The dates recorded according to these various eras are based in Jewish chronology on certain estimated intervals between important events in post-Biblical Jewish history. These intervals are given in 'Ab. Zarah 9a, 10a (probably derived from Seder 'Olam Rabbah, xxix.), which counts 34 years from the Second Temple to Alexander; 180 for the Greek empire; 103 from the beginning of the Hasmonean dynasty under John Hyrcanus (135 B.C.) to Herod; 103 from Herod to the destruction of the Temple; making in all 420 years. According to this reckoning, the era of contracts is placed six years after that of Alexander, the interval between whose appearance in Palestine and the destruction of the Second Temple is much less than in reality. The date of the accession of Herod is placed two years too late; and that of the destruction of the Temple is fixed at 68, which is, of course, two years too early. Loeb ("Revue Etudes Juives," xix. 202–205) has ingeniously explained these discrepancies as due to a desire on the part of R. Jose, the author of the Seder 'Olam Rabbah, to make them agree with the prediction of Dan. ix. 24 *et seq.*, that seventy weeks (of years), or 490 years, would elapse between the Return from

the Exile and the destruction of the Second Temple. As the Exile was assumed to last seventy years, in accordance with Jeremiah, this left 420 years from the Return (537 B.C.) to the destruction of the Temple (70 C.E.), a discrepancy of 187 years. This is got rid of in part by making the Persian domination last 34 instead of 204 years (537–333 B.C.). This was done in order to make the interval between the Exodus and the era of contracts exactly 1,000 years.

Dates of Jewish Annalists.

Owing to these discrepancies, great confusion exists in the annals of the Jewish chroniclers, who have generally tried to combine the dates recorded by their predecessors with those of more recent events, using the era of creation almost exclusively (see I. Loeb, "Josef Haccohen et les Chroniqueurs Juifs," Paris, 1888, reprinted from "Revue Etudes Juives," xv., xvi.); and it is dangerous to trust to their lists unless checked by contemporary annals. In the subjoined chronological table the dates of the most prominent events of Jewish history have been derived from Henrietta Szold's "Tables of Jewish History" in the index volume (pp. 104 *et seq.*) of the American edition of Graetz's "History of the Jews." For events of lesser importance the sources are in almost every case the local annalists as utilized by the historians of the Jews in the respective countries. Particular attention has been given to the successive stages of legislation, while only selections have been made from the many cases of autos da fé, blood accusations, expulsions, host-tragedies, and acts of emancipation, for all of which complete lists are given in separate articles under the respective headings.

In contradistinction to the usual custom, but few literary events have been included in the table, only those works which have affected the public opinion of the non-Jewish world having been regarded as of more direct historic importance. The ruling principle has been to confine the list to strictly historic events; *i.e.*, to incidents affecting either directly or indirectly the relations of the Jews to the states in whose territories they have dwelt. Incidents affecting merely the internal concerns of the Jewish communities have not, as a rule, been included.

A Jewish Chronology from the Destruction of Jerusalem to the Year 1902.

C.E.

70. Jerusalem besieged and conquered by Titus; the Temple destroyed.
72. Judea completely conquered; the "Fiscus Judaicus" instituted by Vespasian.
115. The Jews of Babylonia, Palestine, Egypt, Cyprus, Cyrene, and Libya rise against Trajan.
118. The Jews of Palestine rise against Trajan and Hadrian; "War of Lucius Quietus."
133. Rebellion of Bar Kokba against Hadrian; restoration of the Jewish state.
135. Fall of Bethar; end of Bar Kokba's rebellion.
161. Revolution in Palestine against Antoninus Pius.
280. Judah III., son of Judah II., patriarch, collects a tax from foreign communities.
306. Council of Elvira forbids Christians to eat with Jews or to intermarry with them.
325. First Nicene Council separates the celebration of Easter from that of the Jewish Passover.
339. Constantius forbids, under penalty of death, marriage of a Jew with a Christian woman, and circumcision of slaves.
361. Restoration of the Temple at Jerusalem undertaken under Julian the Apostate.
362. Julian the Apostate abolishes the Jew tax.
400. Moses, the false Messiah of Crete.
415. Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, drives the Jews from Alexandria.
418. (March 10) Jews excluded from all public offices and dignities in the Roman empire.
425. Extinction of the patriarchate.
455. Persecution of the Babylonian Jews under Yezdegerd III.
465. The Council of Vannes (Gaul) prohibits the clergy from taking part in Jewish banquets.
471. Persecution of the Babylonian Jews under Firuz (Perozes); the exilarch Huna Mari and others suffer martyrdom.
500 (*circa*). Abu-Kariba, Himyarite king, adopts Judaism, and converts his army and his people.
511. Mar-Zutra II., prince of the Captivity (exilarch), establishes an independent Jewish state in Babylonia under the Persian king Kobad.
516. (May 14, 15) Uprising against Jews of Clermont; synagogue destroyed.
517. The Council of Epaon forbids Christians to take part in Jewish banquets.
518. Persecution of the Jews by Kobad, King of Persia.
532. Justinian I. decrees that the testimony of Jews shall be valid only in Jewish cases.
537. Justinian declares Jews incapable of holding any official dignity.
538. The Council of Orleans forbids Jews to appear on the street at Eastertide.
589. Reccared, Visigothic King of Spain, completely isolates Jews from Christians.
612. Sisebut, Visigothic king, forces the Jews to accept baptism or to emigrate.
624. The Banu Ḳainuḳa'a, a Jewish-Arabic tribe, driven from Arabia by Mohammed.
627. Emperor Heraclius forbids Jews to enter Jerusalem, and in other ways harasses the Palestinian Jews.
629. Dagobert orders the Jews of the Frankish empire to accept baptism or to emigrate.
633. The Council of Toledo under Sisenand, Visigothic king, and Isidore of Seville, forces converts to Judaism back to Christianity.
638. Chintila enacts that only professing Catholics shall remain in Visigothic Spain; Jews emigrate.
640. Omar, the second calif, banishes all Jews from Arabia; the "Pact of Omar" imposes restrictions upon Jews in the whole Mohammedan world.
641. Bulan, khan of the Chazars, becomes a Jew.
658. Beginning of the Gaonate; Mar-Isaac, head of the Sura Academy, takes the title "Gaon."
694. (Nov.) All Jews in Spain and Gallic Provence declared slaves; children under seven forcibly baptized.
720. Omar II., Ommiad Calif of Damascus, reenacts the "Pact of Omar."
721. Appearance of the false Messiah Serenus in Syria causes many Spanish Jews to emigrate to Palestine.
761. The Karaite schism led by Anan ben David.
797. Isaac sent by Charlemagne on an embassy to Harun al-Rashid.
814. "Capitula de Judeis" of Charlemagne and Ludwig decide that Jews should not have Church utensils in pledge.
827 (*circa*). Eberard, "Magister Judæorum" under Louis I. the Pious, king of the Franks, protects the Jews against Agobard, Bishop of Lyons.
845. The Council of Meaux, under Amolo, Bishop of Lyons, enacts anti-Jewish decrees, renewing those of Constantine and Theodosius II.
850. Al-Mutawakkil orders the "Peoples of the Book" to wear yellow kerchiefs.
878. Ibrahim ibn Aḥmad orders Jews of Sicily to wear a badge.
982. (July 13) Kalonymus saves life of Otto II. after battle of Cotrone.
1007. Persecution at Rouen by Robert the Devil.
1012. (Nov.) Jews driven from Mayence by Emperor Henry II.
1013. (Apr. 19) Massacre at Cordova by soldiers of Sulaiman ibn al-Ḥakim.
1021. Al-Ḥakim renews the "Pact of Omar" in Egypt.
1066. Banishment of the Jews from Granada.
1078. Pope Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) promulgates canonical law against Jews holding office in Christendom.
1079. Jews repulsed from Ireland.
1085. Pope Gregory VII. protests against Jews being placed by the King of Castile in authority over Christians.
1090. "Fuero" (decree) of Alfonso VI. appoints duel as means

of settling litigation between Christian and Jew. (Feb. 19) Henry IV. grants to Judah ben Kalonymus and other Jews of Speyer protection to life and property.

1096. First Crusade; Jews massacred along the Rhine and elsewhere.

1099. The Jews of Jerusalem burned in a synagogue by the Crusaders under Godfrey of Bouillon.

1103. (Jan. 6) The "Constitutio Pacis" of the imperial court at Mayence assures the Jews of the "emperor's peace."

1108. Massacre at Toledo.

1117. Persecution at Rome; appearance of a false Messiah at Cordova.

1120. Calixtus II. issues bull "Sicut Judæis," the charter of the Roman Jews.

1124. Ladislaus I. of Bohemia decrees that no Christian shall serve Jews.

1144. Alleged martyrdom of St. William of Norwich (first case of blood accusation).

1146. Second Crusade; Jews massacred throughout France and Germany. Beginning of the Almohad persecution in northern Africa and southern Spain; Jews flee, or pretend to accept Islam.

1150. Statutes of Arles appoint a special Jewish oath.

1156. Jews of Persia persecuted on account of pseudo-Messiah, David Alroy.

1168. Latins and Greeks, Jews and Saracens, granted right of being judged by their own laws in Sicily.

1171. Thirty-one Jews and Jewesses of Blois burned on the charge of having used human blood in the Passover.

1172. Persecution of the Jews of Yemen. Messianic excitement.

1174. Sultan Nureddin Mahmud removes all Jews of Syria and Egypt from public offices.

1178. Riot at Toledo, at which Fermosa, the Jewish mistress of Alfonso VIII., is killed.

1179. The third Lateran Council passes decrees protecting the religious liberty of the Jews. (Aug.) Jews of Boppard and neighborhood slain because body of Christian woman is found on banks of Rhine. Jews expelled from Bohemia.

1182. (April) Philip Augustus of France banishes the Jews from his hereditary provinces and takes one-third of their debts.

1189. Attack on the Jews of London at coronation of Richard I.

1190. (May 17) Self-immolation of 150 Jews at York to avoid baptism.

1194. "Ordinances of the Jewry" passed in England for registering Jewish debts, thus preparing the way for the exchequer of Jews.

1198. Jews permitted to return to France by Philip Augustus on payment of 15,000 livres in silver.

1200. Bishop Conrad of Mayence issues a formula for an oath in German for Jews of Erfurt.

1205. (July 15) Innocent III. writes to Archbishop of Sens and Bishop of Paris laying down the principle that Jews are bound to perpetual subjection because of the Crucifixion.

1209. Council of Avignon issues restrictive measures against the Jews. (July 22) French Jews attacked and plundered; 200 murdered.

1210. (Nov. 1) The Jews of England imprisoned by King John.

1211. Many French and English rabbis emigrate to Palestine.

1212. The Jews of Toledo killed by Crusaders under the Cistercian monk Arnold; first persecution of Jews in Castile.

1215. Magna Charta of England limits rights of the crown in Jewish debts to the principal. Fourth Lateran Council under Pope Innocent III., among many anti-Jewish measures, decrees the Jew badge.

1221. Jews killed at Erfurt.

1222. Golden Bull of Hungary refuses Jews the right to hold public office. Council of Oxford imposes restrictions on the English Jews.

1223. (Nov. 8) Rabbinical Synod of Mayence regulates the payment of the Jewish taxes.

1227. Council of Narbonne reenacts the anti-Jewish decrees of the fourth Lateran Council.

1230. (Dec.) "Statutum de Judeis" in France by Louis IX. prohibits Jews from making contracts or leaving their lords' lands.

1234. (Dec. 10) Jews of Fulda find a murdered Christian; 261 Jews killed in consequence.

1236. Frederick II. takes Jews of Sicily under his protection as being his "servi camerae" (first use of this term).

1240. (June 25) Disputation before Louis IX. of France between Nicholas Donin and the Jews represented by Jehiel of Paris, Moses of Coucy, Talmudist and itinerant preacher, and two others.

1241. (May 24) Riot at Frankfort on account of a Jewish convert. Jewish Parliament summoned to Worcester, England.

1244. Archduke Frederick II. the Valiant, of Austria, grants privileges to the Jews ("Privilegium Fredericianum"). Twenty-four wagon-loads of Talmuds and other manuscripts (1200) burned at Paris.

1246. James I. of Aragon, in the Ordenamiento of Huesca, declares Jews to be "in commanda regis." Council of Béziers forbids Jews to practise medicine.

1254. (Dec.) Louis IX. expels Jews from France.

1255. (July 31) St. Hugh of Lincoln disappears, and the Jews are accused of murdering him for ritual purposes.

1259. Jahudan de Cavalleria becomes "bayle-general" and treasurer of Aragon. Provincial council of Fritzlar for province of Mayence repeats several of the canonical restrictions, including the badge (first time in Germany).

1261. Expulsion from Brabant, under will of Henry III., of all Jews except those living by trade.

1263. Disputation at Barcelona between Pablo Christiani and Nahmanides.

1264. Massacres at London, Canterbury, Winchester, and Cambridge by the barons in revolt against Henry III.

1265. (May 2) Persecution at Sunzig; 72 persons burned in synagogue.

1267. (May 12) Synod of Vienna, under Cardinal Guida, orders Jews to wear pointed hats.

1270. (June 23) Persecution at Weissenburg.

1273. (Nov. 4) Jews of Lerida obtain permission to substitute oath by the Ten Commandments for the oath "more Judaico."

1274. (July 7) Gregory X. issues bull against blood accusation.

1275. Jews expelled from Marlborough, Gloucester, Worcester, and Cambridge, at request of the queen-mother.

1280. Alfonso X. orders all Jews of Leon and Castile to be imprisoned till they pay 12,000 maravedis, and 12,000 for every day of delay in payment. English Jews forced to attend sermons of Dominicans.

1285. Blood accusation at Munich.

1286. (June 28) Meïr ben Baruch of Rothenburg (1220-93), chief rabbi of Germany, imprisoned when about to emigrate. Sancho of Castile in Cortes of Palencia orders Jews to submit their cases to the ordinary alcaldes (abolition of legislative autonomy). (Nov. 30) Bull of Honorius IV. to archbishops of York and Canterbury against Talmud.

1287. (May 2) All Jews in England thrown into prison.

1290. (Nov. 1) Jews banished from England.

1292. Ritual murder accusation and riot at Colmar.

1294. (Aug. 7) Bolko I. of Silesia grants Jews "Privilegium Fredericianum."

1295. (June 23) Boniface VIII. enters Rome and spurns the Torah presented to him by Jewish deputation.

1297. "Judenordnung" for Brandenburg.

1298. Persecution of the Jews in Germany instigated by Rindfleisch; Mordecai ben Hillel a martyr.

1301. Jews plundered and slain at Magdeburg.

1303. Ordinance of Philip the Fair enacts that all trials between Christians and Jews be decided by regular courts.

1306. First expulsion of the Jews from France under Philip the Fair.

1315. (July 28) Jews recalled to France by Louis X. for twelve years.

1320. The Pastoureaux persecutions in France ("gezerot ha-Ro'im").

1321. The Leper persecution in France ("gezerot mezora'im"). (June 24) Second expulsion of the Jews from France. Five thousand slain in Dauphiné on charge of well-poisoning.

1322. (Pentecost) Talmuds burned in Rome.

1330. Alleged desecration of host at Güstrow.

1334. (Oct. 9) Casimir III. the Great, of Poland, grants Jews "Privilegium Fredericianum."

1334. Host-tragedy at Constance.

1337. (May) Armleder massacres at Ensisheim, Mühlhausen, Rufach, etc.

1346. Blood accusation at Munich.

1348. (Feb. 28) The Ordenamiento of Alcaza orders all usury to cease. (July 16) Karl IV. forbids Jews being summoned before the Vehmgericht.

1348-49. Persecution of the Jews in central Europe on account of the Black Death. Pope Clement VI. issues two bulls protecting them.

1350. Alfonso IV. of Portugal enforces the badge (first in the Peninsula).
1351. Cortes of Valladolid demands the abolition of the judicial autonomy of Spanish-Jewish communities. Jews burned at Königsberg in Neumark.
1353. Jews invited back to Worms on account of their usefulness.
1360. (Nov.) Samuel Abulafia dies under torture on the charge of peculation. Manessier de Vesoul obtains from King John a decree permitting Jews to dwell in France.
1365. Jews expelled by Louis the Great from Hungary; many go to Wallachia.
1370. All Jews imprisoned and robbed in Austria.
1380. (Nov. 16) Riot at Paris; many Jews plundered, several killed, most fled.
1381. A synod at Mayence regulates the rabbinical marriage laws.
1387. Jews expelled from Basel.
1389. (Apr. 18) The charge of insult to a priest carrying the sacrament leads to the massacre of the Jews in Prague.
1391. (June 6) Spanish horrors begin; Ferdinand Martinez incites the mob against the Jews of Seville; anti-Jewish riots spread throughout Castile and Aragon.
1394. (Nov. 3) Third and last expulsion of the Jews from France, under Charles VI.
1400. Persecution of the Jews of Prague at the instigation of the convert Pessach; Lipmann of Mühlhausen among the sufferers.
1403. (Oct. 25) Juan II. of Castile withdraws civil jurisdiction from Jews.
1405. Jews expelled from Speyer.
1407. (Oct. 26) Jews attacked at Cracow.
1410. (Sept.) Meïr Alguades slain on charge of host-desecration.
1411. Vincent Ferrer raises the populace against the Jews. Second general massacre of Jews in all the Spanish provinces.
1413. (Jan. 7) Religious disputation at Tortosa arranged by Pope Benedict XIII. between Geronimo de Santa Fé and Vidal ben Benveniste ibn Labi and Joseph Albo.
1415. (May 11) Bull of Benedict XIII. against the Talmud and any Jewish book attacking Christianity.
1420. Charges of host-desecration lead to the putting to death of a number of Jews and to the expulsion of the remainder from Lower and Upper Austria.
1423. Jews expelled from Cologne.
1424. Jews expelled from Zurich.
1432. Rabbinical synod at Valladolid. Host-tragedy at Segovia. A synod at Avila, under Abraham Benveniste Senior, provides for an educational system for Jewish Spain.
1434. The Council of Basel renews old and devises new canonical restrictions against Jews. Annihilation of the Jews of Majorca.
1435. Jews expelled from Speyer.
1438. Jews expelled from Mayence.
1440. Jews expelled from Augsburg.
1447. Casimir IV. of Poland grants special privileges to Jews.
1450. Ludwig X. of Bavaria throws all the Jews in forty towns into prison and confiscates their property.
1451. Nicholas de Cusa enforces the wearing of the Jew badge in Germany.
1454. (May 2) Forty-one Jews burned at Breslau, and Jews expelled from Brünn and Olmütz, through Capistrano.
1458. Jews expelled from Erfurt.
1460. (March 5) The states of Austria demand that no Jew be permitted to dwell there. Jews expelled from Savoy.
1464. (Apr. 12) Jews plundered and murdered by soldiers in Cracow.
1467. Eighteen Jews burned at Nuremberg.
1468. Jews expelled from Neisse by the gilds. Blood accusation brought against Jews of Sepulveda.
1469. Jews plundered and slain at Posen.
1470. Jews expelled from bishopric of Mayence.
1475. Bernardinus of Feltre preaches against the Jews in Italy. The Jews charged with the murder of Simon of Trent for ritual purposes. Riots in Padua and elsewhere in Italy and Sicily.
1476. Blood accusation in Regensburg through the convert Wolfram.
1477. Jews plundered at Colmar and burned at Passau; the rest expelled through bishop.
1478. Jews expelled from diocese of Bamberg on account of Simon of Trent affair.
1481. The Inquisition against the Maranos established in Seville and at other places in Castile.
1482. Inquisition established in Aragon; Thomas de Torquemada, chief inquisitor.
1484. Jews expelled from Arles.
1486. (Feb. 12) Auto da fé at Toledo at which 74 were absolved. (Dec. 10) Another auto at same place; 900 Jews "reconciled."
1488. (Jan. 25) First auto at Barcelona. (May 24 and July 30) Autos da fé at Toledo; at former, 21 Jews burned, 400 punished; at latter, 76 burned.
1490. (Dec.) Jews expelled from Geneva.
1492. (Aug. 2) Expulsion of the Jews from Spain.
1494. Jews plundered in Naples. Blood accusation at Tyrnau.
1495. Jews expelled from Florence, but readmitted after a few months on account of their utility; Jews expelled from Lithuania.
1496. Expulsion of Jews from Styria. Manoel of Portugal orders the Jews to accept baptism or leave the country.
1498. The exiles settled in Navarre banished. Jews expelled from Nuremberg and Ulm.
1501. (July) Fifty-four Jews burned at Seville.
1502. Appearance of the pseudo-Messiah Asher Lämmlein.
1503. Pfefferkorn denounces Reuchlin. (March 22) Jews permitted to return to Lithuania. (Dec. 27) Judaizing followers of Zechariah of Kiev burned at Moscow.
1505. Jews expelled from Orange. All slain at Budweis on a child-murder accusation.
1506. Jews settle in Pinsk and secure synagogues and cemetery. Massacre of 4,000 Maranos in Lisbon.
1508. (July 15) Royal decree issued expelling Jews from Portugal.
1510. Burning of Jewish books at Frankfort. Thirty-eight Jews burned in Berlin for host-desecration and child-murder (Grätz, ix. 94).
1516. (March) Venice sets apart a special quarter for a ghetto (first use of the term).
1524. The Jews of Cairo threatened with destruction by Ahmad Shaitan, viceroy of Egypt. Jews return to Genoa.
1529. (May 21) Thirty Jews burned at Pösing on blood accusation. Solomon Molko (Diogo Pires, 1501–32) begins his Messianic agitation.
1530. (Aug. 12) Josel of Rosheim obtains extension of Alsatian privileges from Charles V.
1531. Clement VII. issues a bull establishing the Portuguese Inquisition for Maranos.
1541. Jews expelled from Naples.
1542. Jews expelled from Bohemia because of fires in Prague and other towns.
1543. Luther publishes his attack on the Jews.
1548. (July 10) Eighteen hundred Maranos released from the prisons of the Inquisition in Portugal.
1550. (April 2) Jews banished from Genoa.
1551. Jews expelled from Bavaria and Württemberg.
1554. (June 21) Rabbinical synod at Ferrara.
1555. Paul IV. issues the bull "Cum Nimis Absurdum." Jews expelled from the Palatinate.
1556. Twenty-four Jews of Ancona hanged and burned by order of Paul IV.
1567. Don Joseph Nassi appointed ruler of Naxos and eleven other islands of the Grecian archipelago. (June 15) Jews expelled from Genoese territory.
1568. Isaac Luria Levi (1534–72), cabalist, pretends to be the Messiah, son of Joseph.
1569. (Feb. 26) Bull of Pius V., "Hebræorum Gens," expels Jews from Papal States except Rome, Bologna, and Ancona.
1570. Solomon Ashkenazi sent as an envoy to Venice by Sultan Selim II.
1573. (Jan. 28) The Jew Lippold executed at Berlin; all Jews expelled from Brandenburg.
1576. Stephen Bathori allows the Jews of Poland to carry on trade without restrictions.
1582. Expulsion from Silesia.
1586 (*circa*). The Jews of Poland establish the Council of Four Lands; Mordecai Jafe probably its first president.
1592. (Aug. 17) Papal edict forbids Jews to admit Christians into synagogues, etc.
1593. Clement VIII. expels the Jews from all the Papal States except Rome and Ancona. The first Marano settlement in Holland made at Amsterdam under Jacob Tirado.
1596. Persecution of the Persian Jews by Shah Abbas the Great.
1598. Bet Jacob synagogue consecrated at Amsterdam.
1612. Portuguese Jews granted right of residence in Hamburg.
1614. (Sept. 2) Vincent Fettmilch's attack upon the Jews of Frankfort.
1615. Jews of Worms banished.

1616. Jews return to Frankfort and Worms.
1617. (Jan. 3) "Neue Stättigkeit" for Frankfort makes right of domicil for Jews perpetual.
1629. (June 26) Lippman Heller forced to leave his post as rabbi in Prague.
1632. (April 20) Proselyte Nicolas Antoine burned at Geneva. (July 4) Auto da fé at Madrid.
1639. Dutch West India Company grants Jews of Guiana full religious liberty.
1642. Six hundred Jews of Amsterdam with Isaac Aboab as ḥakam settle at Pernambuco.
1646. The Jews in Brazil side with the Dutch in their war with the Portuguese.
1648. The beginning of the Cossack persecutions of the Jews in Poland under Chmielnicki.
1652. Two leagues along the coast of Curaçao granted to David Nassi for a Jewish colony.
1654. (July 8) Twenty-four Jews land at New Amsterdam from Brazil.
1655. (Oct.) Menasseh ben Israel goes to London to obtain from Cromwell the readmission of Jews into England.
1657. (Feb. 4) Resettlement Day; Oliver Cromwell grants Carvajal right of residence for Jews in England.
1659. (Feb. 26) Jews expelled from all the Papal States except Rome and Ancona.
1660. Jews expelled from Kiev by Alexis.
1665. Shabbethai Ẓebi (1626–1676) publicly accepted as the Messiah at Smyrna.
1667. (Feb. 14) Jews run races at the Roman carnival for the last time.
1670. Jews banished from Vienna and Lower Austria by Emperor Leopold I. Synod of Lithuanian rabbis and deputies settle spheres of jurisdiction in relation to central ḳahals.
1671. Frederick William, the Great Elector, grants a privilege for twenty years to fifty families driven from Austria.
1678. Appearance of the pseudo-Messiah Mordecai Mashiaḥ of Eisenstadt.
1680. (June 30) Auto da fé at Madrid.
1682. (May 10) Auto da fé at Lisbon.
1686. Jews the victims of the Imperialist soldiery at the recapture of Buda from Turks.
1690. Ninety Jews from Curaçao settle at Newport, R. I.
1695. Jews forbidden to enter Sweden by Charles IX.
1700. The house of Oppenheimer in Vienna attacked by a mob. Eisenmenger attempts to publish his "Entdecktes Judenthum."
1703. Jonas Aaron settles in Philadelphia.
1710. The "Judenordnung" of Hamburg determines the social condition of the Jews of that city.
1716. (July 24–25) Serious uprising against the Jews at storming of Posen.
1727. (April 26) Jews expelled from Russia and the Ukraine by Catharine. (Nov. 15) Act passed by General Assembly of New York permitting Jews to omit "on the faith of a Christian" from oath of abjuration.
1732. (Sept. 2) "Editto sopra gli Ebrei" of Clement III. renews all restrictions against Jews of Rome.
1733. (July) Forty Jews from Lisbon arrive at Savannah, Ga.
1738. (Feb. 4) Joseph Süss Oppenheimer executed at Vienna.
1740. (Feb. 3) Charles the Bourbon, King of Naples and of the two Sicilies, invites the Jews back for fifty years. (July 11) Jews expelled from Little Russia by Czarina Anne. Act passed by English Parliament naturalizing Jews settled in the American colonies.
1742. (Dec. 2) Jews expelled from Great Russia by Czarina Elizabeth.
1744. (Dec. 18) Expulsion of Jews from Bohemia and Moravia.
1747. Bull of Benedict XIV. decides that a Jewish child baptized, even against canonical law, must be brought up under Christian influences.
1748. Jews permitted to remain in Bohemia on payment of a "Judensteuer" of 216,000 florins.
1750. (April 17) Frederick the Great issues a "Generalprivilegium" for the Prussian Jews.
1753. Act passed by English Parliament permitting Jews to be naturalized. "No Jews, no wooden shoes" riots in England.
1754. Act granting naturalization to English Jews repealed.
1756. Blood accusation in Jampol, Poland.
1757. Jacob Frank becomes leader of the Shabbethaians. Bishop of Kamenitz-Podolsk orders Talmuds to be burned.
1761. Persecution of Jews in Yemen.
1767. (June 20) Cossacks slay thousands of Jews at Homel.
1772. Jews settle in Stockholm, Karlskrona, and Gothenburg, by favor of Gustavus III.
1776. (Oct. 17) Senatorial decree of Russia grants freedom of settlement and other rights to baptized Jews.
1781. Joseph II. of Austria abolishes the Jewish poll-tax, and grants civil liberties to the Jews.
1782. Joseph II. issues his Toleration Edict.
1787. Frederick William II. removes the "Leibzoll" in Prussia.
1790. The French National Assembly grants citizenship to the Sephardic Jews of Bordeaux. New constitution for Jews of Silesia; a few receive general privileges, etc.
1791. The French National Assembly grants full civil rights to the Jews.
1796. Jews of Holland declared by the National Assembly to be full citizens of the Batavian Republic.
1797. (Aug. 1) Two Jews, Bromet and De Lemon, elected members of the second National Assembly of Holland.
1801. "Leibzoll" removed in Nassau.
1803. Israel Jacobson and Wolff Breidenbach agitate the abolition of the poll-tax for Jews in Germany.
1804. (Dec. 9) "Enactment concerning the Jews" passed by Alexander I. of Russia.
1807. The Great Sanhedrin convened by Napoleon; Joseph David Sinzheim president.
1808. (Jan. 27) Jerome Napoleon issues decree giving full civic rights to Jews of Westphalia. (Dec. 11) Napoleon at Madrid issues decree dividing the French empire into Jewish consistories.
1809. Law of Baden forms Jews into special religious community with all privileges.
1811. The Jews of Hamburg emancipated.
1812. The Jews of Prussia emancipated.
1813. (Feb. 18) The Jews of Mecklenburg emancipated.
1815. (June 8) "Bundesakte" passed at the Congress of Vienna decrees maintenance of status quo in the political condition of the Jews.
1818. First Reform Temple in Hamburg opened.
1819. (Aug.) The beginning of the "Hep, hep!" persecutions. Formation of the Society for the Culture and Science of the Jews, by Zunz, Gans, and Moser.
1820. Jews admitted again at Lisbon.
1825. Jews expelled from St. Petersburg through influence of gilds.
1826. Jews obtain full civic rights in the state of Maryland, U. S. A. Decree issued in Russia enrolling Jews for military service.
1831. Louis Philippe orders salaries of rabbis to be paid by the state.
1833. (Oct. 29) Jews of Kur-Hessen granted full emancipation.
1835. (April 13) General Jewish regulations issued in Russia. Edict of Nicholas I. founding agricultural colonies in Russia.
1836. Law refusing Jews the right to bear Christian names renewed in Prussia.
1839. Sultan 'Abd al-Majid grants citizenship to Turkish Jews.
1840. (Feb. 5) Damascus blood accusation. (Nov. 6) Firman issued by sultan against blood accusation.
1844. (May 25) Louis Philippe issues regulations for the internal organization of French Jews. (June) Rabbinical conference at Brunswick.
1845. (April) Ukase issued ordering Russian and Polish Jews to adopt ordinary costume.
1848. Emancipation Year: most of the countries of central Europe grant full civic and political rights to Jews—in the majority of cases, repealed the next year. (May 19–20) Riots in Presburg.
1849. (July 3) Baron Lionel de Rothschild, previously returned as M.P. for city of London, not allowed to take seat.
1852. (Sept. 3) Violent anti-Jewish riots at Stockholm.
1856. (Feb. 18) "Ḥaṭṭi-Humayun" issued, granting full civic rights to Turkish Jews.
1858. (June 24) Edgar Mortara in Ancona forcibly taken from his family by Bishop of Bologna on plea that he had been baptized when an infant by a Roman Catholic servant. The oath "on the true faith of a Christian" abolished in England; Jewish disabilities removed.
1860. Alliance Israélite Universelle founded.
1863. (July) Emancipation of Swiss Jews.
1866. Rumanian constitution makes Rumanian Jews "aliens."
1867. (Dec.) Emancipation of Hungarian Jews.
1868. Jews permitted to return to Spain. The law of the North German Federation of July 3 decrees that no state shall retain restrictions on the ground of religious belief.
1870. (March) Thirteen hundred and sixty Jews expelled from districts of Falciu and Vaslui, Rumania.
1871. Anglo-Jewish Association founded.
1873. Union of American Hebrew Congregations established.

1876. (July 28) E. Lasker procures the passing of the "Austrittgesetz," permitting Jews to change their congregation.
1877. Rabbinical Seminary, Budapest, inaugurated.
1878. (July 13) The Berlin Congress inserts clause 44, that distinction of religion shall not be a bar to civil and political rights in Rumania.
1880. (Nov. 20 22) Debate in Prussian Diet on Kantorowicz incident.
1881. Atrocities against Jews in South Russia. (April 25) Anti-Semitic league in Germany presents petition with 255,000 signatures to Bismarck. (April 27) Riot at Argenau.
1882. (April 7) Disappearance of Esther Solymosi causes a trial on blood accusation at Tisza-Eszlar. (May 3) "May Laws" issued by General Ignatief confining the Jews in the Pale of Settlement to the towns.
1884. (March 7) Rumanian law prohibiting hawking puts 5,000 Jewish families out of employment. (July 9) Lord Rothschild takes his seat as first Jewish peer in the British House of Lords.
1885. Pittsburg Conference of American Rabbis establishes a platform for Reform Judaism.
1886. Drumont publishes "La France Juive."
1887. (Feb. 28) Rumanian law excluding Jews from public service and from tobacco trade and from employment in retail trade.
1889. (May 12) Rumanian law limiting number of Jewish factory hands to one-third.
1890. (Dec. 10) Guildhall meeting against persecution of Russian Jews by May Laws.
1891. (June 29) Blood accusation at Xanten.
1892. Jewish Colonization Association founded by Baron de Hirsch.
1893. (Jan. 14) Rumanian law prohibiting Jews from being employed in public medical department.
1895. Capt. Alfred Dreyfus condemned and degraded as a spy and deported to Devil's Isle, Cayenne.
1897. (Aug. 29–31) First Zionist Congress at Basel.
1898. (Oct.) Eleven thousand two hundred Jewish children refused admission to public schools in Rumania.
1899. (March 31) Rumanian law excluding Jews from agricultural and professional schools. (Sept. 2) Dreyfus condemned a second time, but "pardoned" on Sept. 19.
1900. (Aug. 13–16) Fourth Zionist Congress at London. (Sept. 8) Israelsky, accused of ritual murder at Konitz, acquitted.
1901. (Dec.) Rumanian law prohibiting Jews from holding saloons or stores in rural districts.
1902. (March) Rumanian law prohibiting employment of Jewish working men.

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G. J.

CHRYSOSTOMUS, JOANNES (generally known as **St. Chrysostom**): Patriarch of Constantinople, one of the most celebrated of the Church Fathers, and the most eminent orator of the early Christian period; born in 347 at Antioch; died Sept. 14, 407, near Comana, in Pontus. Chrysostom originally devoted himself to the law, but soon felt dissatisfied with this vocation, and at the age of twenty-three was made a deacon. About fifteen years later (386) he advanced to the rank of presbyter, and in 398 was appointed by the emperor Bishop of Constantinople. Having attacked the empress Eudoxia in his sermons, he was banished (403), but was recalled soon after, upon the unanimous demand of his congregation. He repeated his attacks upon the empress, and was again banished in 404, first to Nicæa, then to Cucusus in the desert of the Taurus, and finally to Pityos on the Black Sea; but he died while on the way to the last-named place.

The name "Chrysostomus" ("golden-mouthed"; *χρυσός* = "gold," and *στόμα* = "mouth") is a title of honor conferred on this Church father only. It was first used by Isidore of Seville (636), and is significant of the importance of the man, whose sermons, of which one thousand have been preserved, are among the very best products of Christian rhetoric. As a teacher of dogmatics and exegesis Chrysostom is not of so much importance, although much space in his works is devoted to these two branches. Among his sermons, the "Orationes VIII. Adversus Judæos" (ed. Migne, i. 843–944) deserve special notice, inasmuch as they mark a turning-point in anti-Jewish polemics. While up to that time the Church aspired merely to attack the dogmas of Judaism, and did that in a manner intended only for the learned, with Chrysostom there began the endeavor, which eventually brought so much suffering upon the Jews, to prejudice the whole of Christendom against the latter, and to erect hitherto unknown barriers between Jews and Christians.

Attack on Jews.

It was the existing friendly intercourse between Jews and Christians which impelled Chrysostom to his furious attacks upon the former. Religious motives were not lacking, for many Christians were in the habit of celebrating the Feast of the Blowing of the Shofar, or New-Year, the Day of Atonement, and the Feast of Tabernacles ("Adversus Judæos," i.; ed. Migne, i. 848). "What forgiveness can we expect," he exclaimed, "when we run to their synagogues, merely following an impulse or a habit, and call their physicians and conjurers to our houses?" (*ib.* viii.). In another place Chrysostom says: "I invoke heaven and earth as witnesses against you if any one of you should go to attend the Feast of the Blowing of the Trumpets, or participate in the fasts, or the observance of the Sabbath, or observe an important or unimportant rite of the Jews, and I will be innocent of your blood" (*ib.* i. 8; ed. Migne, i. 855). Not only had Chrysostom to combat the pro-Jewish inclinations of the Antiochians in religious matters, but the Jews were held in so much respect at that time, that Christians preferred to bring their lawsuits before Jewish judges, because the form of the Jewish oath seemed to them more impressive and binding than their own (*ib.* i. 3; ed. Migne, i. 847).

Arguments Against Judaism.

Chrysostom further argues at length in his writings that Judaism has been overcome and displaced by Christianity. He attempts to prove this by showing that the Jewish religion can not exist without a temple and sacrifice and a religious center in Jerusalem, and that none of the later religious institutions can fill the place of the ancient ones. Chrysostom derides the Patriarchs, who, he declares, were no priests, but gave themselves the appearance of such, and merely played their parts like actors. He adds: "The holy Ark, which the Jews now have in their synagogues, appears to be no better than any wooden box offered for sale in the market" (*ib.* vi. 7; ed. Migne, i. 614).

But he is not satisfied with the derision of all things sacred to the Jews. He tries to convince his hearers that it is the duty of all Christians to hate the Jews (*ib.* vi. 7; ed. Migne, i. 854), and declares

it a sin for Christians to treat them with respect. In spite of his hatred of the Jews and Judaism, Chrysostom — as, indeed, the whole Antiochian school in their Bible exegesis—shows a dependence upon the Haggadah, which at the time predominated among the Palestinian Jews. A few parallels with the Haggadists have been given by Weiss, but they could be easily increased; and even in instances not directly taken from the Haggadah, its influence can be noticed in the writings of Chrysostom.

Bibliography: The best edition of Chrysostom's works is by Montfaucon, 13 vols., in *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus*, ed. Migne, Greek series, Paris, 1718-38; Böhringer, *Die Kirche Christi und Ihre Zeugen*, ix.; Bush, *Life and Times of Chrysostomus*, 1875; Lutz, *Chrysostomus und die Berühmtesten Redner*, 1859; Cassel, in Ersch and Gruber, *Encyc.* xxvii.; Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*, iv. 356-357; Perles, *Chrysostomus and the Jews*, in *Ben Chananja*, iii. 569-571; Weiss, *Dor*, iii. 128-129.

K. L. G.

CHUDNOV: Town in the government of Volhynia, Russia. A Jewish community existed here before the uprising of the Cossacks in 1648. In 1898 the town had nearly 8,000 inhabitants. Among them there were about 3,500 Jews, who were principally engaged in handicrafts and commercial pursuits. The former employed 1,252 Jews, of whom 475 owned their shops, 498 were wage-workers, and 279 were apprentices. The principal trades followed by the Jews are tailoring and shoemaking, the former, in 1898, employing 475 men, and the latter 350. The journeymen numbered 55.

The educational institutions include a Talmud Torah with 30 pupils, a private school for male pupils, one for female pupils, and 30 ḥadarim with an attendance of about 300.

Bibliography: B. Katz, *Le-Korot ha-Yehudim*, Berlin, 1899, pp. 39, 41.

H. R. S. J.

CHUETAS ("Pork-Eaters") or **INDIVIDUOS DE LA CALLE** ("Ghetto People"): Names given to the descendants of the secret Jews in Majorca, who at heart were still faithful to Judaism, but who, in order to induce the belief that they were good Christians, publicly ate pork ("chuya," diminutive "chueta"); the second term, "Ghetto People," is self-explanatory. Their fate was similar to that of the Cagots of the Pyrenees, who are still held in abhorrence by the natives of that region. People were afraid to approach them; at church they sat apart; and even in the cemetery their bodies were isolated. When the tribunal of the Inquisition was established in Majorca in 1488, it granted a general amnesty to all Jews that solicited pardon for their apostasy, and it received back the repentant ones, to the number of 680, on payment of a considerable fine. Beginning with 1509, however, several secret Jews were publicly burned before the Gate of Jesus at Palma; and in 1679, when a synagogue was discovered in an outlying house, several hundred of them were condemned by the tribunal to imprisonment for life, and their property was confiscated.

To escape these continuous persecutions and extortions, a number of Chuetas, reputed to be the wealthiest inhabitants of Palma, decided to leave the "Golden Island" in an English vessel which they had hired for the purpose; and they had set sail, when unfavorable winds compelled them to return to the harbor of Palma. After having been imprisoned for five years, these unfortunates were, in 1691, condemned by the Inquisition to the confiscation of their property, and more than fifty of them were garroted and then burned at the stake. Among the latter were Raphael Valls, "an excellent rabbi"; Raphael Benito Terongi, his most faithful pupil; and Catalina Terongi, a sister of the latter. These hero-martyrs were commemorated by Majorcan troubadours, whose verses are still sung by the women of the island while at their work. The Inquisition did its utmost to fan the prejudice of the people against the outlawed. Their portraits were placed in the Dominican monastery; and in 1755 a list was published in which were mentioned the names and rank of all those condemned to death or to confiscation of property from 1645 to 1691.

Not until the publication of the royal decree, Dec. 16, 1782, was an amelioration effected in the condition of these people, who were thenceforward permitted to reside in any street in the city of Palma and in any part of the island, and were no longer to be called Jews, Hebrews, or Chuetas, under penalty of the galleys or imprisonment in the fortress. Three years later they were declared eligible to the army and the navy as well as to public offices. Notwithstanding, as late as 1857 there appeared a special book directed against them. It bore the title "La Sinagoga Balear. Historia de los Judios de Mallorca," and the purpose of the author, Juan de la Puerta Vizcains, was, by means of it, to levy blackmail upon them. They, however, bought up all but three copies of the work. The descendants of the Chuetas, who bear to-day the same names that their ancestors bore in the fourteenth century, now occupy a respected position in industry and agriculture, as well as in the departments of science and politics.

Bibliography: Kayserling, *Gesch. der Juden in Spanien und Portugal*, i. 178 *et seq.*; M. Levin, *Ein Besuch bei den "Leuten der Gasse" in Palma*, in Brüll's *Jahrb.* i. 132 *et seq.*; *Rev. Et. Juives*, lxiv. 297 *et seq.*

D. M. K.

CHUFUT-KALE: Suburb of Bakhchiserai, a town in the government of Taurida, Russia. It is called by the Tatars "Kirk-er" (Place of Forty), and by the Karaites, to which sect the greater part of its inhabitants belong, "Sela' ha-Yehudim" (The Rock of the Jews). There are many legends concerning the place. According to one, it was called "Kirk-er" because the khans Mengli-Girei and Takhtamish, the founders of the city, brought with them forty Karaite families, and in their honor called it the "Place of Forty."

Another legend, fostered by the Karaites to show the antiquity of their sect, says that Karaites were brought there from Persia at the time of the first Exile. The early settlers of the city exercised great influence upon their neighbors, the Chazars. The ḥakam Abraham Firkowitsch, who was very skilful in falsifying epitaphs and manuscripts, pretended to have unearthed at the cemetery of Chufut-Kale tombstones dating from the year 6 of the common era, and to have discovered the tomb of Sangari, which is still shown by the Karaites. According to Harkavy, however, no epitaph earlier than 1203

can be seen at the cemetery of Chufut-Kale, called "Vale of Jehoshaphat"; and the tombs do not belong to Karaites, but to the old Rabbinite settlers called "Krimchaki." Chufut-Kale, however, existed as early as the seventh century. Abu al-Fida mentions it under the name "Kirk-er."

The Karaite community possesses two synagogues; it has a bet din consisting of three members, the ḥakam, the ḥazzan, and the beadle (shammash). A printing-office for Karaite works was established there in 1734. The first work published was the Karaite ritual, according to Aaron ben Joseph, the author of "Sefer ha-Mibḥar." For history of suburb see CRIMEA; KARAITES.

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H. R. I. BR.

CHUMACEIRO, ARON MENDES: Ḥakam of Curaçao, Dutch West Indies; born at Amsterdam Jan. 28, 1810; died there Sept. 18, 1882. He received the various rabbinical degrees (that of "morenu" in 1846) at the celebrated bet ha-midrash Ets Haim. In 1848 he was awarded the royal gold medal for the best sermon in the Dutch language. When the Sephardic synagogue of Amsterdam proposed to elect him preacher in the vernacular, it met with strenuous opposition, Ladino being the only language, except Hebrew, used in the synagogue. When in 1852 Chumaceiro was elected first ab bet din, he succeeded in overcoming the opposition to Dutch, and soon established a reputation as one of the foremost pulpit orators in Holland. In 1852 he edited the first Dutch Jewish weekly, "Het Israelietisch Weekblad." In the same year he was elected head of the bet ha-midrash Ets Haim.

Aaron Mendes Chumaceiro.

Delegated by the parnasim of his congregation in 1854 to receive the future King Pedro V. of Portugal, he conducted the royal visitor and his suite to the bet ha-midrash, where the king, noticing the names of the donors to that institution inscribed on the walls, made the significant remark: "Me faz pareçer que estoy em mea propia terra do Portugal" (It seems as though I were in my own land of Portugal). When Pedro V. ascended the throne in 1856, he removed the civil disabilities of the Jews.

On account of his liberal-conservative views Chumaceiro was strongly opposed by the ultra-Orthodox party, and he therefore accepted in 1855 from King William III. the appointment of chief rabbi of the colony of Curaçao. At the solicitation of the special ambassador, O. van Rees, who was sent by the king to adjust the claims of the persecuted Dutch Jews of CORO, Venezuela, he succeeded in settling the complicated disputes to the entire satisfaction of the contending parties.

Chumaceiro visited his birthplace in 1861, when the office of ḥakam was tendered to him, which he declined, receiving on that occasion a costly testimonial from the Sephardic synagogue. He obtained his discharge as ḥakam of Curaçao in 1869, and received a liberal pension from the king for "the numerous and faithful services rendered to his country."

Chumaceiro had four sons:

1. Abraham Mendes Chumaceiro: Attorney at law; born at Amsterdam Nov. 16, 1841; died at Curaçao, Dutch West Indies, Aug. 19, 1902. He moved to Curaçao, in 1856, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1872. He soon acquired great prominence in his profession. Among his literary works are "Is Curaçao te Koop?" and "Het Kiesrecht in de Kolonie Curaçao."

2. Benjamin Mendes Chumaceiro: Ḥazzan; born in Amsterdam in 1871. He received a ministerial training at the bet ha-midrash Ets Haim of Amsterdam. In 1892 he was elected assistant ḥazzan of the Portuguese synagogue at The Hague; and in 1895 ḥazzan of that of Hamburg.

3. Jacob Mendes Chumaceiro: Dayyan and editor; born at Amsterdam March 11, 1833; died Feb. 8, 1900. Besides being dayyan of the Sephardic synagogue, and acting ḥakam for the Portuguese Jews of North and South Holland, he was inspector of the Jewish schools of Amsterdam, head and librarian of the bet ha-midrash Ets Haim, and editor of "Het Israelietisch Weekblad."

4. Joseph Ḥayyim Mendes Chumaceiro: Rabbi and editor; born in Amsterdam July 3, 1844; studied for the ministry under his father at Curaçao. From 1867 to 1874 he was rabbi of Beth-El congregation, Charleston, S. C.; from 1874 to 1880, of Nefashot Yehudah, New Orleans, La.; from 1884 to 1887, of Beth-El Emeth, Philadelphia, Pa.; from 1889 to 1891, of Mikwe Yisrael, Curaçao; from 1892 to 1898, of Children of Israel, Augusta, Ga.; and was recalled as rabbi to Curaçao in 1898. During part (1879–83) of his residence at New Orleans he was also editor of "The Jewish South," a weekly journal.

Besides many sermons and discourses, he published "The Evidences of Free-Masonry from Ancient Hebrew Records," 1900, which reached a third edition; "La Revelacion," the first Jewish catechism in Spanish; and "Verdediging is geen Aanval," a correspondence between a Christian divine and a Jewish rabbi on Jesus as the Messiah.

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A. J. H. M. C.

CHURCH COUNCILS: Synods of the Roman Catholic Church, possessing legislative power in matters pertaining to doctrine and discipline. The Apostles' synod at Jerusalem (Acts xv.) is regarded as the oldest example of such an assembly. Besides the general (ecumenical) councils, of which the Catholic Church recognizes twenty, there are na-

tional and provincial councils and diocesan synods. The decisions of these lesser synods were naturally authoritative only within their own particular districts; but as they were sometimes recognized by other provincial synods, or even by a general council, they acquired a more or less general validity. Many of the Church councils have concerned themselves with the Jews, with the object of removing Judaizing institutions and teachings from among Christians, destroying any influence which Jews might exercise upon Christians, preventing, on the one hand, the return to Judaism of baptized Jews, and devising, on the other, means to convert Jews to Christianity. It is characteristic of the decisions of these councils in respect to the Jews that up to the end of the Middle Ages they became ever harsher and more hostile, a few isolated instances only of benevolent resolutions standing on record. Many of the Church decrees, however, were enforced only after they had been several times confirmed; while some of them were never enforced at all.

The Jews are mentioned for the first time in the resolutions of the synod at Elvira, at the beginning of the fourth century, immediately after the persecutions under Diocletian. The synod opposed the custom existing among Christians of having the fruits of their fields blessed by Jews, and forbade all familiar intercourse, especially eating, with Jews (canons 49, 50). The spirit of intolerance, arising almost before the persecution of the Christians themselves had ended, remained characteristic of the Spanish Church. When the Arian creed was exchanged for the Catholic by the third Toledo Synod held under Reccared in 582, resolutions hostile to the Jews were passed. The synod forbade intermarriage with Jews, and claimed the children of mixed marriages for Christianity. It disqualified Jews from holding any public office in which they would have power to punish Christians, and forbade them to keep slaves for their own use (canon 14). Still more severe are the decrees of the fourth Synod of Toledo, in 633 (canons 57–66), directed more especially against the pretended Christianity of those converted by force under Sisebut. Though it was decreed that in the future no Jew should be baptized by force, those who were once baptized were obliged to remain Christians. Whoever protected the Jews was threatened with excommunication. The sixth Synod of Toledo, in 638, confirmed King Chintila's decree providing for the expulsion of the Jews, and demanded that every future king on his accession should take an oath to observe faithfully the laws concerning the Jews. The twelfth Synod of Toledo, in 681, went furthest, and adopted in its resolutions (canon 90) King Erwig's laws in reference to Jews ("Leges Visigothorum," xii. 3): celebration of the Sabbath and of feast-days, observance of dietary laws, work on Sunday, defense of their religion, and even emigration were forbidden. One generation later Spain was under Moorish dominion.

Spanish Synods.

More comprehensive were the measures adopted by the councils outside of Spain. Before 450 they confined themselves to the prohibition of familiar intercourse with Jews; of the celebration of their feast-days, especially the Passover; of resting from labor on their Sabbath; of entrance into their synagogues, etc. The General Council of Chalcedon (451) went a step further, though only as a result of previous resolutions, in forbidding intermarriage—at first only in the case of the children of lectors or precentors (canon 14). The synods of Orléans (in 533 and 538) and the above-mentioned Spanish synods forbade marriages between Jews and Christians altogether, and this legislation was repeated by the Synod of Rome in 743. As the Jews themselves were opposed to such marriage, there was no difficulty in the enforcement of these decrees. Only in countries where Christianity had not yet gained entire mastery was there a repetition of these marriage prohibitions, as in Hungary (1092) and in Spain (1239). The Quinisext Synod of Constantinople, in 692, and a number of later synods forbade Christians to receive treatment from Jewish physicians. In spite of this interdiction (repeated several times, at Avignon as late as 1594), even popes often employed Jews as court physicians.

Other Synods.

After the Synod of Orléans, in 538, the councils turned their attention to the Christian slaves in the service of Jews, at first merely prescribing the protection of the slaves' persons and religious belief, but later prohibiting absolutely the possession of Christian slaves. Together with this decree, which only repeated a law in the Theodosian Code, came laws forbidding Jews to have free Christians in their employ. By a general decree of the third Lateran Council of 1179 (canon 26), Christians were strictly forbidden to act as servants to Jews, with so little effect, however, that nearly all later Church councils had to renew the interdict; for instance, the Synod of Milan in 1565 (canon 14). Jews of all lands were in great fear of the third Lateran Council ("Shebeṭ Yehudah," ed. Wiener, p. 112). Their fears, however, proved groundless; for, aside from the decree in respect to the employment of Christian servants, especially of nurses and midwives—a decree due to the fear of the common people's apostasy to Judaism—the following are the important decisions of the council: (1) Christians must not live together with Jews (a repetition of an old decree); (2) new synagogues must not be built; old ones may be repaired only when dilapidated, but on no account may they be beautified; (3) the testimony of Christians against Jews must be admitted, since Jews are accepted as witnesses against Christians; (4) neophytes must be protected against the fanaticism of the Jews, and Jews are forbidden to disinherit baptized persons (compare "Codex Theodosian.," xvi. 8, 28). A characteristic clause states that Jews may be protected only for reasons of common humanity.

Third Lateran Council, 1179.

The fourth Lateran Council, in 1215, was of crucial importance. Its resolutions inaugurated a new era of ecclesiastical legislation in regard to the Jews, and reduced them virtually to the grade of pariahs. In the south of France an assembly of Jewish notables, which was held at the demand of Isaac Benveniste, sent a delegation to Rome to try to avert the impending evil. The last four resolutions or canons which the council adopted were concerned with the Jews.

Canon 67 adopts measures against usury by the Jews. A synod at Avignon had anticipated the Lateran Council in this respect, and it was imitated by other councils of the thirteenth century. At the same time very strict regulations were made against Lombard usurers, who, according to Matthew of Paris, were much worse than the Jews. For houses and landed property Jews were obliged to give a tithe to the Church, and besides each Jewish family had to pay at Easter a tax of six denarii. Canon 68 ordains a special dress for Jews and Saracens, ostensibly "to prevent sexual intercourse, which has occasionally occurred by mistake," but in reality to make a sharp distinction between Jews and Christians. The Jewish badge and hat exposed the Jews to scorn and ridicule, and their complete abasement dates from this time. Later councils, even up to comparatively modern times, have renewed these regulations, fixing the form and color of the Jewish badge in various countries, or forbidding the Jews to wear certain costumes (see Badge; Head, Covering of).

Fourth Lateran Council, 1215.

Because many Jews were said to parade in their best clothes during Holy Week (in which the Feast of the Passover usually falls) on purpose to mock the Christians, the Jews were not thenceforth allowed to leave their houses at all during those days. This Draconian decree, however, supported by similar decrees of French and Spanish synods of the sixth century, was not without its advantages for the Jews, as many subsequent synods (for instance, at Narbonne, 1227; Béziers, 1246) were obliged expressly to protect the Jews against ill treatment during Holy Week. Other synods of the thirteenth century forbade Jews to eat meat on Christian fast-days (Avignon, 1209), or to carry it across the street (Vienna, 1267). The synods of Narbonne (1227), Béziers (1246), Albi (1255), and Anse (1300) forbade altogether the sale of meat by Jews. Canon 69, which declares Jews disqualified from holding public offices, only incorporated in ecclesiastical law a decree of the Holy Christian Empire. As has been mentioned, the synods of Toledo, and the French councils also, had debarred Jews from the office of judge, and from any office in which they would possess the right to punish Christians. The fourth Lateran Council simply extended this statute over the whole Roman Catholic world, referring to the synods of Toledo in support of its decision. Canon 70 takes measures to prevent converted Jews from returning to their former belief.

The concluding act of the fourth Lateran Council—the Crusades decree—compelled Jewish creditors to renounce all claim to interest on debts, and facilitated in other ways the movements of the Crusaders. Similar ordinances were adopted by the first Council of Lyons (1245). The decisions of the Synod of Vienna, in 1267, were practically the same as those of the fourth Lateran Council, but were more severe in some points. For example, Jews were forbidden to frequent Christian inns or baths; they were ordered to stay at home with closed doors and windows when the host was carried past, etc. Nevertheless, these decrees did not succeed in making entirely unbearable the position of the Jews in Austria (see Bärwald, in "Jahrbuch für Israeliten," 1859). The same may be said of the decrees of the Hungarian Council at Ofen, in 1279 (Grätz, "Geschichte," vii. 139 *et seq.*).

Vienna Synod of 1267.

The later councils went a step further in restricting and humiliating the Jews by limiting their freedom in the choice of dwelling-places. The Synod of Bourges, 1276, ordained that Jews should live only in cities or large towns, in order that the simple country folk might not be led astray. Similarly the Synod of Ravenna, 1311, ordained that Jews should be allowed to live only in cities that had synagogues. The Synod of Bologna, 1317, forbade renting or selling houses to Jews, and the Synod of Salamanca, 1335, forbade Jews to live near a churchyard or in houses belonging to the Church. Finally, the Spanish Council of Palencia, 1388, under the presidency of Pedro de Luna, demanded separate quarters for Jews and Saracens, a demand afterward renewed by many Church councils.

The compulsory conversion of Jews was often forbidden by the councils (for instance, Toledo, 633; Prague, 1349). Toward the end of the Middle Ages the General Council of Basel, in its nineteenth sitting (1434), adopted a new method of moral suasion by compelling the Jews to listen periodically to sermons for their conversion, a decision renewed, for instance, by the Synod of Milan in 1565.

Council of Basel.

A last attack on the scanty freedom of the Jews was brought about directly by the art of printing. The committee on index of the General Council of Trent (1563) decided to refer to the pope the question of placing the Talmud on the list of forbidden books; and although the Italian Jews succeeded with bribes in preventing the absolute prohibition of the work, it was permitted to be printed only on condition that the title "Talmud" and all passages supposed to be hostile to Christianity be omitted (Mortara, in "Hebr. Bibl." 1862, pp. 74, 96; see Censorship of Hebrew Books).

The General Vatican Council of 1869-70 did not concern itself at all about the Jews beyond inviting them, on the suggestion of the convert Léman, to attend the council (Friedberg, "Sammlung der Aktenstücke zum Ersten Vatikanischen Concil." pp. 65 *et seq.*).

Vatican Council, 1869-70.

Regarding a supposed synod in Rome in 314–324, directed against the Jews (Jaffe, "Regesta Pontif. Roman."), nothing is known. Untrustworthy also is the report that a synod, summoned at Toulouse in 883 by the Frankish king Carloman, on the complaint brought by Jews of their ill treatment, ordained the corporal chastisement of a Jew before the church door on Christmas Day, Good Friday, and Ascension Day, and that the degradation was increased by compelling the Jew to acknowledge his punishment as just (Mansi, "Concilia," xvii. 565).

Bibliography: Hardouin, *Conciliorum Collectio*, Paris, 1715; Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, Florence, 1759–98; Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, Freiburg, 1890-93; Binterim, *Pragmatische Geschichte der Deutschen National-, Provinzial- und Vorzüglichsten Diözesanconcilien*; Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, Index, *s.v.*

G. H. V.

CHURCH FATHERS: The early teachers and defenders of Christianity. The most important of the fathers lived and worked in a period when Christianity still had many points of contact with Judaism, and they found that the latter was a splendid support in the contest against paganism, although it had to be combated in the development of Christian doctrine. So the Fathers of the Church are seen at one time holding to a Jewish conception of the universe and making use of Jewish arguments, at another rejecting a part of such teaching and formulating a new one. In the contest of Christianity against paganism the Church Fathers employ the language of the Hellenistic literature as found in Philo, Josephus, the Apocrypha, and the Sibylline Books, all of which draw upon the Prophets of the Old Testament. Thus, practically, only the polemic features in the activity of the Church Fathers directed against Judaism can be considered as new and original. But in order to wage successful war against paganism, they, as well as Christians in general, had to acquaint themselves with the religious documents of Judaism; and this was possible only if they entered into personal relations with the Jews: through these personal relations the Church Fathers become of signal importance to Judaism. The contemporaries and, in part, the coworkers of those men who are known from the Talmud and the Midrash as the depositaries of the Jewish doctrine, were the instructors who transmitted this doctrine to the Church Fathers also. Hence such a mass of haggadic material is found in the work of the fathers as to constitute an important part of Jewish theological lore. This article is primarily concerned with their interpretation of the texts of the Bible and of the Apocrypha, which differs in essential points from those of the Jews.

Their Importance to Judaism.

Personal Relations with Jews: After the Bar Kokba war against the Romans, Ariston of Pella, a converted Jew, wrote, as is generally accepted, a dialogue in which the Christian Jason and the Jew Papiscus are made the speakers, and in which the nature of Jesus is discussed (Ἰάσονος καὶ Παπίσκου ἀντιλογία περὶ Χριστοῦ). This dialogue, already mentioned by Celsus, may be wholly imaginary and without historical basis. But the famous dialogue of Justin Martyr with the Jew Tryphon, which took place at Ephesus (Eusebius, "Historia Ecclesiastica," iv. 18) at the time of the Bar Kokba war, is strictly historical, as certain details show; for instance, the statement that on the first day no strangers were present, while on the second day some Jews of Ephesus accompanied Tryphon and took part in the discussion (Justin, "Dialogus cum Tryphone," cxviii.), a certain Mnaseas being expressly mentioned (*ib.* lxxxv.). The Jewish auditors are not only able to follow the intricate discussion intelligently, but their demeanor also is seemly; Tryphon especially proves himself a true disciple of Greek philosophy, and his scholarship is freely acknowledged by Justin (*ib.* lxxx.). At the close of the debate, Jew and Christian confess that they have learned much from each other, and part with expressions of mutual good-will (*ib.* at the end). Justin was born and reared in proximity to Jews; for he calls himself a Samaritan (*ib.* cxx.), meaning thereby probably not that he professed the religion of the Samaritans, but that he came from Samaria.

Justin Martyr.

Of the relations of Clement of Alexandria to Judaism nothing positive is known. During the persecutions of the Christians of Alexandria, in 202 or 203, Clement sought refuge for a short time in Syria (Eusebius, *l.c.* vi. 11). Here he may have learned much at first hand from the Jews. He knew a little Hebrew, also some Jewish traditions; both of which facts point to personal relations with Jews.

Clement's contemporary, Origen, probably also born in Alexandria about 185, may possibly have been on his mother's side of Jewish descent, if one may judge from the fact that while his father is mentioned as Leonides, the name of his mother is passed over in silence. A Jewish mother could readily have taught her son the Hebrew language, so that they might sing the Psalms together (Jerome, "Epistola xxxix. ad Paulam"). [Both his father and his mother were, however, Christian in faith.—T.]

In his capacity of presbyter at Cæsarea in Palestine, Origen must have come into frequent contact with learned Jews, as indeed appears from his writings. He mentions again and again his "magister Hebræus" (ὁ Ἑβραῖος in the Greek fragment), on whose authority he gives several haggadot ("De Principiis," i. 3, 4; iv. 26). His dependence on the Jews is sufficiently emphasized by Jerome ("Adversus Rufinum," I. xiii.) in the passage wherein Clement and Eusebius are named among those who did not disdain to learn from Jews. Origen often mentions the views of Jews, meaning thereby not the teaching of certain individuals, but the method of exegesis prevalent among the Jews of his time. The Jews with whom he maintained personal intercourse were men of distinguished scientific attainments. The one Jew whom he mentions by name was no less a personage than Hillel, the patriarch's son, or "Jullos," as Origen calls him (Grätz, "Monatsschrift," 1881, xxx. 433 *et seq.*). His other Jewish acquaintances either were closely related to the patriarch's family, or occupied high positions on account of their erudition. Grätz ("Gesch. der Juden," 3d ed., iv. 231) thinks indeed that some passages in Origen's writings are directed against the contemporary amora of Palestine, Simlaï. Origen seems, moreover, to have had intercourse with Hoshaya of Cæsarea (Bacher, "Agada der Palästinensischen Amoräer," i. 92).

Clement and Origen.

Eusebius, the celebrated Church historian, also learned from the Jews, as has already been mentioned, and was under the influence of Jewish tradition. In Cæsarea, where he lived, he met many Jews, with whom he had discussions. Nevertheless he uses the word "Jew" as a term of reproach, calling his opponent, Marcellus, "a Jew" ("De Ecclesiastica Theologia," ii. 2, 3). He likewise thinks it a disgrace to be one of the "circumcised" (τις τῶν ἐκ περιτομῆς, "Demonstratio Evangelica," i. 6). This last expression is also used regularly by Ephraem Syrus to designate Jews (טעיא גזירא, "Opera Syriaca," ii. 469). Ephraem distances all his ecclesias-

tical predecessors in his hatred of the Jews, displaying a bitterness that is explicable only on the ground that he at one time had personal relations with them, and had formed an adverse opinion of them. Epiphanius, too, shows his dependence on the Jews, especially in the book, perhaps wrongly ascribed to him, "De Prophetarum Vitis"; which contains, besides many extraneous inventions, numerous Jewish traditions of the lives of the Prophets. In this it was followed by a Syrian work ("The Book of the Bee," published in "Anecdota Oxoniensia," Semitic series, i., part 2).

Eusebius, Ephraem Syrus, Epiphanius.

Jerome surpasses all other Church Fathers in his erudition as well as in his importance for Judaism. It must be emphasized, in spite of Christian assertions to the contrary (*e.g.*, B. Baue, "Vorlesungen," ii. 36), that he learned much not only from baptized but also from loyal Jews. He sought his information in many quarters, especially among the educated Jews (Preface to Hosea; compare "Epistola lxxiii. ad Evangelum"). Hence he always cites the opinions of several Jews ("quidam Hebræorum"), not that of one Jew; and these Jewish friends of his accompany him on his journeys (Preface to I Chronicles), though he has one particular guide ("circumducens," Preface to Nahum). Of only three of his Jewish teachers is anything known. A Jew from Lydda, whom Jerome calls "Lyddæus," explained to him the Book of Job, translating it into Greek, and expounding it in Latin. Although he has much to say in praise of this man, Jerome will not admit that he learned much from him (Preface to Job), designating him often as one who merely read the Scriptures to him ("Onomastica Sacra," xc. 12; commentary on Eccles. iv. 14, v. 3). But from this Lyddan Jerome acquired not only the material for his philological notes, but also the Hebrew pronunciation that gives him a unique importance for Old Testament criticism (Siegfried, in Stade's "Zeitschrift," 1884, p. 34; Krauss, in "Magyár Zsidó Szémle," 1900, vii. 513).

Jerome.

Jerome was more attached to his second teacher, Bar Ḥanina, who, however, can not be identical with R. Ḥama b. Ḥanina, as Rahmer insists (compare Weiss, in "Bet-Talmud," i. 131, note 3); nor can he possibly be identified until his Midrashim, quoted by Jerome, have been compared with the known sayings of the authors of the Talmud and the Midrash. This Bar Ḥanina must have been an eminent teacher of the Law, for Jerome spent much time and money before he could secure him as teacher. Since Jerome would not visit his teacher by day, for fear of the Jews, he went to Bar Ḥanina by night ("Epistola lxxxiv. ad Pammachium et Oceanum"). Bar Ḥanina came from Tiberias, as is shown by the Hebrew traditions communicated by him to Jerome; for one particular prophecy was held to apply to Tiberias (Jerome, "Quæstiones Hebraicæ in Genesin," xlix. 21).

Jerome's third teacher, whom he required especially for the Aramaic portions of the Bible, knew both Hebrew and Aramaic, and was considered by the Jewish scribes as a "Chaldæus" (Preface to Tobit; compare "Epistola xviii. ad Damasum").

Jerome lived about forty years in Palestine, apparently studying all the time under Jews (commentary on Nahum ii. 1: "a quibus non modico tempore eruditus"). His enemies severely censured him for his intercourse with the Jews, but he was proud of it. He asks how it could be held to impugn his faith in the Church, that he informs his readers in how many ways the Jews construe a single error. ("Adversus Rufinum," book i.). "Why should I not be permitted to inform the Latins of what I have learned from the Hebrews. . . . It is most useful to cross the threshold of the masters, and to learn the art directly from the artists" (*ib.*).

Jerome's contemporary, the great teacher Augustine, did not fare so well in Africa. When he questioned the Jews on Biblical matters, they often either did not answer at all, or, at least from the standpoint of the Church Fathers, "lied" (Jerome, "Epistola cxii. ad Augustinum"), meaning probably that they gave an answer different from what the Christians desired ("Epistola civ. Augustini ad Hieronymum"). An alleged letter from Jerome, probably forged by Rufinus, was sent to the Christian communities in Africa, in which Jerome professed to admit that, misled by the Jews, he had translated erroneously ("Adversus Rufinum," book iii., ii. 554, ed. Vallarsi). It mortified Jerome that his translation of the Bible, the Vulgate, so famous later on, should be passed over in silence by all the Jews, and that there was no one who knew enough Hebrew to appreciate the merits of the new translation ("Epistola cxii. ad Augustinum"). He even believed that all the Jews of Africa had conspired to oppose him, as actually happened in one place. In a certain African town—so Augustine wrote to Jerome (Jerome's works, "Epistola civ. Augustini ad Hieronymum")—the new translation was read in the church, by order of the bishop. When they came to the passage in Jonah containing the word "ḳiḳayon" (iv. 6), which differed from the interpretation hitherto accepted, such a tumult arose that the bishop had to ask the Jews for a verification, and they declared, to the great annoyance of both Jerome and Augustine, that Jerome's rendering did not agree with the Hebrew, or Greek, or (old) Latin codices. The bishop had to strike it out as "a lie," being in danger of losing his congregation. Before this, Tertullian of Carthage (165–245) had spoken of the impertinence and derision shown by a Jew ("Apologia," xvi.; "Ad Nationes," i. 11; compare Ass-Worship).

Augustine.

Among the Greek Church Fathers, Basil the Great hardly knew Hebrew (H. Weiss, "Die Grossen Kappadocier Exegeten," p. 32, Braunsberg, 1872); yet his ability to distinguish between Amos, the prophet, and Amoz, the father of Isaiah (whose names are written alike in the Septuagint), as well as other similar facts, points to his having received oral instruction from Jews [or from some one who knew Hebrew.—T.]. Gregory of Nyssa (*c.* 331–396), who did not recognize the rending of the garments on the occasion of a death as being a Jewish custom (*περὶ τοῦ βίου τῆς Μακαρίας Μακρίνης*, in Oehler, "Bibliothek der Kirchenväter," i. 188), does not seem to have known much about Judaism. The same may

be said of the other Church Fathers who lived in Europe; that is, in sections sparsely settled by Jews. Irenæus, for instance, who suffered as a martyr in 202 in Lyons, knew nothing of Judaism outside of the Scriptures, although he was reared in Asia Minor. In the paschal controversy he advocated separation from Judaism. But the Greek fathers John Chrysostom and Cyril of Alexandria (see Byzantine Empire) potently affected the fate of the Jewish people, as did Bishop Ambrose of Milan (*c.* 340–397).

Chrysostom, Cyril, and Ambrose.

The Syrian Church, on the whole, was even in the fourth century dependent upon Jewish traditions (Wellhausen, in Bleek's "Einleitung in das Alte Testament," 4th ed., p. 601). This appears especially in the "Homilies" of Aphraates (*c.* 337–345). He complains (Hom. xix.) that the monks are led astray and ensnared by the Jewish arguments; he himself had a disputation with one "who is called . wise man among the Jews." Aphraates, who, under the n me "Mar-Jacob," was abbot of the monastery of Mar Mattai, and a bishop, gives such a number of Jewish traditions as to place him, in this regard, beside Ephraem Syrus (see Aphraates).

The Haggadah: The Church Fathers adopted from the Jews a mass of interpolations, interpretations, and illustrative anecdotes, which may best be designated by the well-known term "Haggadah," but which they themselves called variously. Goldfahn has counted in Justin Martyr ("Dialogus cum Tryphone") twenty-six Hebrew traditions and six polemico-apologetic Haggadot. Among these may be mentioned: the eating by the three angels who appeared to Abraham; the Messiah's concealment and anointment by Elijah; the violent death of Isaiah (a Haggadah found already in the oldest apocrypha, and in nearly all the earlier fathers); Melchizedek's identity with Shem (compare especially Epiphanius, "Adversus Hæreses," xxxv., and the Syriac "Cave of Treasures," translated by Bezold, p. 36).

Clement calls the Jewish haggadists "mystæ" (*μύσται*, "persons initiated"), a term that was probably current in Alexandria; for the writings of all the Church Fathers agree in regarding Jewish tradition as a kind of esoteric doctrine understood only by the initiated. Clement is acquainted with the old Haggadah to Ex. ii. 14, according to which Moses killed the Egyptian by merely pronouncing the name of God. Moses is called also "Joiakim" and "Melch" by the mystæ ("Stromata," ed. Migne, viii. 897), and "Melchiel" in Pseudo-Philo, "Antiq. Bibl." ("Jewish Quarterly Review," x. 228; compare x. 726). A relation between Clement and the Seder 'Olam Rabba is shown by the fact that both give the same figure, sixty years, as the period of the prophet Elisha's activity (*ib.* v. 138).

Clement and Origen.

Origen derives still more from the Haggadot. For instance: the Garden of Eden is the center of the world ("Selecta in Genesin," ii. 8; compare 'Erub. 19a; Zion is so called in Enoch, xxvi. 1, 2; and Jubilees, viii.); division of the Red Sea into twelve parts (homily to Ex. v. 5; see also Eusebius, commentary on Ps. lxxvii. 13, and Epiphanius, in the notes to "Adversus Hæreses," pp. 262 *et seq.*; compare Mekilta on Ex. xiv. 16, and other Jewish sources ["Jewish Quarterly Review," v. 151], and Ḳimḥi on Ps. cxxxvi.); repentance of the sons of Korah (commentary on the Epistle to the Romans x. 7; compare Midrash on Ps. xlv. 4); Israel's strength lies in prayer (homily on Num. xiii. 5; compare Sifre, Num. 157); Phinehas and Elijah are identical (com. on John vi. 7; Jerome adopts the same opinion from the Apocrypha [v. 813, ed. Vallarsi; compare Yalḳ., Num. 772, but the earliest sources are lacking]); Daniel, Hananiah, Michael, and Azariah are eunuchs (commentary on Matt. xv. 5; compare homily on Ezek. iv. 8; catena on Ezek. xiv. 5; Jerome, "Adversus Jovin," book i., xxv.; com. on Dan. i. 3; Epiphanius, "De Vitis Prophetarum," ed. Migne, xliv. 424; further Sanh. 93b; Gen. R. xcix.); Moses is the author of eleven Psalms ("Selecta" to Ps. xii., ed. Migne, p. 1055; so also Jerome ["Adversus Rufinum," xiii.; compare Pesiḳ., ed. Buber, p. 198a]); wild beasts are the instruments of divine punishment, as in II Kings xvii. 2 (homily on Ezek. iv. 7, xiv. 4; compare Mishnah Ta'anit iii. 6; Shab. 33a).

Origen's Debt to the Haggadah.

Eusebius recognizes Jewish tradition as an authority almost equal to the Scriptures, and calls it *ἄγραφος παράδοσις*; *i.e.*, "unwritten tradition" ("Historia Ecclesiastica," iv. 22). Its depositaries he terms "deuterotæ" (*δευτερωταί*, "Præparatio Evangelica," xi. 5), and he characterizes them aptly as men of an uncommon strength of intellect, whose faculties have been trained to penetrate to the very heart of Scripture. The Hebrews, he says, call them *δευτερωταί* (*i.e.*, "tannaim"), because they expound Holy Writ (*ib.* xii. 1). "Deuterosis" (*δευτέρωσις*, "mishnah") is commonly used by the ecclesiastical writers for the Jewish tradition, and is also found in Justinian's novellæ.

Eusebius.

Eusebius makes a distinction between esoteric and exoteric exegesis; the Haggadot he often classes with the exoteric interpretation, contrary to Clement and others, who see therein a secret doctrine. Among his Haggadot may be mentioned the following: Abraham observed the precepts of the Torah before it had been revealed ("Demonstratio Evangelica," i. 6; compare Yoma 28b); King Hezekiah's sin in omitting a hymn of praise to God after Sennacherib's defeat (commentary on Isa. xxxix. 1; Jerome, *ad loc.*, quotes the same tradition; compare Sanh. 94a; Cant. R. iv. 8; Lam. R. iv. 15); Merodach-baladan's relations to Hezekiah (com. on Isa. xxxix. 1; the same Haggadah is given in Ephraem Syrus' commentary on II Kings xx. 10 ["Opera Syriaca," i. 562], as in one of Jacob of Edessa's scholia; compare Sanh. 96a). The traitor Shebna was a high priest (compare Lev. R. v.), treacherous (compare Sanh. 26a) and sensual (*ib.*), as Eusebius asserts in the name of *ὁ Ἑβραῖος* (com. on Isa. xii. 10, 11; Jerome makes the same statement *ad loc.*). The passage Zech. xi. 8 received very early the following Christological interpretation: After the advent of Jesus, the three powerful estates, kings, priests, and prophets, disappeared from Israel ("Demonstratio Evangelica," x. 1). Jerome, on Zech. xi. 8, quotes it only to reject it, preferring the Jewish

exegesis, which applies the text to Moses, Aaron, and Miriam; but he does not credit it to the Jews; compare also Pseudo-Philo ("Jewish Quarterly Review," x. 321), and Mekilta xvi. 35; Seder 'Olam Rabba x.; Ta'anit 9a. Something similar is found in Aphraates on Num. xx. 1.

Acceptance by Church Fathers of Haggadot.

Aphraates gives the above as a self-evident exegesis without mentioning its Jewish origin. He does the same with his numerous other Haggadot, which were doubtless derived from the Jews. Ephraem Syrus likewise gives his Haggadot in the name of scholars (אנשין מן ספרא), expounders (אנשא מן מפישקונא), etc., but never in the name of Jews. The Haggadot, however, were so generally accepted, that their Jewish origin gradually came to be forgotten. Ephraem Syrus, for instance, says, on Gen. xi. 29, that Sarah was called "Iscah" on account of her beauty; but this Haggadah is already found in Seder 'Olam R. ii. His explanation of Gen. xxxvi. 24 is similar to that found in Onkelos and the Samaritan Version. On II Kings iv. he has the same Haggadah about Obadiah's wife that is found in the Targum Yerushalmi and in part in Ex. R. xxxi. These and similar passages prove Ephraem's knowledge of Hebrew—a knowledge which many investigators have unjustly disputed.

Jerome's Wide Knowledge of Hebrew Tradition.

But the one most conversant with Jewish traditions, and their greatest admirer, is Jerome. His "Quæstiones Hebraicæ in Genesin" form an almost uninterrupted series of such traditions; and he quotes them frequently in his other writings also. They are mostly historical episodes as additions to Bible history, which he calls either "traditiones" or frequently "fabulæ." These Haggadot were not only imparted to him orally by his Jewish teachers, but, remarkably enough, he also read Midrashic works himself. He says, for example, on Jer. xxix. 21: "Nec legitur in synagogis eorum"; on Zech. iv. 2: "Hæc ab Hebræis dicta reperimus." Yet he speaks of these traditions as if they were a secret doctrine, "arcanæ eruditionis Hebraicæ et magistrorum synagogæ recondita disciplina" (Zech. vi. 9). He is also the only Church Father who is acquainted with the technical terms of the Hebrew tradition; for instance: "hoc Scriptura nunc dicit" (זה שאמר הכתוב); "hoc est quod dicitur" (הדא הוא דכתיב); "non debemus legere," or "non legi potest" (אל תקרי). He knows and applies the method of "notarikon" or "gematria" (on Nahum iii. 8, on Haggai i. 1). This technical knowledge has so far been noted only in Barnabas' writings.

The haggadic elements in Jerome are so numerous that they would fill volumes; some of the more noteworthy ones may be mentioned here. On Eccles. iv. 13 he quotes a lost Midrash of R. Akiba, which has come down only anonymously (compare Eccl. R. iv. 13; Abot de-R. Nathan, version ii., ch. 4; Midr. Ps. ix. 5) and in secondary sources. He is entirely unsupported, however, in his view that Elihu (in Job) and Balaam are identical ("Quæst. Hebr. in Gen." xxii. 21).

On Ezek. xlv. 13, 14 Jerome quotes a halakic Midrash which treats of the heave-offering (compare Yer. Terumot vi. 1, 42d). Epiphanius also knew this; the Pharisees are said to have offered *τριακοντάδες τε καὶ πεντηκοντάδες* (Hilgenfeld, "Judenthum und Juden-Christenthum," p. 73, Leipsic, 1886). On Zech. xi. 13 he has a curious Haggadah on the number of the affirmative and negative precepts; a closer investigation shows that he has preserved this Haggadah more correctly than it is found in Jewish sources ("Jewish Quarterly Review," vi. 258; Jacob Bernays, "Abhandlungen," i. 252).

The Church Fathers who lived after Jerome knew less and less about Judaism, so that the history of the later periods is no longer of any interest in this connection.

Polemics: The dialogue between Justin and the Jew Tryphon is remarkable for the politeness with which Jews and Christians speak of one another; later on, however, examples are not wanting of passionate and bitter language used by Christians and Jews in their disputations. Origen complains of the stubbornness of the Jews (Homily x., on Jer. viii.), and accuses them of no longer possessing sound knowledge (*l.c.* iii.). Ephraem Syrus assumes a very insulting tone toward the Jews; he calls them by opprobrious names, and sees in them the worthless vineyard that bears no good fruit. Like Eusebius, who used the misfortunes of the Jews for polemic purposes (com. on Ps. lviii. 7–12), Ephraem sees in their wretched condition the visitation of God (on Gen. xlix. 8); because the Jews "betrayed Christ," they were driven from their country and condemned to perpetual wandering (on II Kings ii., toward the end). After Jerome has enumerated all the countries whither the Jews had been dispersed, he exclaims: "Hæc est, Judæe, tuarum longitudo et latitudo terrarum" ("Epistola cxxix. ad Dardanum").

What especially angered the Christians was the fact that the Jews persisted in their Messianic hopes. In his sermon against the Jews Ephraem says: "Behold! this people fancies that it will return; after having provoked God by all its ways, it awaits and expects a time when it shall be comforted." Ephraem, as well as Justin and Origen, mentions that at this period Judaism was receiving numerous accessions from the ranks of paganism, a phenomenon ascribed by the Church Fathers to the machinations of Satan.

Jerome, on the other hand, speaks with great eloquence of the Messianic hopes of the Jews. Many Messianic passages of the Bible were applied by the latter to the emperor Julian, others to the distant future, differences which resulted in interminable polemics. The Church Fathers looked upon the Jews as demons, upon their synagogues as houses of Satan; Rufinus mockingly styles Bar Ḥanina, Jerome's Jewish teacher, "Barabbas," and Jerome himself a rabbi. The one word "circumcisio" was used to condemn the whole of Judaism; the Jews, they said, took everything carnally (*σωματικῶς*), the Christians took all things spiritually (*πνευματικῶς*).

The writings of Jerome vividly portray the character of the polemics of that period. The Christian who should undertake to dispute with the Jews had

to be learned in doctrine (Preface to Psalms). But these disputations must be held lest the Jews should consider the Christians ignorant (on Isa. vii. 14). The proceedings were very lively. Reference is made, even if only figuratively, to the planting of the feet against each other, to the pulling of the rope, etc. (*l.c.*). It is incredible that the Jews were so frantic as to "scream with unbridled tongues, foaming at the mouth, and hoarse of voice" (on the Epistle to Titus, iii. 9). Nor is it probable that the Jews "regretted when they had no opportunity to slander and vilify the Christians" (Preface to Joshua), although the Jews of that age show no diffidence in sustaining their part in these discussions. They were accused of avoiding questions that arose on the more difficult passages of the Bible (on Isa. xliv. 6), which proved simply that they wanted to avoid disputations altogether. But the Jews had allies in their opinions; for pagans and Christian sectaries agreed with them on many points, drawing upon themselves the polemics of the Church Fathers.

Disputations Between Jews and Christians.

Of the numerous polemical works directed against the Jews, only a few can be mentioned here. Of Clement's work, "Canon of the Church, or Against the Judaizers" (Κανὼν Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἢ Πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίζοντας; Eusebius, "Historia Ecclesiastica," vi. 13), only a few fragments have been preserved. Origen's famous work, "Contra Celsum," is directed no less against the Jews than against the pagans, since Celsus had brought forward many Jewish doctrines. Eusebius' "Demonstratio Evangelica" was avowedly a direct attack on the Jews (see i. 1, 11). Aphraates' Homily xix. is largely directed against the Jews, and Homilies xi., xiii., xv. denounce circumcision, the Sabbath, and the discrimination between clean and unclean food, "of which they are proud."

Avowed Attacks on Jews.

A little work of Novatian, formerly ascribed to Tertullian ("Epistola de Cibis Judaicis," Leipsic, 1898, ed. G. Landgraf and C. Weyman, reprinted from "Archiv für Lateinische Lexicographie und Grammatik," xi.), is also directed against the Jewish dietary laws. Isidore of Seville has copied this work almost verbatim in his "Quæstiones in Leviticum," ix. Presumably also by Novatian, and thus of the fourth century, is the treatise "Adversus Judæos," often ascribed to Cyprian; this is, however, somewhat conciliatory in tone (Landgraf, in "Archiv," xi. 1897). In Tertullian's works there is also found a treatise, "Adversus Judæos," similar in many ways to Cyprian's "Testimonia," both having drawn upon the older work, "Altercatio Simonis Judæi et Theophili Christiani" (P. Corssen, Berlin, 1890); in the "Altercatio" the Jew is converted.

After Julian's death Ephraem composed four hymns: against Emperor Julian the Apostate, against heresies, and against the Jews (in "S. Ephraemi Syri Carmina Nisibena," ed. Bickell, Latin transl., Leipsic, 1866; and Overbeck, "S. Ephraemi Syri Aliorumque Opera Selecta," Syriac text, Oxford, 1865). Connected with these in time as well as in subject are the six sermons of John Chrysostom against the Jews ("Homilies," i.). In these he bitterly complains of the Christians for still clinging to Jewish customs, a circumstance mentioned by other Church Fathers as well. Jerome gives striking examples in his commentaries on Matt. xxiii. 5 and on Ezek. xxxiii., and more characteristic still are the following words of his: "The Jewish laws appear to the ignorant and the common people as the very ideals of wisdom and human reason" ("Epistola cxxi. ad Algasiam"). This attitude of the multitude was of course earnestly combated by the Church Fathers; thus an anonymous work mentioned by Photius ("Myriobiblion," ed. Migne, p. 390) is directed against the Jews and against those who, like the Jews, celebrated Easter on the 14th of Nisan. Epiphanius' celebrated work "Adversus Hæreses," as also his "Ancoratus," treats of the Jewish faith; regarding it only as a third religious system, to be reckoned alongside of Scythism and Hellenism, while the only divine revelation is Christianity. The founder of Christian dogmatics, Augustine, in defiance of all dogmatic principles of classification, groups Jews, heathens, and Arians in one class ("Concio ad Catechumenos").

The points animadverted upon by the Church Fathers are manifold; they include such fundamental laws as those of the Sabbath, concerning the transfer of which to Sunday Justin already treats ("Dialogue," ch. 24)—a change which was opposed by Origen (compare Diestel, "Geschichte des Alten Testaments," p. 37), and which Origen (commentary on Rom. vi. 2) and Jerome ("Epistola cxxi. ad Algasiam") seek to prove to be impossible of observance ("Grätz Jubelschrift," p. 191). Circumcision, which is also violently assailed by Origen (see Diestel, "Gesch. des Alten Testaments," p. 37), the dietary laws, and many minor matters, such, for instance, as the washing of the hands, are made in turn to serve as subjects of polemical writing (Origen, commentary on Matt. xi. 8). Indeed, the Church Fathers even in the fourth century afford more information concerning the observance of the Levitical laws of purity than the rabbinical sources, Neubürger (in "Monatsschrift," 1873, p. 433) to the contrary notwithstanding.

Jerome says ("Epistola cix. ad Riparium") that the Samaritans and the Jews considered not only the bodies of the dead as unclean, but also the utensils in the house containing a corpse. Probably in consequence of the Levitical laws of purification the Jews, as well as the Samaritans and heretics, avoided contact with the Christians, a fact of which Jerome bitterly but most unjustly complains (on Isa. lxv. 4). Equally preposterous is it when Justin accuses the Jews, even their rabbis and sages, of immorality ("Dialogus cum Tryphone," cxxxiv., cxli.). A characteristic polemical sentence of Tertullian may well be added in this connection: "We have everything in common, except our women; you have community only in that respect" (see Hefele, "Beiträge zur Kirchengesch." i. 16, Tübingen, 1864).

Baseless Charges Against the Jews.

Perhaps more plausible, though often discussed and denied in more recent times, is the charge of the Church Fathers Justin, Origen, Epiphanius, and

Jerome that the Jews revile and curse Jesus—that is, Christianity—three times a day in their prayers ("Jewish Quarterly Review," v. 130, ix. 515; compare Wulfer, "Adnot. Theriaca Judaica," p. 305; Krauss, "Das Leben Jesu," p. 254, Berlin, 1902).

Dogmatic questions, of course, were the subject of controversy—never-ending questions on the abrogation of the Mosaic law, the person of the Messiah, etc. Yet there was some agreement between Christians and Jews in such matters as Antichrist (see Irenæus, *passim*; Hippolytus, "De Antichristo"; compare "Revue Etudes Juives," xxxviii. 28, and Bousset, "Der Antichrist," Göttingen, 1895), chiliasm (Ephraem Syrus on II Kings iv. 35; compare Sanh. 97a; 'Ab. Zarah 9a; and other Church Fathers), angelology, the Resurrection, etc.

The ability of the Jews to cope successfully with the Christians in these controversies is due to the fact that they were well versed in all the questions under discussion. Jerome assumes that in Scriptural questions every Jew is able to give satisfactory replies (Preface to Samuel). The Jews, moreover, were acquainted not only with the original text, but also with the Septuagint, the Apocrypha, Aquila's version, and in general with all works relating to Holy Writ. No sooner had Apollinaris Laodicinus' writings appeared than the Jews read and discussed them (Jerome on Eccl. v. 17).

Skill of Jews in Controversy.

Especially noteworthy is the fact that the Jews were as well versed in the New Testament as in the Old, being able to explain difficulties therein that puzzled even the officially appointed Christian teachers (*idem* on Isa. xi. 1). Ephraem Syrus asserts, curiously enough (Sermon xxv., in Zingerle, "Bibliothek der Kirchenväter," ii. 271), that the Jews admitted that John the Baptist really had appeared. Origen relates a Jewish tradition concerning Judas Iscariot (on Matt., Com. ser., § 78). Jerome is therefore to be believed when he says that the Jews were often in a position to applaud their own champions (on Ezek. xxxiii. 33), which they did in a sensational way (*ib.* xxxiv. 3). Chrysostom also taxes the Jews with their theatrical manner ("Opera," ed. Montfaucon, i. 656), and before him the just and cautious Justin says the same thing ("Dialogus cum Tryphone," cxxii.).

The Old Testament and the Apocrypha: The main object of the Christian endeavor was to wrest the Old Testament from the Jews and to make of it a Christian weapon. Therefore, as Jerome says (on Micah vii. 9), the Jews were hoping that in the Messianic times the Law and the Prophets would be taken away from the Christians and given to the Jews exclusively (compare the polemic passage in Ex. R. xlvii.). To accomplish their purpose the Christians made use of the allegorical exegesis as developed by Philo and other Jewish Hellenists. The literal meaning, says Origen, is good enough only for the Jews, in order that nothing may be applied to Jesus. Only Isidor of Pelusium had sense enough to warn against applying the whole of the Old Testament to Jesus, lest the Jews and pagans find cause for ridicule (Epistles, i., ep. cvi.; ii., ep. cxcv.). Nevertheless the whole Christian Church fell into this exaggeration; and into what absurdities they were led is shown by the following examples: Sarah and Hagar, already explained allegorically by Paul (Gal. iv. 24), are, according to Clement ("Stromata," i. 5), wisdom and the world. The two women who appeared before Solomon symbolize the Synagogue and the Church; to the former belongs the dead child; to the latter, the living one, that is, the Jewish faith is dead; the Christian faith is living (Ephraem Syrus on I Kings iii. 6). These might pass; but it becomes mere childishness when David is made to signify old and worn-out Israel, but Abishag Jesus (on I Kings i. 1). Equally unnatural is the assertion of Fulgentius in his "Epistola Synodica" (in Hefele, "Conciliengesch." 2d ed., ii. 699), that Esau represents the "figura populi Judæorum," and Jacob the people destined to be saved. The Jews made things much more easy by looking upon themselves as Jacob, and upon the Christians as Esau or Edom. At disputations the Christians knew in advance how the Jews would interpret certain passages. "If we ask the Jews who that daughter is [Ps. xlv.], I do not doubt that they will answer: the synagogue" (Jerome, "Epistola xlii. ad Principiam"). The Jews therefore not only opposed the Christian exegesis with the literal sense, but also had ready allegorical interpretations of their own.

Christians and the Jewish Hellenists.

Only Tertullian and Irenæus were rational enough to follow the simple literal meaning. The so-called school of Antioch, whose most eminent representatives were Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret, also taught a wholly rational exegesis; although the disciples of this school, such as Cosmas Indicopleustes, used the allegorical and typical methods extensively (Barjean, "L'Ecole Exégétique d'Antioche," Paris, 1898). Still, it can not be denied that other Church Fathers, and above all Jerome, did excellent work in simple exegesis.

Good exegesis depends upon a good text, and this the Christians did not possess; for the copies of the Bible circulating among them were corrupt in a number of passages. At a certain disputation between Jews and Christians, the former, naturally enough, referred to these mistakes, and mocked their opponents for allowing such obvious blunders. Jewish arguments of that kind are often quoted by Justin, Origen, Jerome, and other fathers. In order to free the Church from the just reproaches of the Jews on this score, Origen undertook his gigantic work, the Hexapla (Epiphanius, "De Ponderibus et Mensuris," ii.), in which he frequently restores the Jewish reading (*e.g.*, homily on Num. xvi. 4; Com. on Rom., books ii., xiii.; compare Rufinus, "Apologia s. Invectiv. in Hieronymum," book v., chap. iv.). Justin is honest enough to reject a manifest Christological gloss, the notorious *ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου*, which was said to be the reading in Ps. xcvi. (xcv. 10), interpolated in the Greek version ("the Lord reigned from the wood"). Aside from Justin ("Dial. cum Tryphone," lxxiii.), this interpolation is found only in the Latin fathers—Tertullian, Ambrose, Augustine, Leo, and Gregory the Great—who indulge in much nonsense concerning

Corrupted Texts of the Bible.

the words "a ligno." Augustine ("De Civitate Dei," xvi. 3) had a text in Gen. x. 2 in which not seven but eight sons of Japheth were mentioned, a reading that is found in none of the known texts. Hence the Jews rejected all translations, recognizing at most Aquila's "secunda editio," because this was correct (*κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν*; Jerome on Ezek. iv. 15). Jerome is the only Church Father who, as against the Septuagint, constantly refers to the "Hebraica veritas." At great cost he had a Bible copied for himself by his Jewish friend ("Adversus Rufinum," book ii.), who borrowed for him, although with "pia fraus," the copies belonging to the synagogue ("Epistola xxxvi. ad Damasum"). Nevertheless, even Jerome accuses the Jews of tampering with the text of the Bible (Mal. ii. 2); and thereafter the accusation constantly recurs.

The Christians fared no better with the Apocrypha, which they rated altogether too high, although these at times offended good taste. Origen fared badly at the hands of the Jews with his apocryphon Susanna ("Epistola ad Africanum de Historia Susannæ," v.) nor was Jerome's obscene legend to Jer. xxix. 21—a legend which is evidently connected with this apocryphon (see N. Brüll's "Jahrbücher," iii. 2), favorably received by the Jews. Jerome (on Matt. xxvii. 9) claims to have received an apocryphon on Jeremiah from a Jewish Nazarite, and to have found in a Hebrew book ("Epistola xxxvi. ad Damasum," "in quodam Hebræo volumine") a history of Lamech; but his Jewish teacher speaks contemptuously of the additions to Daniel, as having been written by some Greek (Preface to Daniel). See Bible Canons.

The importance of the Church Fathers for Jewish learning, already recognized by David Ḳimḥi and Azariah dei Rossi, becomes evident, if one considers that many sentences of Talmud and Midrash can be brought into the right perspective only by the light of the exegesis and the polemics of these Christian writers. Therefore modern Jewish learning turns, although not yet with sufficient eagerness, to the investigation of the works of the Church Fathers.

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T. S. Kr.

CHURRIKER, ABRAHAM DAVID: Beni-Israel soldier and police officer; born 1822; died at Puna Nov. 2, 1867. He enlisted in the Third Regiment of the Bombay Native Light Infantry, in which he served in the Punjab army in the years 1848-49, being present at the siege of Multan and the battle of Gujarat (1849), after which he obtained the Punjab medal with two bars, and was promoted to the rank of subahdar in 1853. In 1855 he was made native commandant of the Ahmednuggur police. During the Mutiny he served against the rebel Bhils at the battles of Tursia, Donger, and Punchalla, and received the Order of Merit of the third class for his gallantry. He was subsequently appointed assistant superintendent of police at Puna (March 16, 1863), and died while serving in that capacity. He was held in such esteem that he was appointed chairman of the Puna municipality.

Bibliography: H. Samuel, *Sketch of the Beni-Israel*, pp. 25-27.

J.

CHUSHAN-RISHATHAIM (R. V., **Cushan-rishathaim**).—**Biblical Data:** A king of Mesopotamia, or, more specifically, of Aram-naharaim ("Aram of the two rivers"), probably a kingdom in northern Mesopotamia (see Aram). He was the first of the oppressors of Israel in the time of the judges. The tyrant, who held Israel in subjection for eight years after Joshua's death, was finally conquered by the Judahite judge Othniel, who freed Israel from his rule (Judges iii. 8 *et seq.*).

——**Critical View:** Critics (see Moore's commentary to Judges iii.) consider that the two statements: (1) that the land of Israel was conquered by an early Aramaic king, and (2) that the Israelites were freed by a Judahite hero, are contradictory. In all probability the ancient Judean clans had practically no connection with Israel, and, in fact, would not aid the Israelites in Deborah's insurrection (see Judges v.). Budde ("Richter und Samuel," p. 95) also denies the possibility of Israel having been helped by Othniel. He thinks that the later editor of Judges was a Judean who arranged the story so as to give his own tribe a representative among the judges. On the other hand, there is no reason to doubt the truth of the tradition that Arameans may at one time have held Israel in subjugation.

The name "Chushan-rishathaim" appears nowhere outside of the Biblical record. It has not yet been found on the cuneiform monuments; and no satisfactory explanation of its derivation has been given.

J. JR. J. D. P.

CHWOLSON, DANIEL ABRAMOVICH: Russian Orientalist; born at Wilna Dec. 15, 1819. As he showed marked ability in the study of Hebrew and Talmud, his parents, who were very religious, destined him for the rabbinate, and placed him at the yeshibah of Rabbi Israel Günzburg; but fate had decided that he should serve his race in a quite different sphere. Up to his eighteenth year he did not know any other language than Hebrew; but in three years, without the aid of a teacher, he acquired a fair knowledge of German, French, and Russian. Chwolson in 1841 went to Breslau, and, after three years' preparation in the classical languages, entered, in 1844, the Breslau University, where he devoted himself to the Oriental languages, especially Arabic. There he studied until 1848, and in 1850 he received the degree of doctor of philosophy at the Leipsic University. On

his return to his native country he settled at St. Petersburg, and in 1855, being highly appreciated in learned circles, and having embraced Christianity, he was appointed extraordinary professor of Oriental languages in the university. Three years later he received a similar appointment in the Dukhovnaya Akademiya. In 1856 the Imperial Academy issued, at its own expense, Chwolson's first work, which at once established the authority of its author in the field of Oriental research. It was a contribution to the history of religion, entitled "Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus," in two volumes. Three years later Chwolson published another important work entitled "Ueber die Ueberreste der Altbabylonischen Literatur in Arabischen Uebersetzungen" (St. Petersburg, 1859; also in Russian under the title "Novootkrytie Pamyatniki," in "Russki Vyestnik," 1859). This work made a great sensation among scholars by the importance of its discoveries and by Chwolson's brilliant combinations concerning the old Babylonian monuments. It was followed in 1860 by "Ueber Tammuz und die Menschenverehrung bei den Alten Babyloniern" (*ib.* 1860).

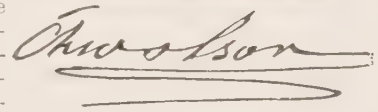
His Life-Work.

His reputation being now firmly established, Chwolson devoted himself to his life-task; namely, the defense of his former coreligionists. For blood accusation had been brought against the Jews of Saratov in 1857, and the government now summoned a commission of scholars to see whether any passages could be found in Jewish literature recommending the use of Christian blood for ritual purposes. Chwolson, who was appointed a member of the commission, wrote a report in which he fully demonstrated the groundlessness of the accusations in general, and pointed out that in this particular case of Saratov the evidence given by the two principal witnesses was full of contradictions and absurdities. As the investigation extended over a period of nine years, Chwolson, fearing that meanwhile the Jews of Russia would suffer under this accusation, secured permission to publish his memoir. It accordingly appeared in 1861, in the "Biblioteka dlya Chteniya," under the title "O Nyekotorykh Srednovyekovykh Obvineniyakh Protiv Yevreyev."

In 1877 Chwolson had the mortification of seeing a new blood accusation brought against Jews at Kutais, Transcaucasia. At the same time several Russian anti-Semitic writers undertook a campaign against the Talmud, repeating the old charge that it contained blasphemies against Jesus.

His Defense of the Talmud.

Chwolson again took up the defense of the Jews, and republished his memoir with many additions (St. Petersburg, 1880). A German edition of this work appeared in the year 1901 under the title "Die Blutanklage und Sonstige Mittelalterliche Beschuldigungen der Juden," Frankfort-on-the-Main. In this edition Chwolson, before entering into a discussion of the blood question, expounds the history of the Talmud, and shows that the "Pharisees" condemned by Jesus in the Gospels were not the Rabbinites in general, since the latter were the advocates of progress at the period of Jesus in history; that he meant by the term rather a certain class of false Pharisees, who were condemned in rabbinical literature also; and that it was not the Pharisees, but the Sadducees, who were the enemies and persecutors of Jesus. He further demonstrates that, according to Talmudical law, Jews were bound to look upon the Christians as their brethren, and that intolerance toward other religions was not a characteristic of the Talmudists. The assertions to the contrary are due partly to misconception, partly to hatred.



The deep-rooted belief that Jesus was crucified by the Jews being the principal cause of the prejudice against them on the part of the Christians, Chwolson, in a dissertation entitled "Poslyedniyaya Paskhalnaya Vecherya Isusa Christa i Den yevo Smerti," in "Christianskoe Chtenie," St. Petersburg, 1875 (German translation, "Das Letzte Passamal Christi," *ib.* 1892), shows the groundlessness of this belief. He points out that the proceedings of the trial and condemnation of Jesus, as related in the Gospels, were in violation of the rabbinical laws, and consequently could not have been conducted by a Jewish tribunal.

The Jewish race, as well as the Jewish religion, was defended by Chwolson. In a work entitled "Kharakteristika Semitskikh Narodov," in "Russki Vyestnik," 1872 (German ed., Berlin, 1872), he draws a parallel between the distinguishing characteristics of the Jew, the representative of the Semitic race, and those of the Greek, the representative of the Aryan peoples, not always to the advantage of the latter. The pamphlet was translated into English under the title "The Semitic Nations," Cincinnati, 1874.

Other Works.

Chwolson is also the author of the following works: "Statistische Nachrichten über die Orientalische Facultät der Universität zu St. Petersburg," Leipsic, 1861; "Achtzehn Hebräische Grabschriften aus der Krim," in the "Mémoires" of the St. Petersburg Academy of Science, 1865 (Russian translation, "Vosemnadtzat Nadgrobnykh Nadpisei iz Kryma," St. Petersburg, 1866); "Izvyestiya o Khazarakh," St. Petersburg, 1869 (notes on the Chazars, Burtars, Madjars, Slavs, and Russians from the Arabic of Ibn Dasta); "Novotkryty Pamyatnik Moavitskavo Tzarya Meshi," *ib.* 1870; "O Vliyanii Geograficheskavo Polozheniya Palestiny na Sudbu Yevreiskavo Naroda," *ib.* 1875 (reprinted in "Sbornik Budushchnosti," ii. 1–4); "Vozmozhny li v Turtzii Reformy?" *ib.* 1877 (on the Turkish reform); "Die Quiescentes He, Waw, und Iod in der Althebräischen Orthographie," Leyden, 1878 (Russian trans. in "Christianskoe Chtenie," St. Petersburg, 1881; English transl.

by T. K. Abbott, Dublin, 1890); "Upotreblyayut li Yevrei Christianskuyu Krov?" 2d ed., St. Petersburg, 1879; "O Mnimoi Zamknutosti Yevreyev," *ib.* 1880; "Corpus Inscriptionum Hebraicarum," *ib.* 1882 Russian translation, *ib.* 1884); "Predvaritelnaya Zamyetka o Naidennykh v Semiryechenskoi Oblasti Siriskikh Nadgrobnykh Nadpisyakh," *ib.* 1886; "Syrische Grabschriften aus Semirjetschie," *ib.* 1890, in "Mémoires" of the St. Petersburg Academy; "Hat es Jemals Irgend Einen Grund Gegeben, den Rüsttag des Jüdischen Passahfestes als Πρώτη τῶν Ἀζύμων zu Bezeichnen?" in "Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie," v. 38. Leipsic, 1896; "Staropechatnyya Yevreiskiya Knigi," on the Hebrew incunabula, St. Petersburg, 1897 (Hebrew transl., "Reshit Ma'ase ha-Defus," Warsaw, 1897). Mention may be made here of Chwolson's early contributions of Jewish biographies from Arabic sources, especially that of Maimonides by Al-Ḥifta, to the "Orient," 1846.

Chwolson is an indefatigable collector of Hebrew books, and his collection of Hebrew incunabula is one of the most valuable in existence. A catalogue of his Hebrew books was published by him under the title "Reshimat Sifre Yisrael," Wilna, 1897. The Russian government conferred upon Chwolson the title of "Councilor of State" ("Wirklicher Staatsrath").

The learned world in 1899 celebrated Chwolson's literary jubilee by presenting him with a collection of articles written in his honor by prominent European scholars. This was published by Baron David Günzburg under the title "Recueil des Travaux Rédigés en Mémoire du Jubilé Scientifique de M. Daniel Chwolson," Berlin, 1899.

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H. R. I. Br.

CICERO, MARCUS TULLIUS: Roman statesman and orator; born 106; died 43 B.C. In 59 he delivered in the Aurelian Forum at Rome a speech in behalf of Flaccus, in which he spoke disparagingly of the Jews; this was perhaps not from conviction so much as in the interest of his client ("Pro Flacco," xxviii.), though in Rhodes he had been the disciple in rhetoric of the anti-Jewish writer Apollonius Molon. Flaccus being accused, among other things, of having appropriated while proconsul of Asia the moneys contributed for the Jewish Temple by Jews under his jurisdiction, Cicero contended that there was an edict forbidding the exporting of gold from the Roman provinces—a plea that was evidently sophistical, since Judea at that time was a part of the Roman empire. He further said, referring to the Jews: "Justice demands that that barbaric superstition should be opposed; and it is to the interest of the state not to regard that Jewish mob which at times breaks out in open riots. . . . At one time the Jewish people took up arms against the Romans; but the gods showed how little they cared for this people, suffering it to be conquered and made tributary." In the Latin the phrase "and to be preserved" occurs after "made tributary," but these words stultify the rest of the sentence, and seem to have been added later by a Jewish or Christian copyist (Bernays, in "Rheinisches Museum," xii. 464).

It would appear, unless Cicero's words are merely a rhetorical flourish, that the Jews, who insisted on being present on an occasion that concerned them, surrounded the platform, and, supporting each other, became formidable through their numbers. "You know," he said, addressing the plaintiff, "how large the mob is, how it holds together, and what it accomplished in its assemblies." It is not likely, however, that the Jewish mob accomplished anything in this case, for Flaccus was probably discharged (compare Pliny, "Historia Naturalis," xiii. 4).

In the trial of Verres (70 B.C.) Plutarch reports that Cicero, in speaking of one of the accusers, Cecilius, who was suspected of a leaning toward Judaism, made the pun, "Quid Judæo cum Verre?" (What has a Jew to do with a pig?). Finally, in a speech delivered in the Senate, May, 56 B.C., and entitled "De Provinciis Consularibus," Cicero refers to the Jews and Syrians as "races born to be slaves," an expression not uncommon in the mouths of the Romans of his day.

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G. S. Kr.—G.

CICIRUACCHIO. See Brunetti, Angelo.

CID, CAMPEADOR RUY DIAZ DE VIVAR (known as **El Cid**): The conqueror of Valencia (1094) and popular hero of the Spanish nation. Lacking money to pay his knights, he negotiated through his nephew, Martin Antolinez, a loan of 600 marks from two wealthy Jews of Burgos, Don Rachel and Don Vidas, and succeeded, despite all their precautions, in defrauding them. According to the "Cronica General de Castilla," the Cid had a Jewish page by the name of Gil, who later assumed his master's name, Diaz, and who is described as a rare example of fidelity. The "Cronica del Cid"—which is reputed to have had its source in an Arabic chronicle written by the Moorish Jew Ibn Alfango, one of the Cid's officials—is in reality a careless compilation of older Arabic, Latin, and Spanish chronicles, and is a much later work than the "Poema del Cid," which appeared about the middle of the twelfth century and bears no traces of Arabic origin or Oriental coloring. The first complete translation of this poem was prepared by O. L. B. Wolff, a Jewish convert to Christianity (Jena, 1850).

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G. M. K.

CILICIA: Ancient province of southeastern Asia Minor, separated from Syria by the Taurus-Amanus range. In native Phenician inscriptions the name is given as חלך or כלך (Lidzbarski, "Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik," i. 274). Originally inhabited by Phenicians and Syrians (Herodotus, vii. 91), Cilicia was only gradually Hellenized from

the time of Alexander the Great; and because of its proximity to Syria it was often included in that country, to which it belonged politically. After the death of Alexander it became a Seleucid-Syrian province (I Macc. xi. 14; II Macc. iv. 36); it was afterward a part of Armenia; and from 63 B.C. it belonged to Rome. As a Roman province Cilicia was known to the author of the Book of Judith; although the Babylonian monarchy is referred to therein (Judith i. 7; ii. 21, 25).

Name and Situation.

Josephus ("Ant." i. 6, § 1) asserts that the Θάρσος of the Bible (Gen. x. 4, "Tarshish") is the old name for Cilicia. He expressly identifies Θάρσος with Ταρσός ("Tarsus"), the renowned capital of Cilicia; but this is philologically impossible. He also makes the prophet Jonah travel to Tarsus in Cilicia ("Ant." ix. 10, § 2), and mentions the country in several other connections. According to Josephus, it was by way of Cilicia that Pompey (63 B.C.) returned from Judea to Rome with Aristobulus as his prisoner ("B. J." i. 7, § 7). Herod with his sons embarked for Cilicia, landing at Eleusa, where he met Archelaus, King of Cappadocia ("Ant." xvi. 4, § 6; "B. J." i. 23, § 4). At times Celenderis in Cilicia, a city otherwise unknown, is referred to ("Ant." xvii. 5, § 1; "B. J." i. 31, § 3). Alexander, a great-great-grandson of Herod, became king of an island of Cilicia by the favor of Vespasian ("Ant." xviii. 5, § 4). The infamous Berenice, after her husband's death, married Polemon, King of Cilicia ("Ant." xx. 7, § 3). Antiochus, King of Commagene, who at first joined the Romans against the Jews, fled to Tarsus in Cilicia, where he was taken prisoner by Pætus ("B. J." vii. 7, §§ 2, 3). Mopsuestia, too, a Cilician city which afterward became celebrated through its Biblical exegesis, is referred to by Josephus ("Ant." xiii. 13, § 4). Cilicians were among the mercenaries of Alexander Jannæus (*ib.* § 5; "B. J." i. 4, § 3) and those of HEROD.

In the Talmud the country is referred to as "Ḳilikah" after the Greek name. The cities of Tarsus, Taurus Amanus, and Zephyrion are mentioned; but it is not certain that the Cilician Zephyrion is intended. The Syrians (Payne Smith, "Thesaurus Syriacus," p. 3602) also mentioned Tarsus and Zephyrus among the important cities of Cilicia; but "Aulon Kilikios" (Targ. Yer. Num. xxxiv. 8) is the name of a place in Moab (compare Josephus, "Ant." xiii. 5, § 4).

In the Talmud.

That Jews were dwelling in Cilicia is known from Philo ("Legatio ad Caium," p. 36). At the time of the Apostles many Cilician Jews lived in Jerusalem (Acts vi. 9); among them Paul (*ib.* ix. 11, xxi. 39, xxii. 3), whose birthplace was Tarsus, the capital of Cilicia. Nahum, the son of Rabbi Simai, preached in Tarsus (Pesiḳ. R. 15; ed. Friedmann, p. 78b); so that there must have been a congregation and a synagogue there. Some explain the "synagogue of the Tarsiyim" as meaning "people of Tarsus." In Jaffa a Greek epitaph of a Jew, "son of Jose of Tarsus," has been found. Epiphanius ("Hæres." xxx. 11) states that the patriarch Judah, of the fourth century, sent messengers to Cilicia to collect tithes and offerings in every city. In Corycos in Cilicia the sarcophagus of a Jew named Alexander and his wife has been found. In Rome the epitaph of a Jew, "Asaphat of Tarsus" ("Jahrb. Gesch. der Jud." ii. 287), has been deciphered; but the reading is doubtful. Christianity spread rapidly in Cilicia; and this indicates that there were numerous Jews in the province.

Cilicia produced much wine (Pliny, "Historia Naturalis," xiv. 11), to which reference is often made in the Talmud (Tosef., Sheb. v. 2; Yer. Ḥal. 60b). The Cilician bean is also frequently mentioned (Ma'as. v. 8), as is the so-called "cilicium," a coarse cloth made of Cilician goat-hair (Kelim xix. 1). The word "cilicium" is used by the Vulgate to render the Biblical word שַׂק ("sack"); and in the ecclesiastical life of the Christians it has a certain religious significance. Curly hair on the body is designated as "cilicinus" by the Rabbis (Sifra, ed. Weiss, 76c).

Products.

Though Cilicia came under various rulers, it was not until its conquest by the Turks that the Jews of the country attained to any prominence.

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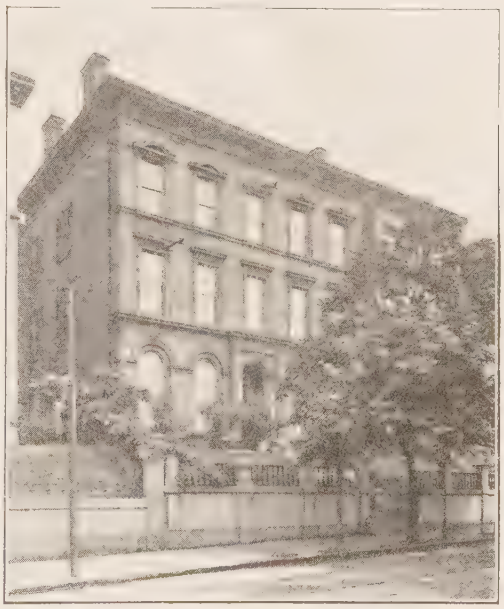
G. S. KR.

CINCINNATI: Capital of Hamilton county, Ohio, U. S. A. Its Jewish community is the oldest west of the Alleghany Mountains. In March, 1817, Joseph Jonas, a young English Jew, a native



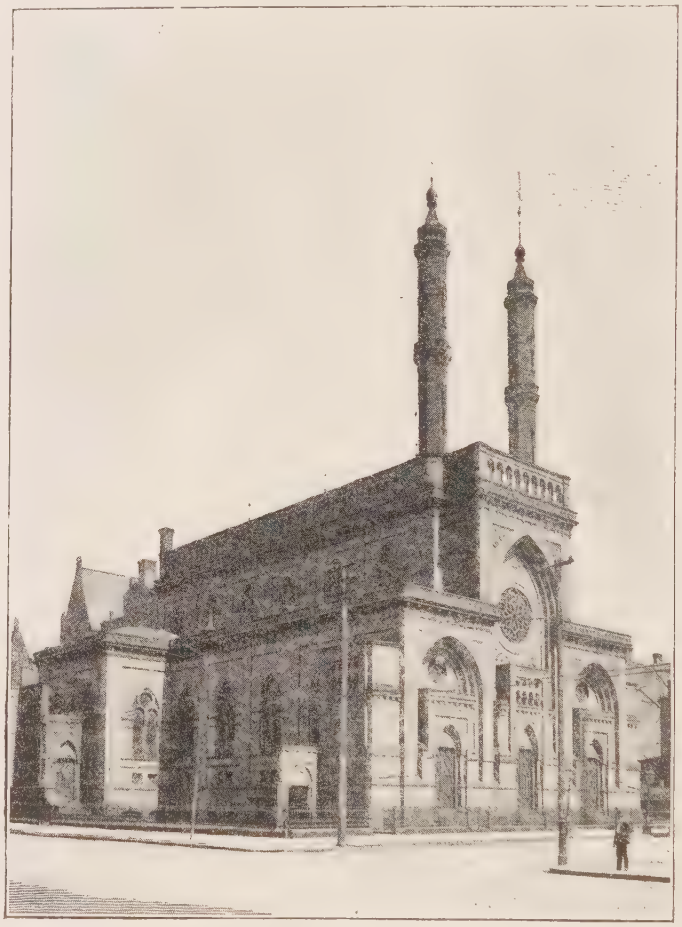
Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O.
(From a photograph.)

of Exeter, arrived at the metropolis of the Ohio valley. He had left his English home with the avowed intention of settling in Cincinnati. Friends in Philadelphia endeavored to induce him to relinquish his purpose of going to a spot so far removed from all association with his coreligionists, and said

to him: "In the wilds of America, and entirely among Gentiles, you will forget your religion and your God." However, the young man remained deaf to the persuasions of his friends, and persevered in his original purpose. For two years he was the only Jew in the Western town. In 1819 he was joined by three others, Lewis Cohen of London, Barnet Levi of Liverpool, and Jonas Levy of Exeter. These four with David Israel Johnson of Brookville, Ind., a frontier trading-station, conducted on the holidays in the autumn of 1819 the first Jewish service in the western portion of the United States. Similar services were held in the three succeeding falls. Newcomers continued to arrive, the early settlers being mostly Englishmen.

English Jews Settle.

The first Jewish child born in Cincinnati (June 2, 1821) was Frederick A., son of the above-mentioned David Israel Johnson and his wife Eliza. This couple, also English, had removed to Cincinnati from Brookville, where they had first settled. The first couple to be joined in wedlock were Morris Symonds and Rebekah Hyams, who were married Sept. 15, 1824. The first death in the community was that of Benjamin Leib or Lape, in 1821. This man, who had not been known as a Jew, when he felt death to be approaching, asked that three of the Jewish residents of the town be called. He disclosed to them that he was a Jew. He had married a Christian wife, and had reared his children as Christians, but he begged to be buried as a Jew. There was no Jewish burial-ground in the town. The few Jews living in the city at once proceeded to acquire a small plot of ground to be used as a cemetery. Here they buried their repentant coreligionist. This plot, which was afterward eniarged, was used as the cemetery of the Jewish community till the year 1850. At present it is situated in the heart of the city, on the corner of Central avenue and Chestnut street.



B'ne Yeshurun Temple, Cincinnati, O.
(From a photograph.)

There were not enough settlers to form a congregation till the year 1824, when the number of Jewish inhabitants of the town had reached about twenty. On Jan. 4 of that year a preliminary meeting was held to consider the advisability of organizing a congregation; and two weeks later, on Jan. 18, the Congregation B'ne Israel was formally organized; those in attendance were Solomon Buckingham, David I. Johnson, Joseph Jonas, Samuel Jonas, Jonas Levy, Morris Moses, Phineas Moses, Simeon Moses, Solomon Moses, and Morris Symonds. On Jan. 8, 1830, the General Assembly of Ohio granted the congregation a charter whereby it was incorporated under the laws of the state.

For twelve years the congregation worshiped in a room rented for the purpose; but during all this time the small congregation was exerting itself to secure a permanent home. Appeals were made to the Jewish congregations in various parts of the country. Philadelphia, Charleston, S. C., and New Orleans lent a helping hand. Contributions were even received from Portsmouth, England, whence a number of Cincinnatians had emigrated, and from Barbados in the West Indies. On June 11, 1835, the corner-stone of the first synagogue was laid; and on Sept. 9, 1836, the synagogue was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies. The members of the congregation had conducted the services up to this time. The first official reader was Joseph Samuels He served a very short time, and was succeeded by Henry Harris, who was followed in 1838 by Hart Judah.

The first benevolent association was organized in 1838 with Phineas Moses as president: its object was to assist needy coreligionists. The first religious school was established in 1842, Mrs. Louisa Symonds becoming its first superintendent. This school was short-lived.

Early Religious Institutions.

In 1845 a Talmud Torah school was established, which gave way the following year to the Hebrew Institute, established by James K. Gutheim. This also flourished but a short time; for with the departure of Gutheim for New Orleans the career of the institute closed.

During the fourth decade of the century quite a number of Germans arrived in the city. These were not in sympathy with their English coreligionists, and determined to form another congregation. On Sept. 19, 1841, the B'ne Yeshurun congregation was organized by these Germans, and was incorporated under the laws of the state Feb. 28, 1842. The first reader was Simon Bamberger. In 1847 James K. Gutheim was elected lecturer and reader of the congregation. He served till 1848, and was succeeded by H. A. Henry and A. Rosenfeld. The assumption of the office of rabbi in the B'ne Yeshurun congregation by Isaac M. Wise in April, 1854, and in the B'ne Israel congregation by Max Lilienthal in June, 1855, gave the Jewish community of Cincinnati a commanding position. Owing to their efforts in the cause of Judaism, Cincinnati became a Jewish center indeed and the seat of a number of movements that were national in scope. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Hebrew Union College, the Hebrew Sabbath-School Union, and the Central Conference of American Rabbis have their seat in Cincinnati.

Becomes a Jewish Center.

Dr. Lilienthal died in office April 5, 1882. He was succeeded as rabbi of the Congregation B'ne Israel by Raphael Benjamin, who served till Nov., 1888, when the present incumbent, Dr. David Philipson, took charge of the congregation. Dr. Wise served as rabbi of the B'ne Yeshurun congregation till the day of his death, March 26, 1900; being succeeded by his associate, Dr. Louis Grossman. Dr. Grossman had been preceded as associate rabbi by Rabbi Charles S. Levi, who served from Sept., 1889, to Sept., 1898.

The other congregations of the city are the Adath Israel, organized in 1847; the Ahabath Achim, organized in 1848; and the Sherith Israel, organized in 1855. There are also a number of small congregations. Each of these congregations conducts its own religious school, and there are also two free religious schools; one holding its sessions in the schoolrooms of the Mound street temple (B'ne Israel), and the other, conducted under the auspices of the local branch of the Council of Jewish Women, meeting at the Jewish Settlement. A large Talmud Torah school is conducted by the Talmud Torah Association on Barr street. The Hebrew Union College is located in Cincinnati. Night classes for various English and industrial branches of study are a feature of the work of the Jewish Settlement. The Jewish Kitchen Garden Association conducts a large school for girls in the building of the United Jewish Charities every Sunday morning, where instruction is given in dressmaking, millinery, housekeeping, cooking, stenography, typewriting, and allied subjects. An industrial school for girls is conducted during the summer months in the vestry-rooms of the Plum street temple (B'ne Yeshurun), and one for boys during the school year in the Ohio Mechanics' Institute building. There is a training-school for nurses in connection with the Jewish Hospital.

Educational Work.

The Jewish charities of Cincinnati are exceptionally well organized. All the relief and educational agencies joined their forces in April, 1896, and formed the United Jewish Charities. This body comprises the following federated societies: Hebrew General Relief Association, Jewish Ladies' Sewing Society, Jewish Foster Home, Jewish Kitchen Garden Association, Boys' Industrial School, Girls' Industrial School, and Society for the Relief of Jewish Sick Poor. The United Charities also grants an annual subvention to the Denver Hospital for Consumptives and to the local Jewish Settlement Association. The seat of the National Jewish Charities is also in Cincinnati, where the national organization was called into being in May, 1899. Besides the United Jewish Charities, Cincinnati supports the Jewish Hospital and the Home for the Jewish Aged and Infirm, and is one of the largest contributors to the Jewish Orphan Asylum at Cleveland.

The Jews of Cincinnati have always shown great public spirit and have filled many local positions of trust, as well as state, judicial, and governmental offices. Henry Mack, Charles Fleischmann, James Brown, and Alfred M. Cohen have been members of the Ohio senate, and Joseph Jonas, Jacob Wolf, Daniel Wolf, and Harry M. Hoffheimer have been members of the legislature. Jacob Shroder was judge of the court of common pleas for a number of years, and Frederick S. Spiegel now holds (1902) the same position. Julius Fleischmann is the present mayor of the city. Nathaniel Newburgh was appointed appraiser of merchandise by President Cleveland during his first administration, and Bernhard Bettmann has been collector of internal revenue since 1897.

The Jewish newspapers published in Cincinnati are "The American Israelite," established 1854, and "Die Deborah," established 1855; "The Sabbath Visitor," established 1874, was discontinued in 1892.

The Jews of the city were estimated in 1900 at 15,000, in a total population of 325,902.

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A. D. P.

CINNAMON: The bark of the *Cinnamomum Zeylanicum*, a plant so called botanically because growing best in Ceylon. A variety often substituted for it, cassia, comes from China. Cinnamon was known in early times to the Hebrews. It was used in making the anointing oil (Ex. xxx. 23), and,

further, as a mere perfume (Prov. vii. 17). In the Song of Solomon (iv. 14) it is mentioned along with other fragrant woods. Gesenius and Lagarde consider the Hebrew ("ḳinnamon") to be a loan-word from the Greek (κιννάμωμον), although Herodotus (iii. 111) states that the Greeks themselves borrowed it from the Phenicians. It seems that both Hebrew and Greek took it from the Phenician.

E. G. H. G. B. L.

CIPHER. See Gematria.

CIRCUMCISION (מילה; in Biblical Hebrew, מולה = "the cutting away" of the ערלה = "foreskin").—**Biblical Data:** A religious rite performed on male children of Jews on the eighth day after birth; also on their slaves, whether born in the house or not. It was enjoined upon Abraham and his descendants as "a token of the covenant" concluded with him by God for all generations, the penalty of non-observance being "karet," excision from the people (Gen. xvii. 10–14, xxi. 4; Lev. xii. 3). Aliens had to undergo circumcision before they could be allowed to partake of the covenant-feast of Passover (Ex. xii. 48), or marry into a Jewish family (Gen. xxxiv. 14–16). It was "a reproach" for the Israelite to be uncircumcised (Josh. v. 9; on "the reproach of Egypt" see below). Hence the name "'arelim" (uncircumcised) became an opprobrious term, denoting the Philistines and other non-Israelites (I Sam. xiv. 6, xxxi. 4; II Sam. i. 20; compare Judges xiv. 3; I Sam. xvii. 26), and used synonymously with "ṭame" (unclean) for heathen (Isa. lii. 1). The word "'arel" (uncircumcised) is also employed for "unclean" (Lev. xxvi. 41, "their uncircumcised hearts"; compare Jer. ix. 25; Ezek. xliv. 7, 9); it is even applied to the first three years' fruit of a tree, which is forbidden (Lev. xix. 23).

This shows how deeply rooted in the minds of the ancient Hebrews was the idea that circumcision was an indispensable act of national consecration and purification.

Original Significance.

Nevertheless, there are several facts in the Bible which do not seem to be in full harmony with this view. According to Ex. iv. 24–26, the circumcision of the first-born son was omitted by Moses, and the Lord therefore "sought to kill him"; whereupon "Zipporah took a flint and cut off the foreskin of her son, and made it touch [A. V., "cast it at"] his [Moses'] feet," saying, "A bridegroom of blood art thou to me." Thus Moses was ransomed by the blood of his son's circumcision.

Strange as was this omission on the part of Moses, the omission of the rite on the part of the Israelites in the wilderness was no less singular. As recorded in Josh. v. 2–9, "all the people that came out" of Egypt were circumcised, but those "born in the wilderness" were not; and therefore Joshua, before the celebration of the Passover, had them circumcised with knives of flint (compare Ex. iv. 25) at Gilgal, which name is explained as "the rolling away" of "the reproach of Egypt" (see Gilgal).

Attention has also been called to the peculiar attitude of Deuteronomy and the Prophets toward circumcision. Deut. x. 16 (compare *ib.* xxx. 6 and Jer. iv. 4) says, "Circumcise the foreskin of your heart," thus giving the rite a spiritual meaning; circumcision as a physical act being enjoined nowhere in the whole book (see Geiger, "Urschrift," ii. 79, and Montefiore, "Hibbert Lectures," 1892, pp. 229, 337). Jer. ix. 25, 26 goes so far as to say that circumcised and uncircumcised will be punished alike by the Lord; for "all the nations are uncircumcised, and all the house of Israel are uncircumcised in heart." Obviously, the prophetic view of the sacredness of the rite differed from that of the people.

——**Historical View:** Circumcision was known to be not an exclusively Jewish rite. Ishmael was circumcised when thirteen years old; that is, at the age of puberty (Gen. xvii. 25). The rite was, in fact, practised not only in ancient Arabia (Josephus, "Ant." i. 12, § 2; Origen, "Ad Genesin," i. 14; Eusebius, "Preparatio Evangelica," vi. 11; Shahrastani, transl. Haarbrücker, ii. 35, § 4; Sozomen, "Hist. Eccl." vi. 38), but also in Ethiopia (Philostorgius, "Hist. Eccl." iii. 4; Strabo, xvii. 776, 824), as well as by almost all the primitive tribes of Africa and by many of Australia (see R. Andree, "Die Beschneidung," in "Archiv für Anthropologie," 1880, xiii. 53–78; Ploss, "Geschichtliches und Ethnologisches über Knaben-Beschneidung," in "Archiv für Gesch. der Medicin," 1885, viii.; R. Hartmann, "Die Völker Afrikas," 1879, i. 178).

This accumulation of evidence points to the fact that circumcision in its primitive form was connected with marriage, whether performed with a view to the facilitation of cohabitation, as Ploss thinks, or, as is far more in accordance with the psychology of all primitive as well as of all ancient nations, to the consecration of the generative powers. At all events, the age of puberty is most frequently selected for the rite; and, after weeks of purification, accompanied by tests of courage, the boy is formally graduated into manhood and, bearing a new name, is ushered into the bridal chamber (Niebuhr, "Beschreibung von Arabien," p. 269; Andree, *l.c.*). For Egypt the practise is attested not alone by Herodotus (ii. 37, 104), Philo ("De Circumcisione," § 2; ed. Mangey, p. 210), and Ambrosius ("De Abrahamo," ii. 348), but also by the monuments (see Ebers, "Ægypten und die Bücher Mose's," i. 278) and the very valuable Greek text published and discussed by R. Reizenstein ("Zwei Religionsgeschichtliche Fragen," Strasburg, 1901). The rite of circumcision signified admission of the boy at the age of puberty into the rank of priesthood, as "web" (the Egyptian for "pure" or "holy"), the mother's presence being considered especially necessary. In Biblical literature the rite is incidental to the recognition of heirship, and to the adoption of a new name (Gen. xvii. 4–14). Moses' neglect to circumcise Gershom was possibly associated in some way with his (Moses') marriage to a Midianite woman. Zipporah, however, ultimately showed her allegiance to the God of the Hebrews by performing the rite herself. The fact that in Arabic "ḥatana" signifies both "to marry" (compare the Hebrew חתן = "bridegroom," and חותן = "father-in-law") and "to circumcise" shows an original connection between the rite and the nuptial ceremony; whereas the terms "ṭuhur" and "taṭhir" (purification), applied to circumcision

in Arabia (see Wellhausen, "Skizzen und Vorarbeiten," 1887, iii. 154 *et seq.*), indicate the later religious view (see also Kohler, in "Z. D. M. G." xxiii. 680, and Nöldeke, *ib.* xl. 737).

The critical view of the Pentateuch, which ascribes Gen. xvii. to the late Priestly Code, and Josh. v. 4–7 to the interpolation of the redactor (see Dillmann, commentary on the passage), sufficiently accounts for the non-circumcision of young Israelites prior to their entrance into Canaan by the following theory: The ancient Hebrews followed the more primitive custom of undergoing circumcision at the age of puberty, the circumcision of young warriors at that age signifying the consecration of their manhood to their task as men of the covenant battling against the uncircumcised inhabitants (see Reizenstein, *l.c.*). After the settlement of the Israelites in Palestine, the rite was transferred to the eighth day after birth. In fixing the time of the initiatory rite at an age when its severity would be least felt, the Mosaic law shows its superiority over the older custom. Explanations which find the origin of circumcision in hygienic motives, suggested first by Philo (*l.c.*) and Josephus ("Contra Ap." ii. 13), then by Saadia ("Emunot we-De'ot," iii. 10) and Maimonides ("Moreh Nebukim," iii. 49), and often repeated in modern times, from Michaelis ("Mosaisches Recht," iv. 184–186) down to Rosenzweig ("Zur Beschneidungsfrage," 1878), who recommends its introduction into the Prussian army, have no other than a historical value.

——**In Apocryphal and Rabbinical Literature:** During the Babylonian exile the Sabbath and circumcision became the characteristic symbols of Judaism. This seems to be the underlying idea of Isa. lvi. 4: "The eunuchs that keep my Sabbath" still "hold fast by my covenant," though not having "the sign of the covenant" (Gen. xvii. 11, Hebr.) upon their flesh. Contact with Grecian life, especially at the games of the arena, made this distinction obnoxious to the Hellenists, or antinationalists; and the consequence was their attempt to appear like the Greeks by epispasm ("making themselves foreskins"; I Macc. i. 15; Josephus, "Ant." xii. 5, § 1; Assumptio Mosis, viii.; I Cor. vii. 18; משך ערלה, Tosef., Shab. xv. 9; Yeb. 72a, b; Yer. Peah i. 16b; Yeb. viii. 9a). All the more did the law-observing Jews defy the edict of Antiochus Epiphanes prohibiting circumcision (I Macc. i. 48, 60; ii. 46); and the Jewish women showed their loyalty to the Law, even at the risk of their lives, by themselves circumcising their sons.

In order to prevent the obliteration of the "seal of the covenant" (חותם ברית) on the flesh, as circumcision was henceforth called, the Rabbis, probably after the war of Bar Kokba (see Yeb. *l.c.*; Gen. R. xlvi.), instituted the "peri'ah" (the laying bare of the glans), without which circumcision was declared to be of no value (Shab. xxx. 6).

Thenceforward circumcision was the mark of Jewish loyalty. The Book of Jubilees (xv. 26–27), written in the time of John Hyrcanus, has the following: "Whosoever is uncircumcised belongs to 'the sons of Belial,' to 'the children of doom and eternal perdition'; for all the angels of the Presence and of the Glorification have been so from the day of their creation, and God's anger will be kindled against the children of the covenant if they make the members of their body appear like those of the Gentiles, and they will be expelled and exterminated from the earth" (see Charles, "The Book of Jubilees," lv.–lx. iii. 190–192). To be born circumcised was regarded as the privilege of the saints, from Adam, "who was made in the image of God," and Moses to Zerubbabel (see Ab. R. N., ed. Schechter, p. 153; Soṭah 12a). And great importance was laid upon the shedding of a drop of blood as a sign of the covenant when a child or a proselyte born circumcised was to be initiated into Judaism (Shab. 135–137b).

Uncircumcision being a blemish, circumcision was to remove it, and to render Abraham and his descendants "perfect" (Ned. 31b; Gen. R. xlvi., after Gen. xvii. 1). "Isaac should be the offspring of the consecrated patriarch" (Gen. R. *l.c.*). He who destroys the covenant sign of Abraham (by epispasm), has no portion in the world to come (Ab. iii. 17; Sifre, Num. xv. 31; Sanh. 99). According to Pirḳe R. El. xxix., it was Shem who circumcised Abraham and Ishmael on the Day of Atonement; and the blood of the covenant then shed is ever before God on that day to serve as an atoning power. According to the same Midrash, Pharaoh prevented the Hebrew slaves from performing the rite, but when the Passover time came and brought them deliverance, they underwent circumcision, and mingled the blood of the paschal lamb with that of the Abrahamic covenant, wherefore (Ezek. xvi. 6) God repeats the words: "In thy blood live!"

Abrahamic Covenant.

In the wilderness, however, the Israelites omitted only the peri'ah, according to R. Ishmael; according to the other rabbis, they did not circumcise their children on account of the fatigue of the journey. According to Sifre, Beha'aloteka, 67, and Ex. R. xix., the tribe of Levi was the only one that "kept the [Abrahamic] covenant" (Deut. xxxiii. 9). They had, says R. Ishmael, piled up the foreskins of the circumcision in the wilderness, and covered them with earth. To this Balaam referred when he asked: "Who can count the dust of Jacob?" (Num. xxiii. 10); and for this reason it became customary after circumcision to cover the foreskin with earth.

Loyalty to the Abrahamic covenant was shown by the Gentiles who voluntarily espoused the Jewish faith, but not by the slaves of Abraham upon whom circumcision was enforced, the patriarch having done so only because he wished to conform to the Levitical laws of purity. Nor did Esau practise circumcision in his own household: "he despised his birthright" (Gen. xxv. 34; Tanna debe Eliyahu R. xxiv. [xxii.]). The Ephraimite kingdom also failed to observe the Abrahamic rite; wherefore Elijah swore "there shall not be dew nor rain these years, but according to my word" (I Kings xvii. 1). Elijah's lot was ever to be persecuted by Jezebel; therefore the Lord also swore an oath that no "berit milah" (rite of circumcision) should be celebrated in Israel without the presence of Elijah; hence a chair is always reserved on that occasion for Elijah, "the angel [A. V., "messenger"] of the

covenant" (Mal. iii. 1; Pirḳe R. El. xix.; see ELIJAH'S CHAIR).

Talismanic powers were ascribed to the sign of the covenant, as also to the phylacteries. According to the rabbis, David, when he saw himself at the bath stripped of the tefillin and other religious insignia, thanked God for the Abrahamic rite protecting him, and sang the Twelfth Psalm, which bears the superscription "'Al-ha Sheminit" (lit., "on the eighth," explained by the Rabbis as referring to the rite of circumcision; Yeb. 43b; compare *ib.* 53b.) Circumcision causes an angel to save the Israelites from the pangs of Gehenna, to which, according to Ezek. xxxii. 24, the uncircumcised ('arelim) are consigned (Tan., Lek Leka, ed. Buber, 27; Ex. R. xix.). According to Gen. R. xlviii., it is Abraham who sits at the gate of Gehenna to save the circumcised (see ABRAHAM). "Circumcision is of such importance that heaven and earth are held only by the fulfilment of that covenant [after Jer. xxxi. 35]; and all the merits of Moses could not shield him against the danger to which he was exposed in consequence of the neglect of this command. It is a thirteenfold covenant" (Ned. 34b).

Saving Power of Circumcision.

But "it is also an occasion of highest joy" (Meg. 16b, with reference to Esth. viii. 16, and Ps. cxix. 162), especially "for the mother" (Giṭ. 57a, with reference to Ps. cxiii. 9), the berit milah having been made the occasion of great festivity from the days of Abraham (Shab. 130a; Pirḳe R. El. *l.c.*; see BANQUETS).

"Circumcision is one of the commandments which, having been accepted with joy, are ever obeyed with joy, and, because the people gave their lives for them, are observed with steadfast loyalty" (R. Simeon b. Eleazar, in Shab. 130a). This refers to the martyrdom which the Jewish people underwent during the Hadrianic persecution, which was especially directed against circumcision. "We ought to abstain from marrying," said R. Ishmael b. Elisha, "since the Roman [Yawan] government forbids us to celebrate the festival of the birth of a son ["yeshua' ha-ben," or "shabua' ha-ben"]; but then the world would come to a standstill" (B. B. 60b). "Why art thou, O Israel, led forth to be slain? . . . Because I have circumcised my son! . . . It is the love I show for my Father in heaven" (Mek., Yitro, Ba-Ḥodesh, vi.). "Why did God not make man as he wanted him to be?" asked Tinnius (Tyrannus) Rufus, with biting sarcasm; and Akiba replied, "In order that man should perfect himself by the fulfilment of a divine command" (Tan., Tazria', ed. Buber, 7).

In Gen. R. xlvi. the arguments for and against circumcision are put forth in the form of a dialogue between God and Abraham. Replying to the question why the command had not been given to Adam if it was so dear to Him, God reminds Abraham that it should be sufficient for him that he and God are in the world—a play on "ShADDAI"—and that the maintenance of the world depends upon the acceptance of the commandment. But Abraham objects that circumcision is an obstacle to the conversion of the Gentiles. This trouble, also, is overcome by the declaration of God's sufficiency to protect both Abraham and the world. In fact, circumcision had been deferred from the time of Abraham's conversion—in the forty-eighth year of his life—until his ninety-ninth year, for the express purpose of facilitating the making of proselytes.

Arguments for and Against.

The problem of proselytism, indeed, had stirred Judaism to its very depths, and had almost separated Hellenistic from Palestinian Judaism. The former would admit Gentiles after having undergone the rite of baptism; that is, regeneration by living water (see Sibyllines. iv. 164 *et seq.*: "Wash your whole stature clean from impurity in running streams, and, with hands uplifted to heaven, ask for forgiveness for your doing; then the worship of God will heal gross impiety"). With this view, Josephus relates ("Ant." xx. 2, §§ 3, 4), a Jew named Ananias sought to make converts to Judaism. He succeeded with Queen Helena and the women of the court, and her son Izates was eager to follow her example. But Izates' mother, on hearing of his determination to submit to circumcision also, implored him not to do so, as the people might take umbrage at his act of compliance with strange and abhorrent rites, and overthrow the dynasty. His instructor, Ananias, also tried to dissuade him and to allay his scruples with arguments based on the meritoriousness of his intention, which would atone, in the sight of God, for the non-performance of the rite. But, through the influence of another Jew, Eleazar, from Galilee, the home of the Zealot party, Izates was easily induced to submit to the operation; and he informed both his mother and Ananias of what he had done. He was rewarded for his fortitude and piety; for "God . . . preserved both Izates and his sons when they had fallen into many dangers, and procured their deliverance when it seemed impossible, demonstrating thereby that the fruit of piety is not lost to those who wait for Him and who put their sole trust in Him." Compare the story related in Gen. R. xlvi.: "King Monobaz and Izates, sons of King Ptolemy [an error: read "Monobaz" for "Ptolemy"], read the Book of Genesis together. When they came to the passage xvii. 11 they wept; and each, without the other's knowledge, underwent circumcision. The next time they read the chapter together one said to the other: 'Wo unto me, my brother!' They then disclosed what they had done. Their mother, on hearing of the matter, told their father that they had needed circumcision as a precaution against phimosis, and he signified his approval. As a reward for their action they were saved by an angel from being killed in an ambush during a war in which they had become involved" (compare Grätz, "Gesch." iii. 430 *et seq.*).

Circumcision of Proselytes.

The issue between the Zealot and Liberal parties regarding the circumcision of proselytes remained an open one in tannaitic times; R. Joshua asserting that the bath, or baptismal rite, rendered a person a full proselyte without circumcision, as Israel, when receiving the Law, required no initiation other than the purificative bath; while R. Eliezer makes circumcision a condition for the admission of

a proselyte, and declares the baptismal rite to be of no consequence (Yeb. 46a). A similar controversy between the Shammaites and the Hillelites is given (Shab. 137a) regarding a proselyte born circumcised: the former demanding the spilling of a drop of blood of the covenant; the latter declaring it to be unnecessary. The rigorous Shammaite view, voiced in the Book of Jubilees (*l.c.*), prevailed in the time of King John Hyrcanus, who forced the Abrahamic rite upon the Idumeans, and in that of King Aristobulus, who made the Itureans undergo circumcision (Josephus, "Ant." xiii. 9, § 1; 11, § 3). According to Esth. viii. 17, LXX., the Persians who, from fear of the Jews after Haman's defeat, "became Jews," were circumcised.

Circumcision Necessary or Not?

The rigorous view is echoed also in the Midrash: "If thy sons accept My Godhead [by undergoing circumcision] I shall be their God and bring them into the land; but if they do not observe My covenant in regard either to circumcision or to the Sabbath, they shall not enter the land of promise" (Gen. R. xlvi., with reference to Gen. xvii. 8–9). "The Sabbath-keepers who are not circumcised are intruders, and deserve punishment," (גוי ששבת חייב מיתה; Deut. R. i. and Ma'ase Torah, ed. Schönblum; see also Hippolytus," Refutatio Omnium Hæresium," ix. 21).

It appears, however, that while the Palestinian Jews accepted the uncircumcised proselytes only as "Proselytes of the Gate" ("Gere Toshab," Yeb. 47b; see Proselytes), non-Palestinian Judaism did not make such a distinction until the Roman wars, when the more rigorous view became prevalent everywhere. Thus Flavius Clemens, a nephew of the emperors Titus and Domitian, when with his wife Domitilla he embraced the Jewish faith, underwent circumcision, for which he suffered the penalty of death (see Grätz, "Gesch." iv. 403 *et seq.*, 702).

It was chiefly this rigorous feature of Jewish proselytism which provoked the hostile measures of the emperor Hadrian. And, furthermore, it was the discussion of this same question among the Jews—whether the seal of circumcision, חותם ברית (see Shab. 137b; Ex. R. xix.; Targ. Cant. iii. 8; Hermas, "Similitudines," viii. 6, ix. 16; II Clemens to the Corinthians, vii. 6, viii. 6; Grace at Meals; for heathen parallels of the expression "seal" see Anrich, "Das Antike Mysterienwesen," pp. 123–124, and Reizenstein, *l.c.* pp. 7–8), might not find its substitute in "the seal of baptism"— which led Paul to urge the latter in opposition to the former (Rom. ii. 25 *et seq.*, iv. 11, and elsewhere), just as he was led to adopt the antinomistic or antinational view, which had its exponents in Alexandria (see Philo, "De Migratione Abrahami," xvi.; ed. Mangey, i. 450).

While in Biblical times the mother (perhaps generally) performed the operation, it was in later times performed by a surgeon, רופא or אומן, also called by the specific name "mohel" (מוהל; see Josephus, "Ant." xx. 2, § 4; B. B. 21a; Shab. 130b, 133b, 135, 156a) or "gozer" (גוזר). In the Codex Justinianus (i. 9, 10) physicians were prohibited from performing the operation on Roman citizens who had become converts to Judaism.

Unlike Christian baptism, circumcision, however important it may be, is not a sacrament which gives the Jew his religious character as a Jew. An uncircumcised Jew is a full Jew by birth (Ḥul. 4b; 'Ab. Zarah 27a; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Yoreh De'ah, 264, 1). A non-Jewish physician may, according to R. Meïr, in the absence of a Jewish expert, perform the ceremony, as may women, slaves, and children ('Ab. Zarah 26b; Men. 42a; Maimonides, "Yad," Milah, ii. 1; Yoreh De'ah, *l.c.*), although the more rigorous Shammaite rule was forced by the Amoraim; compare Gen. R. *l.c.*

Circumcision Not a Sacrament.

Circumcision must, whenever possible, take place on the eighth day, even when this falls upon the Sabbath (Shab. xix. 1). The Samaritans and the Karaites, however, dissent from this rule (see Karaites and Samaritans); if by reason of the child's debility or sickness the ceremony is postponed, it can not take place on the Sabbath (Shab. 137a). It is the duty of the father to have his child circumcised; and if he fails in this, the bet din of the city must see that the rite is performed (Ḳid. 29a).

As early as the geonic time the ceremony had been transferred from the house of the parents to the synagogue, where it took place after the service in the presence of the whole congregation. In order to give it the character of a festival certain prayers of a mournful nature, such as "Widduy" and "Taḥanun," were omitted, and occasionally appropriate hymns were recited instead. In the tenth century there appears, in addition to the mohel and the father of the child, the "ba'al berit," also called "godfather" ("sandeḳ" corresponding to the *σύντεκνος*, the godfather in the Greek Church, who lifted the neophyte from the baptismal water). The sandeḳ holds the child on his knees during the operation. As a rule, the wife of the godfather carries the child in and hands it to the mohel, while the congregation greets it with: "Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord" (Ps. cxviii. 26). Beside the chair upon which the sandeḳ is seated another chair is placed, called, as has been stated above, "the chair of Elijah" (see Elijah's Chair). Upon this the mohel places the child, reciting Gen. xlix. 18; Ps. cxix. 156, 162, 166; and the first half of Ps. lxv. 5, the congregation responding with the latter half. He then takes the child from "Elijah's chair" and places it, upon a cushion, in the lap of the sandeḳ, reciting the benediction: "Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast sanctified us by Thy commandments, and hast enjoined us to perform the commandment of circumcision." When the operation is over, the father of the child recites the benediction: "Blessed art Thou . . . who hast sanctified us by Thy commandments, and hast enjoined us to make him enter into the covenant of Abraham our father"; and the congregation responds with: "As he hath been made to enter the covenant, so may he also be made to enter the study of the Torah, the ḥuppah [nuptial chamber], and the performance of good deeds." The use of the pronoun "him" in this peculiar benediction of the father, and in the congregational response given in the ancient Baraita (Shab. 137b),

The Ceremony.

seems to indicate that originally the child was named immediately after the circumcision, as was the case in New Testament times (Luke ii. 21; compare Gen. xvii. 5), and that the congregation then blessed the child just named. Hence, also, the prayer recited at the close. Owing to the fact that the original "se'udat berit milah" (see BANQUETS) was later on postponed or changed in character, the two benedictions introducing it are now recited by the mohel, who, taking the cup of wine, says: "Blessed be Thou . . . who hast created the fruit of the vine." "Blessed be Thou . . . who hast sanctified the beloved one [Isaac] from the womb, and hast ordained an ordinance for his kindred, and sealed his descendants with the sign of the holy covenant. Therefore on this account do Thou, O living God, our Inheritance and our Rock, command [Thy angels; see Maimonides, "Pe'er ha-Dor," responsum No. 134] to save Thy beloved kindred [Israel] from the pit [of Gehenna], for the sake of Thy covenant which Thou hast put upon our flesh! Blessed be thou, O Lord, Maker of the Covenant" (Shab. 137b).

Here follows in the liturgy a prayer, preserved from geonic times by Abraham b. Nathan, Tanyah, and Abudrahim, referring especially to the naming of the child: "Our God and God of our fathers! Preserve this child to his father and mother, and let his name be called in Israel N the son of N. Let the father rejoice in him that came forth from his loins, and let the mother be glad in the fruit of her womb; as it is written . . . [Prov. xxiii. 25]: and it is said . . . [Ezek. xvi. 6 (see above); Ps. cv. 8–10; Gen. xxi. 4; Ps. cxviii. 1]. Let the child named N wax great!" Whereupon the congregation again responds, saying: "As he hath entered into the covenant, so may he be permitted to enter the study of the Torah, the ḥuppah, and the performance of good deeds."

After having for centuries been practised as a distinctively Jewish rite, circumcision appeared to many enlightened Jews of modern times to be no longer in keeping with the dictates of a religious truth intended for humanity at large; and its abolition was advocated, and made the shibboleth of the "Friends of Reform" ("Reformfreunde") in Frankfort-on-the-Main in 1843. Under the leadership of Theodor Creizenach, M. Stern of Göttingen, and others, the association published in the "Frankfurter Journal," July 15, 1843, and in "Der Israelit des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts" of the same year articles in which, besides the abolition of circumcision and the transfer of the Jewish Sabbath to Sunday, the renunciation of historical Judaism in its entirety was declared necessary, and a sort of Jewish Church, based upon the Mosaic monotheism, was recommended. These articles called forth the protests of many rabbis, even in the Reform camp, among whom were Joseph Aub and Samuel Hirsch of Luxemburg (see S. D. Trier, "Rabbinische Gutachten über die Beschneidung," Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1844). A bitter controversy raged in the Jewish congregations and press. Samuel Holdheim took sides with the Radical Reformers; David Einhorn, with a number of other rabbis, opposed the merely negative standpoint of the Frankfurt Reform-Verein, but emphatically indorsed the view that he who disregards the law of circumcision, whatever the motive may be, is nevertheless a Jew, circumcision having no sacramental character. Zunz and Aub, however, endeavored to attribute to circumcision a semi-sacramental character (see CEREMONIES); but Geiger, who, in his private correspondence with Stern, sympathized with the Radical Reformers, objected, with others, to this arbitrary position (see Geiger, "Gesammelte Schriften," v. 174, 181). On the other hand, Samuel Hirsch, in a series of discourses on the Messianic mission of Israel (1843), preached a sermon on the symbolic value of circumcision.

Reform Judaism and Circumcision.

In 1847 Einhorn, as chief rabbi of Mecklenburg, became involved in a controversy with Franz Delitzsch of Rostock, who denounced him for acting contrary to Jewish law in naming and consecrating an uncircumcised child in the synagogue. Einhorn, in an "opinion," published a second time in his "Sinai," 1857, pp. 736 *et seq.*, declared, with references to ancient and modern rabbinical authorities, that a child of Jewish parents was a Jew even if uncircumcised, and retained all the privileges, as well as all the obligations, of a Jew. This view he also expressed in his catechism, his prayer-book, and his sermons, emphasizing the spiritual character of the Abrahamic covenant—"the seal of Abraham placed upon the spirit of Israel as God's covenant people."

The abolition of circumcision in the case of proselytes, on the ground of its being a measure of extreme cruelty when performed upon adults, was proposed by Isaac M. Wise at the rabbinical conference in Philadelphia in 1869, and was finally agreed to by the Reform rabbis of America at the New York conference in 1892 (see CONFERENCES, RABBINICAL; PROSELYTES; REFORM).

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E. G. H. K.

——**In Ethnography: Distribution:** The rite of circumcision appears to be both the oldest and the most widely spread surgical operation known. According to Andree ("Die Beschneidung," in "Archiv für Anthropologie," xiii. 76), it is still practised by more than two hundred million people, which is quite a conservative estimate, since the followers of Islam alone are reckoned at two hundred and fifty million. Though not a principle or religious duty, it is spread throughout the Mohammedan world; consequently both the age at which the operation is performed and the mode of treatment vary among Turks, Persians, Algerians, and Arabs. Among the

Arabs circumcision seems to be a test of endurance. Philostorgius found it practised by them as early as 342 B.C. A much earlier instance, however, among Egyptian mummies, is that of Amen-en-heb, (lived between 1614 and 1555 B.C.), which H. Welcke has found to be a true case of circumcision ("Archiv für Anthr." x. 123). The practise extends over part of the Balkans, Asia Minor, Persia, part of India, and the Malay Archipelago, besides practically the whole of North Africa. Nor can this be due to Mohammedan influence, as it occurs quite as frequently among the tribes of the east and west coasts of Africa which have not been in contact with Islam. Even the Christian Abyssinians, the Bogos, and the Copts, the first of whom probably learned it from Jews, still observe the rite. Indeed, so universal is the practise in Africa that it would be simpler to give a list of the tribes that do not circumcise than to enumerate all those that do. Zobirowski attempts to prove that it is found in Africa only among those tribes which have plants of Oriental origin, like millet, rice or sorgho (boura), and appears to suggest that it has slowly spread through the dark continent from Egypt; but the absence of complete induction and of historic records renders his contention very doubtful.

Africa.

The possibility of an Egyptian origin for circumcision is, however, completely disproved by the extent of the practise in Australia. The Australian evidence is of particular interest, the operation being performed there with a stone knife, as is recorded of the Israelites (Spencer and Gillen, "Tribes of Central Australia," p. 323; compare Ex. iv. 25).

The practise is almost equally wide-spread among the islanders of the Malay Archipelago.

For America the evidence is somewhat scanty, and relates chiefly to the central part of the continent, though Petitot reports the practise among the Athapascans and McKenzie among the Dog River Indians. An analogous practise is reported by Squier among the inhabitants of Nicaragua, who draw blood from the organ and sow corn dipped in it. In Mexico a similar practise was found by Cortez, according to the report of Garcia de Palacio (1576); but the blood drawn was offered at the altar. Las Casas reports it among the Aztecs; and the Mayas of Yucatan still have an analogous practise. The Caribs of the Orinoco and the Tacunas of the Amazon practise the rite, as well as the Automecos, the Salivas, and the Guemos, who perform it on the eighth day, the earliest time recorded among savage tribes.

America.

Mode of Operation: The possibility of this wide distribution of the practise being due to a dispersion from a single center like Egypt or southern Arabia, is disproved by the great variety of methods by which the removal of the prepuce is effected, some of the practises, as in New Caledonia and the Fiji Islands, throwing light on the "peri'ah" of the Jews.

The subject can not be adequately treated without a reference to the analogous operation of clitoridectomy performed on girls of nubile age, sometimes accompanied by the so-called "infibulation" of the adjacent parts. According to Ploss (in "Zeitschrift für Ethnologie," 1871, pp. 381 *et seq.*, summarized in his "Das Kind," 1st ed., i. 305–324), this occurs among the S. Arabs, in Egypt, in Abyssinia, among the Gallas, the Susus, the Mandingos, the Masai, and the Waknosi (all of whom likewise circumcise their boys), as well as in Peru and on the banks of the Ucayale River. The operation is in nearly every case performed simultaneously on males and females, though they are kept separate during the periods of preparation and operation. One sect of Jews, the Falashas, also circumcise both sexes (Andree, "Zur Volkskunde der Juden," p. 84); it is probable that this practise has been adopted from the surrounding Abyssinians.

The instrument with which the operation is performed is in almost every case an ordinary knife of iron or steel; but, as stated above, the Australians use stone knives, as the Jews and the Egyptians (Pliny, "Hist. Nat." xxxv. 46) did formerly, and as the North-American Indians and the Abyssinian Alnajas still do (Ludolf, "Hist. Æthiop." iii. i. 21). A case in which a stone knife was used by Jews is mentioned by Schudt as late as 1726. Mussel-shells are used in Polynesia. The Marolongs of South Africa used a "fire-stone" (meteorite), but now circumcise with an assegai.

Much variety is found in the age at which the rite is performed among different tribes. The earliest occurs among the Jews, on the eighth day after birth (Falashas even on the seventh), and among the southwestern Arabs, who perform the rite on the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, or twenty-eighth day. The Susus near Timbuctoo and the Guemos of South America are also said to perform the rite on the eighth day. In East Africa the Mazequas perform it between the first and the second month. The Persian Mohammedans circumcise in the third or fourth year; the Christian Copts, between the sixth and eighth. The Fijians perform the operation in the seventh year, as do also the Samoans. But, apart from these instances, all the tribes who perform this rite do so at the age of puberty, which is of course a very significant fact. The exceptional position of the Jews in this regard has to be emphasized in any discussion of the light which ethnology can throw upon the Biblical command.

Age.

The act of circumcision is generally accompanied by some special ceremonial. In Samoa it takes place when the youth is named; but most often it forms a part of the general set of ceremonies initiating the young of both sexes into mature life. This is generally accompanied by trials of endurance for the lads or young men; and from a certain point of view circumcision may be regarded as one of these tests, as is definitely the case among the Jauf of South Arabia (Halévy). As instances may be mentioned the elaborate ceremonials of African and Australian savages; but there is nothing specifically religious in the initiation ceremonies, the elders of the tribe performing the operation and instructing the neophytes. Among the Falashas three old women perform the rite, possibly because it is practised on girls as well as boys. Occasionally, however, the operation is performed by the priest; and in the New Hebrides a distinctly mystic character is imparted to the ceremony, no woman being

Accompanying Ceremonial.

allowed to be present. Similarly, Livingstone found it impossible to obtain access to the "boguera" of the Bechuanas. Among the Bourana the lads are kept apart in a special hut; and on the day of circumcision an ox is sacrificed, and all smear themselves with its blood. Among the Sulus the blood is received in a cup of ashes and buried, while with the Marolongs the removed foreskin is buried. The rite is mostly common to the whole population, but occasionally, as in Rook Island, it is performed on the rich only, while in Celebes it is only resorted to in the case of princes who have no children. In Mexico it seems to have been a prerogative of the upper classes.

There are certain indications which seem to show that primitive peoples adopt or drop the practise without much ado, possibly because it is not regarded as definitely religious. The Zulus and the Gallas have discarded the custom since Europeans have become acquainted with them, and Reinach gives reasons for believing that the Philistines, though specifically mentioned as uncircumcised (Judges xiv. 3; I Sam. xvii. 26, 36; xviii. 25; Ezek. xxxii. 30), had adopted circumcision by the time of Herodotus (ii. 104) and Aristophanes ("Birds," p. 507)—*i.e.*, between 575 (Ezekiel) and 445 B.C. (Herodotus)—while the Idumeans, who appear to have been circumcised in the time of Jeremiah (Jer. ix. 26), had entirely discarded the practise by the time of John Hyrcanus, who forcibly reintroduced it among them ("L'Anthropologie," iv. 28-31).

Object: The exact object for which this widespread custom is practised has been long a subject of dispute. The theories mainly held point to three originating causes: tribal, sacrificial, and utilitarian. For the tribal view there is to be said that circumcision, like other mutilations of the body intended for tribal marks, takes place at the age of puberty, when, for example, the Hereros of Africa knock out the front teeth; but as the organ is almost invariably hidden, it is difficult to see how circumcision could be regarded as a tribal mark (see Gerland in Waitz, "Anthropologie," vi. 40).

The sacrificial theory, which sees in circumcision an offering to the deity of fertility, has to draw for illustration from the practises of Yucatan and Nicaragua, where the custom itself is only in a stage of survival, if it exists at all. Others regard it as a substitute for human sacrifice (Movers and Ghillany), and place it on the same level as eunuchism (Letourneau, Elie Reclus). Hence Herbert Spencer suggests that it was a mark of subjection introduced by conquering warriors to supersede the punishment of death. The appeal made to Samson by his father (Judges xiv. 3), and that made to the Israelites and to Saul by David (I Sam. xvii. 26, 36), give a certain amount of plausibility to this theory; but the fact that the practise is either common to all the tribe or is reserved for the upper classes, as in Mexico, the Celebes, and Rook Island, tells strongly against this last form of the sacrificial theory.

The suggestion of Sir Richard Burton ("Memoirs Anthrop. Soc." i. 318) that it was introduced to promote fertility seems to be contradicted by the practise and arguments of many tribes (see Riedel, in "Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin," 1885, No. 3). The claims of cleanliness and health have been strongly urged, especially for hot countries, where phimosis is likely to be induced if the natural secretions of the parts are retained by the prepuce. Philo ("De Circumcisione," ed. Mangey, ii. 210) gives this as one of the motives for the Biblical injunction; and later writers, such as Claparède ("La Circoncision," Paris, 1861) and Rosenzweig ("Zur Beschneidungsfrage," 1878), have for this reason recommended its general adoption. But the practise is found among so many tribes who have not the most elementary notions of cleanliness, not to speak of hygiene, that this is not likely to be the prevailing motive for its adoption.

Utilitarian Theories.

The fact that circumcision is almost invariably found practised as a rite of initiation, and frequently on both sexes, gives the clue to its general adoption, as H. Ploss contends in an essay ("Geschichtliches und Ethnologisches über Knaben-Beschneidung," in "Deutsches Archiv für Gesch. der Medicin," viii. 312-344) mainly based on Andree's materials. According to the wise custom among savages of initiating their youth into all the duties of the mature life, the elders prepare the lads for their marital life at this time; and circumcision, often of both sexes, is resorted to as part of the preparation. The only ancient legend about Zipporah circumcising Moses (as would seem to be implied by her exclamation, Ex. iv. 25, 26) confirms Ploss's view to some extent; but the exceptionally early age at which Jews perform the rite takes it entirely out of the category of initiation ceremonies among them, and proves it to be of a religious or symbolic nature, as indeed is expressly claimed for it.

An Initiation Ceremony.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Index Catalogue of Surgeon-Major's Library*, Washington, 1st and 2d series, s.v. *Circumcision (ritual)*, gives a tolerably complete list of works and papers. The above article is founded mainly on the material collected by Andree and Ploss, with the use of M. Zaborowski's *La Circoncision, sa Superstition en Afrique*, in *L'Anthropologie*, vii. 653-675; idem, *De la Circoncision des Garçons et de l'Excision des Filles Comme Pratique d'Initiation*, in *Bulletin Soc. Anthrop.* Paris, 4th series, v. 81-104. Special references are only introduced in correction or supplementally; for other statements authorities will be found in Andree.

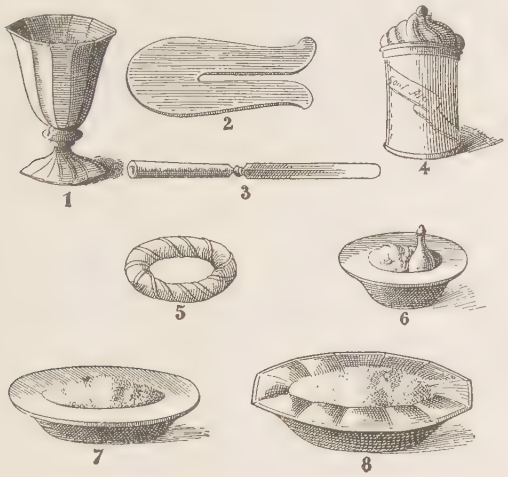
J.

—In Medicine: To perform the operation and to avoid any danger that may be connected with it, an acquaintance with the anatomy of the tissues involved is necessary. The organ terminates in a conical fleshy substance called the glans. The skin covering the organ is prolonged forward in a loose fold, which covers the glans and is supplied with an inner lining of the character of a mucous membrane, which, being reflected, also forms a covering of the glans proper. The prolonged portion of skin with its lining is termed the prepuce or foreskin. The prepuce has no large blood-vessels; and therefore circumcision is not attended by any dangerous hemorrhage, except when the glans is injured by unskilful handling of the knife, or in very exceptional cases where there exists an abnormal tendency to bleeding.

Anatomy of the Parts.

Circumcision varies considerably as practised by the Jews and by the Mohammedans. Among the Jews it means not only the excision of the outer

part of the prepuce, but also a slitting of its inner lining to facilitate the total uncovering of the glans.



Implements and Accessories of Circumcision (18th Century).

1. Cup of benediction. 2. Shield. 3. Knife. 4. Spice-box. 5. Tape. 6. Cotton and Oil. 7. Sand. 8. Powder.
(From Bodenschatz, "Kirchliche Verfassung," 1748.)

The Mohammedans pursue the simple method of cutting off the integumental portion of the foreskin, so that almost all of the inner layer remains, and the glans continues covered.

The operation up to very recent times was exclusively performed by laymen, to whom the act had been taught by others who, by experience, had acquired the necessary knowledge and skill. The tests of a good operator, or "mohel" (circumciser), were that he should perform his work quickly, safely as to its immediate effect, and successfully as to the condition which the parts would permanently assume. As a rule, the majority of these operators developed great dexterity; and accidents were remarkably rare. In case the glans was not sufficiently exposed after the healing process was completed, much anxiety was occasioned; for in some exceptional instances a second operation was resorted to.

The operation consists of three parts: "milah," "peri'ah," and "mezizah."

Milah: The child having been placed upon a pillow resting upon the lap of the godfather or "sandek" (he who is honored by being assigned to hold the child), the mohel exposes the parts by removal of garments, etc., and instructs the sandek how to hold the child's legs. The mohel then grasps the prepuce between the thumb and index-finger of his left hand, exerting sufficient traction to draw it from the glans, and places the shield (see Fig. 1, next column) in position just before the glans. He now takes his knife and with one sweep excises the foreskin. This completes the first act. The knife (see Fig. 3) most commonly used is double-edged, although one like those ordinarily used by surgeons is also often employed.

Peri'ah: After the excision has been completed, the mohel seizes the inner lining of the prepuce, which still covers the glans, with the thumb-nail and index-finger of each hand, and tears it so that he can roll it fully back over the glans and expose the latter completely. The mohel usually has his thumb-nail suitably trimmed for the purpose. In exceptional cases the inner lining of the prepuce is more or less extensively adherent to the glans, which interferes somewhat with the ready removal; but persistent effort will overcome the difficulty.

Mezizah: By this is meant the sucking of the blood from the wound. The mohel takes some wine in his mouth and applies his lips to the part involved in the operation, and exerts suction, after which he expels the mixture of wine and blood into a receptacle (see Fig. 4, below) provided for the purpose. This procedure is repeated several times, and completes the operation, except as to the control of the bleeding and the dressing of the wound. The remedies employed for the former purpose vary greatly among different operators and in different countries. Astringent powders enter largely into these applications. In North Germany the following mixture is extensively used: dilute sulfuric acid, one part; alcohol, three parts; honey, two parts; and vinegar, six parts. A favorite remedy with many operators is the tincture of the chlorid of iron, which is a recognized efficient styptic. These solutions are

Modern Implements of Circumcision.
1. Shield. 2. Mouthpiece. 3. Knife. 4. Cup for Mezizah.

applied by means of small circular pieces of linen with openings in the center, into which the glans is placed, and the dressing is closely applied to the parts below. This is secured in its place by a few turns of a small bandage. A diaper is now applied, and the operation is finished. The dressings are usually allowed to remain until the third day. The nurse in the mean time is instructed to apply olive-oil, plain or carbolized. When the parts are then uncovered the wound will in most cases have healed.

To guard against any mishap through suppuration or erysipelas, the genitals should be washed with soap and water, and afterward with a solution of bichlorid of mercury, 1 to 2,000. The mohel should deal similarly with his hands, and especially with his nails, using a nail-brush; and all the instruments to be used should be immersed in boiling water for about five minutes. The dressings should consist of sterile or antiseptic gauze or similar material. All the preparations relating to the dressings, the instruments, and the hands of the operator should be made before the child is brought into the room in which the operation is to be performed, in order to avoid unnecessarily prolonging the anxiety of the mother. A basin with the bichlorid of mercury solution should be at hand, into which the operator may dip his hands immediately before he begins his work.

ARTICLES USED IN CIRCUMCISION.
1. Knife. 2. Platter, bearing as inscription Gen. xxi. 4. 3. Handle of platter.
(In the Musée de Cluny, Paris.)

Care must be exercised in grasping and making traction on the foreskin just before the knife is used. The outer layer is much more elastic than the inner; and if the outer and inner layers are not held firmly together at the margin, it may happen in making traction that the outer layer may become folded upon itself, with the result that the cut will remove a circular piece of skin just behind the edge of the foreskin. Of course this will require the subsequent removal of the remaining edge.

Precautions to Be Observed.

Some operators dispense with the shield, but this is not to be commended; for it will expose the child to the risk of having a piece of the glans cut off, and to dangerous bleeding in consequence.

When the operator uses his nails to tear the inner layer (peri'ah), he should be careful to have them absolutely clean. Should they not have the requisite shape or firmness, or should he prefer avoiding any risk attaching to that method, two pairs of short forceps may with advantage be substituted, and are now often used. The tear should be made carefully, so that it will not deviate greatly from the median line, and should not be carried back too far; for at the margin of the corona it might give rise to unnecessary bleeding. When the inner lining is tough, or bound down by adhesions, a probe-pointed scissors may be used for the peri'ah. Drs. Kehlberg and Löwe recommend the use of the scissors in all cases; claiming that the wound made by them is more favorable, and infection less liable. Against this, however, is the well-established principle in surgery that a lacerated wound is less apt to bleed than one made by a sharp instrument.

Considerable opposition has of late years been made against the meẓiẓah on the ground that it is entirely in conflict with the aseptic treatment of wounds, which should be adhered to in all instances, but more especially in consequence of a case in Cracow in which it became known that syphilis was communicated to a large number of Jewish children through an infected condition of the mohel's mouth (Glassberg, "Die Beschneidung," p. 27). The result has been that a number of mohels have discarded the meẓiẓah altogether. The majority of Jews, however, remain averse to such an innovation, the more so because it is condemned by the Orthodox rabbis. As a compromise, which has received satisfactory ecclesiastical authority, a method has been adopted which consists in the application of a glass cylinder that has a compressed mouthpiece, by means of which suction is accomplished. Before the cylinder is applied a small quantity of sterilized absorbent cotton is placed in the mouthpiece, which effectually protects both the child and the operator.

Danger of Meẓiẓah.

The inner layer, when it is folded back after its laceration, meets with the outer retracted layer, and the application of the dressing will satisfactorily keep the edges in fair apposition. Drs. Kehlberg and Löwe, in an article in Glassberg's work, recommend the closing of the wound by stitches after the method practised in surgery and known as the continuous suture. There are two objections to this treatment of the

wound. It prolongs the operation unnecessarily, and entails the annoyance of removing the sutures when the union of the wound has taken place.

The sponge, which has almost invariably been made use of for cleansing the parts (which are more or less covered with blood), should be entirely discarded. It has been found difficult to keep sponges surgically clean; and pledgets of sterile gauze—fresh ones for every case—are to be preferred.

Treatment of Wound.

The most important consideration after the completion of the operation is to guard against hemorrhage. When the wound is limited to the prepuce itself, hemorrhage need not be dreaded; for the pressure of the simple dressings alone will be sufficient to control it effectually. Many operators apply a little tincture of iron, to which there can be no serious objection; for it is the most reliable of the remedies usually applied for the arrest of hemorrhage. The mohel should remain with the child for at least an hour to be perfectly satisfied that no hemorrhage follows, and to stop it should it occur. If the bleeding does not proceed from an artery, the tincture of iron with somewhat firmer pressure of the bandage will usually prove satisfactory. Should the bleeding come in jets, a catch-artery forceps must be applied, which acts as a clamp; and a surgeon should be sent for, as a ligature may be needed.

There is one form of bleeding which has thus far not been mentioned, and which needs consideration. It is well known that there are individuals who bleed very profusely and very persistently upon the slightest provocation. The old rabbis must have known of this condition; for they taught that, when a mother lost two children from circumcision, those that might be born afterward should not be subjected to the operation. This abnormal tendency to bleeding is of hereditary character. It is transmitted through the mother and through the daughters of such a mother. The son, who might be a bleeder himself, will not transmit it to his children. Should such a condition be met with in circumcision, the ordinary methods for the arrest of hemorrhage must not be relied upon. The actual cautery will have to be resorted to, or a short piece of a metal or hard flexible catheter must be inserted in the urethra and firm pressure applied by means of a bandage. The catheter has the advantages of not interfering with urination, and of offering a firm surface for the application of pressure. It goes without saying that mechanical provisions must be made to prevent the catheter from slipping either in or out.

As illustrating the extreme rarity of disasters as a consequence of the hemorrhagic diathesis in circumcision, Dr. A. B. Arnold writes that in an experience of more than 1,000 cases he met with one case only ("New York Medical Journal," Feb. 19, 1886).

It happens not infrequently that the attending physician, on account of some unfavorable condition of the child, advises a postponement of the operation. The Jewish law sanctions such a proceeding until the child has fully recovered its health.

The following reasons for postponing the operation are enumerated by Drs. Kehlberg and Löwe: "pronounced feebleness of the child, febrile conditions, obstinate diarrhea, refusing to take the breast, diseased conditions of the skin, general or local convulsions or jerkings, inflammation of the eyes or eyelids, fungous excrescences in the mouth, very frequent vomiting, continued sleeplessness" (Glassberg, *l.c.* p. 36).

Circumcision among the Jews has been accepted and adhered to simply as a religious rite; but it is of interest to make manifest the advantages that accrue to the individual from having the prepuce removed in early life.

Medical Advantages of Circumcision.

Sometimes the physiological changes in the prepuce are interfered with and it can not be retracted at all, or only to a partial degree. These conditions are termed respectively complete and partial phimosis. Phimosis is followed by a train of disturbances more or less serious in character; one of the most frequent troubles arising from this cause being interference with the emptying of the bladder. As a result of phimosis, or even of the ordinary exudations, inflammation of the inner lining of the prepuce and the covering of the glans is extremely liable to arise. This inflammation, termed balanitis, will cause pain, especially during urination, and will have a tendency to increase the impediment to the voiding of urine.

Various authors enumerate a number of other troubles due to phimosis; viz., habitual wetting of the bed by children, masturbation, prolapse of the rectum, hernia, and hydrocele, the latter three conditions being excited by the excessive pressure exerted by the abdominal muscles in overcoming the resistance of the prepuce to the flow of urine.

Paraphimosis.

An even more severe form of inflammatory change is known under the name of paraphimosis, which at times leads to ulceration of the parts or even gangrene.

The glans in the circumcised, besides being uncovered, presents another change to which considerable importance has been attached. The covering of the glans, which before had the character of a mucous membrane, on being exposed assumes the properties of true skin, which is less vulnerable, and on theoretical grounds alone leads to the inference that it is less liable to syphilitic infection. In addition to this, however, there has been weighty authority which bases this opinion on a wide experience. That it offers some protection, there can be no doubt; but the present writer has observed too many cases of primary syphilis in the circumcised to warrant the assumption that circumcision offers any very decided immunity.

A communication was made to the convention of the American Medical Association in 1870 by Dr. Lewis A. Sayre, in which he demonstrated that partial paralysis might result from congenital phimosis and adherent prepuce, and could be removed by circumcision. In 1887 Dr. Sayre, at the Ninth International Medical Congress, gave the testimony of a large number of other observers, who corroborated his own.

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J. A. Fr.

——**Among the Arabs:** It is difficult to determine whether Mohammed deemed circumcision ("khitan" or "taṭhir") to be a national custom of no religious importance, and therefore did not mention it in the Koran, or whether he judged the prescription of a rite that had been performed by the Arabs from time immemorial to be superfluous. Abulfeda counts circumcision among the rites of pagan Arabia that were sanctioned by Islam ("Historia Ante-Islamitica," ed. Fleischer, p. 24). Ibn al-Athir, in his ante-Islamic history, attributes to Mohammed the following words: "Circumcision is an ordinance for men, and honorable for women." On the other hand, the traditionalist Hurairah reported on the part of the prophet that circumcision is one of the observances of "fiṭrah" (natural impulsion), and has consequently no religious character ("Ṣaḥiḥ al-Bukhari," p. 931). Be that as it may, circumcision became in Islam a religious obligation, to which every one was required to submit.

The difference of opinion which prevails among the historians and traditionalists as to the character of the rite before Mohammed, prevails also as to the age at which circumcision had to be performed. According to Josephus, the Arabs circumcised after the age of thirteen, "because Ishmael, the founder of their nation, was circumcised at that age" (Josephus, "Ant." i. 12, § 2). Ibn al-Athir and many other Arabic authorities assign different ages. It is probable that there existed no regulation as to age; and each locality followed its own custom. Thus, in Yemen, where Jews exercised great influence, the Arabs circumcised their children on the eighth day after birth (compare Pocock, "Specimen Historiæ Arabum," pp. 319 *et seq.*). The Mohammedan law recommends circumcision between the ages of seven and twelve years, but it is lawful to circumcise a child seven days after its birth. The circumcision of females is also allowed, and is commonly practised in Arabia.

Age.

The operation on males is generally performed by a barber, in the following manner: The operator seizes with the forefinger and thumb of the left hand the summit of the prepuce, which he fastens with a string provided with a knot. This string is passed through a hole made in a disk of hardened leather. The operator then makes with a razor or scissors a circular section of the prepuce between the knot and the disk. The hemorrhage which follows is stopped by the application of burned rags and ashes. In India a bit of stick is used as a probe, and carried round and round between the glans and prepuce, to ascertain the exact extent of the frenum, and that no unnatural adhesions exist. No splitting ("peri'ah") is known to the Arabs, as is attested by Simon ben Ẓemaḥ Duran, who expresses himself as follows: "Mohammed sanctioned also circumcision that the Arabs performed since the time of Abraham, as is said in the Talmud: 'A circumcised Arab'; but he adopted it without peri'ah" ("Ḳeshet u-Magen," 19b).

The ceremonies preceding circumcision give to this act the character of a religious initiation. After having performed the prescribed ablutions, the candidate makes his confession before the imam, and a new name is added to his former one. As among Jews, circumcision is followed among Mussulmans by feasting and rejoicing. The custom among Orthodox Jews in Russia and Poland, of inviting pious men to spend the night preceding circumcision in prayer and study in the house in which the ceremony is to take place, finds a striking parallel in that current among the Mussulmans of Egypt, where priests are hired to recite prayers in the house of the candidate the night before the ceremony. That night is called "lailah al-kabirah" (the great night), in opposition to the preceding night, "lailah al-ṣaghirah" (the small night), in which an entertainment is given to friends.

Ceremonies.

Bibliography: Pocock, *Specimen Historiæ Arabum*, pp. 319 *et seq.*; Millo, *Histoire du Mahométisme*, p. 350; Hoffmann, *Beschneidung*, in Ersch and Gruber, *Encyc.*; Steinschneider, *Die Beschneidung der Araber und Muhammedaner*, in Glassberg, *Die Beschneidung*; Jolly, *Etude Critique du Manuel Opératoire des Musulmans et des Israëlites*, Paris, 1899.

J. I. Br.

CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE: Evidence consisting of circumstances which afford reasonable ground for believing in the guilt or innocence of an accused person. Circumstantial evidence is generally stated to be inadmissible according to Jewish law; but this assertion is incorrect. All evidence is more or less circumstantial, the difference between direct and circumstantial evidence being only a difference in degree. The former is more immediate, and has fewer links in the chain of connection between the premises and the conclusion than the latter.

The Mosaic law requires that every fact be proved by the testimony of two witnesses (Num. xxxv. 30; Deut. xvii. 6, xix. 15), and the Talmudic law requires that each witness testify to the whole fact, and that the witnesses shall not be permitted to supplement each other's testimony (B. Ḳ. 70b). But, admitting that it requires the positive testimony of two witnesses to every material fact in the case, this does not preclude the court from drawing inferences from the facts proved; and wherever such inferences are drawn—this is necessarily done in every case at law—circumstantial evidence is to that extent recognized as legal.

In criminal law the necessity for at least two witnesses is strictly maintained (Sanh. 37b; Maimonides, "Yad," Sanhedrin, xii. 3, xx. 1).

In civil matters the testimony of one witness is in some cases sufficient to compel the party against whom the witness is produced to take the oath of purgation; and, on the other hand, the production of one witness in favor of the party absolves him from taking this oath, in cases where he would otherwise have been obliged to take it (Shebu. 32a). The law likewise recognizes certain presumptions arising from a given state of facts; although these presumptions may be rebutted by positive testimony, they establish a prima facie case without further proof (Ḳid. 80a).

For further discussion of this subject see Evidence and Presumption.

J. SR. D. W. A.

CIRCUS: In antiquity a large enclosure used for horse- and chariot-races, and sometimes for gladiatorial combats, etc. Public games and theatrical representations being such important factors in the life of the Greeks and Romans, the Jews living in the classical age had to take a definite attitude toward them. As in the case of everything else characteristic of paganism, the Jews had little to say in favor of the circus, though only after numerous differences of opinion among them, and even of concessions in favor of the popular amusement. This applied also to all public amusements; and Jewish rabbinical literature discusses especially two types of these—the circus and the theater—so frequently together and from so similar a point of view that they must be treated as a unit in this article.

The pre-Maccabean Hellenistic party had introduced gymnasia into Jerusalem (I Macc. i. 14; II Macc. iv. 12), greatly to the abomination of the orthodox. Herod the Great founded, in honor of the emperor, quinquennial gladiatorial contests, built a theater and an amphitheater in Jerusalem (Josephus, "Ant." xv. 8, § 1; "B. J." i. 21, § 8), and also helped maintain such contests in foreign cities. The pious Jews thought it criminal that men should be thrown as food to wild beasts to amuse the multitude. They were most shocked, however, by the trophies and images set up in the theaters ("Ant." xv. 8, § 1): upon one occasion a riot occasioned thereby was quelled by Herod only after much bloodshed. The other Herodians also had a predilection for the theater, Agrippa I. contracting a mortal malady in that at Cæsarea. As a matter of course there were theaters in the Palestinian cities which held a Hellenistic population; hence the Rabbis knew this side of the Greco-Roman life at first hand. A circus at Cæsarea is especially mentioned (Tosef., Oh. xviii. 16), as well as the theater ("Ant." xix. 7, § 4); a hippodrome at Jerusalem ("B. J." ii. 3, § 1); and a stadium at Tiberias, in which 1,200 Jews were killed by Vespasian ("B. J." iii. 10, § 10). Hence the Jews looked upon the circus, the theater, and the stadium as distinctive institutions of pagan Rome.

Hellenists and Herodians.

The Midrash interprets the "sinner" denounced by the Psalmist (Ps. xiv. 1) as being Rome, which fills the whole world with iniquity by building temples for idols, theaters, and circuses. "In four ways the Roman empire eats up the wealth of the nations: with taxes, with baths, with theaters, and with imposts" (Ab. R. N. xxviii.). "The feet of man will take him as he wills either into the house of God and the synagogue, or into the theater and the circus" (Gen. R. lxvii. 3). "What confusion there is in the games that the heathens give in their theaters and their circuses! What have the doctors of the Law to do there?" (Pesiḳ. 168b). The Jews are accused of keeping away from the circus, and thus diminishing the revenues of the state (Esther R., Preface).

Nevertheless, Jews probably often went to the circus; and it is even permitted in the Halakah to go to the theater and the circus on the Sabbath, if public affairs are to be discussed there (Ket. 5a). It is well known that the theaters were frequently used for assemblies of the people, since they were the largest public buildings (Josephus, "B. J." vii. 3, § 3). R. Judah I. was even inclined to find something good in the public games: "We must thank the heathens that they let mimes appear in the theaters and circuses, and thus find innocent amusement for themselves, otherwise they would be constantly getting into great quarrels as soon as they had anything to do with one another" (Gen. R. lxxx. 1). It was even hoped that the time would come when the theaters and circuses would become the homes of the Torah (Meg. 6a). R. Nathan also found reasons to justify visiting the circus ('Ab. Zarah 18b).

Rabbinical Opinions.

In the course of time, however, it was formally forbidden to visit the public games. Sad remembrances connected with the circuses, especially the massacres of thousands of Jews in the theaters under Vespasian and Titus, made those places hateful to the Jews, who came to regard them as scenes of bloodshed, as indeed they were. But even at peaceful representations, when there was no bloodshed, the Jews were jeered and flouted on account of their peculiarities. In reference to this there is an interesting Midrash to the passage, "They that sit in the gate" (Ps. lxix. 13 [A. V. 12]): "The heathens are meant who sit in the theaters and circuses; after they have feasted and become drunk they sit and scoff at Israel. They say to one another: 'Let us beware that we do not resemble the Jews, who are so poor that they have nothing to eat but locust-beans.' Furthermore, they say: 'How long are you going to live?' 'As long as the Sabbath garment of the Jews lasts.' Then they bring a camel swathed in clothes into the theater and ask: 'Why does this camel mourn?' And they answer: 'The Jews are now celebrating their Sabbatical year; and since they have no vegetables, they eat up the camel's thistles: hence it mourns.' Then a mime with shaved head comes into the theater. 'Why is your head shaved?' 'The Jews are celebrating their Sabbath, eating up on that day everything that they earn during the week-days; hence they have no wood for cooking, and they burn up their bedsteads. They must, therefore, sleep on the ground, getting entirely covered with dust; then they must cleanse themselves freely with oil; and the latter, in consequence, is excessively dear'" (Lam. R., Introduction, No. 17).

Every public place of amusement was looked upon as a "seat of the scornful," in reference to Ps. i. 1. "He who frequents the stadia and the circuses, and sees there the magicians, the tumblers, the 'buccones,' the 'maccus,' the 'moriones,' the 'scurræ,' and the 'ludi sæculares'—this is 'sitting in the seat of the scornful'" (Tosef., 'Ab. Zarah, ii. 6; Yer. 40a, Bab. 18b; Yalḳ., Ps. 613). "I sat not in the assembly of the mockers nor rejoiced" (Jer. xv. 17) is the cry of the Jewish congregation. "Lord of the world! never do I set foot in the theater and the circus of the 'people of the earth'" (Pesiḳ. 119b). Still a third passage is

Ordinances Against Attendance.

interpreted as being an ordinance against the pagan theater (Sifra, Lev. xviii. 3). It is reprovingly said —apparently in reference to Ex. i. 7, but really to Roman times—that the theater and circus are filled with Jews (Tan. on the passage). Hence an actual anathema is pronounced against attendance at the circus (Targ. Yer. Deut. xxviii. 19). Devastating earthquakes come in consequence of the theater and the circus (Yer. Ber. 13c). A Talmudic sage writes an especial prayer of thanks that Israel has no part in the heathen circus: "I give thanks to Thee, O Lord my God and God of my fathers, that Thou hast placed my portion among those who sit in the house of learning and the house of prayer, and didst not cast my lot among those who frequent theaters and circuses" (Yer. Ber. 7d; Bab. 28b). This prayer is even now found in many prayer-books as a part of the daily morning prayer. According to this prayer, people should keep away from the theater because it is a waste of time, and study is more profitable. It was, moreover, felt that these diversions had their root in idolatry, especially as images of royalty were placed in the theater and circus (Lev. R. xxxiv.).

Similar reasons also induced early Christianity to look askance at the pagan games, and perhaps it was against them that Paul spoke in I Cor. xv. 32. It is certain that Christians as well as Jews furnished victims for the theaters (Renan, "Histoire des Origines du Christianisme," 3d ed., iv. 163): they likewise recognized their idolatrous origin; and Tertullian, in forbidding attendance ("De Spectaculis," ch. iii.), refers to Ps. i. 1, as do the Rabbis. Tertullian's phrase (ch. x.), "Theatrum proprie sacrarium Veneris" (the theater is a place for sexual immorality), is not, however, put so strongly by the Rabbis.

Christian View.

It is curious that, in spite of the iniquity attaching to the circus, the later Midrashim have much to say of a splendid circus and hippodrome which was said to have existed at Solomon's court, the description being based on the Byzantine pattern of Constantinople. Even in the later Middle Ages Jews attended the races, often at their peril (Malalas, "Chronicle," p. 446; Grätz, "Gesch. der Juden," 3d ed., v. 16). See Athletes; Games.

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G. S. Kr.

CISTERNS. See Well.

CITIES OF REFUGE. See Asylum.

CITRON. See Etrog.

CITRON, SAMUEL LÖB: Hebrew writer of fiction and literary critic; born at Minsk, Russia, May 24, 1862. He attended the rabbinical school at Wolozhin, and made his first appearance as a Hebrew author at the age of fourteen, in the periodical "Ha-Maggid." He contributed to other Hebrew periodicals, and in 1884 translated Lev Pinsker's "Autoemancipation" from German into Hebrew, under the title "Im en ani li mi li." His works of fiction are: (1) "Asefat Sippurim," 1885, a collection of short stories translated from the German and French; (2) "Mi-Shuḳ ha-Ḥayyim" (From the Fair of Life), 1885; (3) "Abraham ben Joseph," a translation of Levanda's Russian historical novel, "Abraham Jesophovich"; and (4) "Yonah Fotah" (Foolish Dove), 1888. Of his literary and critical essays the following are the most important: (1) "Mapu and Smolensky," a critical estimate of their works; (2) "The Development of Hebrew Literature in Russia During the Nineteenth Century," in "Oẓar ha-Sifrut," vol. ii.; (3) "Ha-Sifrut we ha-Ḥayyim" (Literature and Life), in "Pardes," vols. i. and ii.; (4) "Life of Levanda," in "Aḥiasaf," 1897; and (5) "Ha-Meshorer be-Ḥayyaw ube-Moto" (The Poet Living and Dead), in "Aḥiasaf," 1900.

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CITY: The Hebrews distinguished in size between villages and cities. The individual homesteads (חצר, Ex. viii. 9; Lev. xxv. 31; Josh. xiii. 23; Isa. xlii. 11; Ps. x. 8; Neh. xi. 25, xii. 39) developed either into villages (טירה, Gen. xxv. 16, or כפר, I Sam. vi. 18; Cant. vii. 12; I Chron. xxvii. 25, Neh. vi. 2) or into cities (עיר or קריה, Gen. iv. 17, xix. 25, 29). The larger settlements were formed where the banks of a lake or river widened into a plain, as at Tiberias and Jericho; at the confluence of several rivers, as at Beth-shean and Nineveh; at a convenient fording-place, or where an isolated mountainside afforded a natural protection against attacks, as was the case at Jerusalem. Villages and cities are not always distinguished as unfortified and walled places respectively, as Benzinger ("Arch." § 18, 2) maintains: for ערי הפרזות ("cities of the flat or open country") are also mentioned (Esth. ix. 19); and these are equivalent to ערי המישור, as Ḳimḥi correctly interpreted in his work on Hebrew roots under פרז. The same may be inferred from עיר חומה (Lev. xxv. 29; compare Prov. xxv. 28), according to which there might also be עיר; *i.e.*, without walls. Naturally, however, most of the cities were surrounded by walls in those ancient times, when attacks from hostile, roving bands were imminent, and this danger probably gave the first stimulus to the building of cities. In any case it is significant that Cain undertook to build a city only after the birth of his first son, and that he named it for this son. It was meant to be a place of refuge for his family.

In the enumeration of the chief features of a city mention must first be made of the water-sources; for an abundant supply of good water for drinking purposes is the first prerequisite for the welfare of a city. This view is supported by passages in the Old Testament. At the siege of Jebus, David offered a prize to the hero who should advance as far as the water-works ("ẓinnor," II Sam. v. 8), and in Isa. vii. 3 King Ahaz's care in having the water-works protected against the attack of the enemy is recorded.

Water-Works.

The streets ("ḥuẓ," "shuḳ") formed the second important feature. They were as narrow in the cities of the ancient Orient as they are in those of the modern East (Josephus, "B. J." vi. 8, § 5; Benzinger,

l.c. § 18, 4). It was also an exception if a street could be called straight, as, for example, the street in Damascus referred to in Acts ix. 11; for the majority were very crooked, with many corners. The Law commands that the roads leading to the cities of refuge shall be kept in repair (Deut. xix. 3); but in early times the paving of streets was probably unknown. Josephus ("Ant." viii. 7, § 4), indeed, relates that Solomon had the streets leading to Jerusalem paved with black stones; but the statement is ambiguous, since the mud of the streets is often mentioned as something proverbial (Isa. v. 25, x. 6; Micah vii. 10; Zech. ix. 3, x. 5; Ps. xviii. 43). Since Herod, however, had the principal street of Antiochia paved (Josephus, "Ant." xvi. 5, § 3), it may be assumed that he showed like favor to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. It is certain that under Herod Agrippa the streets of Jerusalem were paved with white stones (Josephus, "Ant." xx. 9, § 7). In antiquity the cleaning of streets was almost as little known as lighting them; the latter being a very recent innovation in Oriental cities. It is recounted, however, that Herod constructed in the recently built port of Cæsarea a subterranean channel, to carry off the rain and the refuse of the streets (*ib.* xv. 9, § 6).

Streets and Gates.

The streets were named after the place to which they led ("the highway of the fuller's field," Isa. vii. 3), or after the occupation of the majority of its inhabitants ("the street of the bakers," Jer. xxxvii. 21; "the valley of craftsmen," Neh. xi. 35; and the quarter of the "goldsmiths and merchants," Neh. iii. 32). Here and there the streets broadened out into open places, which were formed at the parting of ways (ראש; Ezek. xxi. 24 [A. V., 21]), or at the corners of streets (פנה; Prov. vii. 8), or where two streets crossed. These points are called "mother of the way," or "head of the two ways" (Ezek. xxi. 26 [A. V., 21]), or "the house of ways" (Prov. viii. 2). Open squares were mainly found near the gates. Here travelers tarried overnight (Judges xix. 15); and here the children played (Zech. viii. 5).

In a walled town the gates were most important parts; for near them citizens were wont to gather in the dusk to watch or greet the caravans of travelers (Gen. xix. 7; Job xxix. 7); and here also court was held (Deut. xiii. 17; Isa. lix. 14; Ps. lv. 12), compacts were made (Gen. xxiii. 10; Ruth iv. 11), and the market-place was situated (II Kings vii. 1).

The designation "mother city" (metropolis) indicated that the city so styled was one of importance. This epithet is expressly applied to the old city of Abel Beth-maachah (II Sam. xx. 19); while the same idea is indirectly expressed when the "daughters" of a city are spoken of (Num. xxi. 25). Occasionally a city is explicitly designated as a large one, as in Gen. x. 12, where the clause "the same is a great city" can not refer to Calah, but is evidently meant as a designation for Nineveh together with the three neighboring cities. Nineveh is also called "great" in Jonah iii. 3, where it is hyperbolically described as "a city of three days' journey": this must refer to its diameter and not the circumference, for it is more natural to assume that a person would go through a city than around it. The actual size of the cities of Palestine can not be definitely ascertained, as explicit statistics regarding the number of inhabitants are seldom found. Not even the statement that the total population of Ai was 12,000 (Josh. viii. 25) can be regarded as a fact. Benzinger (*l.c.* § 10, 5) estimates the number of the inhabitants of Jerusalem to have been about 110,000, a number that coincides with the statement that 80,000 of the inhabitants of Jerusalem perished and yet many remained (II Macc. v. 14). The statement of Josephus ("B. J." vi. 9, § 3) that at the time of the Passover Jerusalem had 3,000,000 inhabitants is manifestly an exaggeration.

Extent and Cultural Importance.

Life in the villages was more simple and natural than that in the cities. But the large cities had of course many attractions; for there magnificent temples and palaces, and whole streets taken up by bazaars displaying the treasures of the most distant countries, were to be found. These sights are described very picturesquely in reference to Tyre in Ezek. xxvii. 5 *et seq.* The large cities were also the seats of learning, and contained the colleges and the libraries (Isa. xlvii. 10; Dan. ii. 2). But luxuriousness to the utmost degree also prevailed in the large cities, as may be gathered from Isaiah's description of the feasts (Isa. v. 11, xxviii. 8). Extravagance in dress was also carried beyond due limits (Isa. iii. 16 *et seq.*), and, worst of all, boldness and shamelessness kept pace with the vices mentioned (Amos iv. 1 *et seq.*; Isa. xxxii. 9 *et seq.*; Nahum iii. 4).

Changes in Names.

The frequent changing of the names of the cities is an interesting fact to note; and the Old Testament has been especially careful in recording these changes. The long and detailed series of these records begins with the words "Bela which is [the later] Zoar" (Gen. xiv. 2, 8), other examples being Luz, *i.e.*, Beth-el (*ib.* xxviii. 19; xxxv. 6, 27; Josh. xviii. 13; Judges i. 23, 26; xviii. 29); Kirjath-arba, *i.e.*, Hebron (Gen. xxiii. 2; Josh. xiv. 15; xv. 13, 54; xx. 7; xxi. 11; Judges i. 10); Kirjath-sepher, *i.e.*, Debir (Josh. xv. 15, 49; Judges i. 11); Jebus, *i.e.*, Jerusalem (Judges xix. 20 = I Chron. xi. 4). This process of changing the names of cities was continued in later times. The ancient Shechem, for example, was called "Neapolis" (New City); and the name of Jerusalem was changed by the Romans (Hadrian) to Ælia and by the Arabs to al-Ḳuds (the Sanctuary). Thus, many of the cities of Biblical antiquity have continued their existence down to modern times under new names, and not infrequently under their old ones. For the city in post-biblical times see Community, Organization of.

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E. G. H. E. K.

CIUDAD REAL (formerly **Villa Real**): Capital of the former province of La Mancha (now the province of Ciudad Real) in New Castile, founded in 1255 by Don Alfonso X. of Castile. Among its first inhabitants were Jews as well as Moors, the former of whom, chiefly from the neighboring Alarcos, settled in such numbers that as early as 1290 the Jewry paid 26,486 maravedis in taxes, a sum larger than that paid by all the other inhabitants together. Like the Moors, the Jews had their own quarter, apart

from the Christians. This Jewry extended from the eastern part of the city, between the gates De la Mata and De Calatrava, along the wall to the west as far as the Calle de la Paloma or De Leganitos, as it is called in all documents; on the north and the south it was bounded by the streets De Calatrava and Lanza, as well as the street De la Mata. It formed a large square which was divided from west to east into two unequal parts by the Jews' street proper, or the Calle de la Juderia. The Jews' street (which was called "Calle de Barrio Nuevo" after 1391, "Calle de la Inquisicion" after the introduction of the Inquisition, and is now known as the "Calle de la Libertad") had on its right Calle de la Culebra, Calle de Sangre, and Calle de Lobo; on its left, Calle de Tercia, Calle de Combro, and Calle de Refugio. Calle de la Barrera, now called "Compas de S. Domingo," and Calle de la Peña, ran in the direction of the first three streets, the Great Synagogue being situated between them. No traces remain of the other synagogues of Villa Real. The Jewish cemetery (Fonsario de los Judios), having an area of about 3,000 square feet, was situated on the outskirts of the city, between the roads De la Mata and De Calatrava, on the street leading along the Guadiana.

The Jews of Villa Real traded extensively in the products of the country and in other goods, which they exposed for sale in the large markets called "Alcana" or "Alcaiceria." They also lent money to the agricultural population of the city and vicinity; but their monetary transactions occasioned frequent complaints. In a decree of Sept. 5, 1292, the king, Sancho IV., permitted the Jews to charge three or, at the utmost, four per cent interest. One of the richest Jews of Villa Real was Don Zulema aben Albagal, who, like his son-in-law, Abraham aben Xuxen (Susan), was a mill-owner and a farmer of the royal taxes, and had business relations with the grand masters of the Order de Calatrava, which was very powerful in the city. Donna Maria de Molina, the wife of Sancho IV., and, after his death, regent of Castile, protected the Jews and guarded their privileges during the continuous internal dissensions of the country, because she was dependent on the taxes they paid. Like all the Jews of Castile, those of Villa Real enjoyed peace during the reign of Pedro I. Nor were they subjected to the punishments which Henry II., after Pedro's death, inflicted upon the aljama of Toledo. For faithful services to Henry II., the grand master of Calatrava received a grant of from 500 to 1,000 maravedis, "payable from the taxes of the Jews residing between Guadalerza and Puerto de Muradal, together with Villa Real and its vicinity." This grant was confirmed by Juan I. (Aug., 1379).

Trade of Jews.

The great persecution of the Jews in 1391 visited Villa Real in all its horrors. "The storm swept over Muradal and fell with equal severity upon Villa Real," writes a contemporary chronicler. On a day not precisely indicated, but probably between the tenth and twentieth of June, the mob rushed into the Jewry and plundered the dwellings, the warehouses, and the synagogues. Every Jew that resisted was mercilessly cut down, and the whole Jewry was destroyed in a few hours. All the Jews who did not seek safety in flight were baptized. According to a document dated Aug. 6, 1393, the Great Synagogue, with its outbuildings and the Jewish cemetery, was presented by the king, Don Henry III., to his steward, Gonzalo de Soto, who sold it in 1398 for a consideration of 10,000 maravedis to Juan Rodriguez de Villa Real, the last named intending it for a monastery dedicated to San Domingo.

Persecution in 1391.

Notwithstanding their conversion to Christianity, the secret Jews, or Maranos, were bitterly hated by the Christians. In June, 1449, a bloody battle occurred between the Christian inhabitants of Villa Real and the Maranos, who were mostly tax-farmers and tax-gatherers. The first victim was Alfonso de Cota, a man of immense wealth, whose house was stormed and plundered. The mob, led by knights and nobles, rushed into the quarter De la Magdalena, where the richest Maranos were living, and into the former Jewry, robbing, plundering, and killing. The corpses of the noblest Maranos were dragged through the streets and hung up by the legs in the public places. The ringleader, Pedro Sarmiento, led away 200 mules laden with gold, silver, tapestries, and everything portable of sufficient value to tempt cupidity; he, as well as all the other miscreants, went unpunished. Thenceforth no Marano was allowed to hold public office at Villa Real. The chroniclers say that it is doubtful whether any Jews ever returned to the city after this occurrence. In April, 1483, the activities of the Inquisition were extended to Villa Real; the first victims being the rich tax-collector Juan Gonzales Pampan and his wife, known as "La Pampana."

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G. M. K.

CIVIDALI: Italian city, in the province of Udine. It is a part of the ancient duchy of Friuli, now divided between Austria and Italy. Aside from certain inscriptions preserved in the Cividali Museum, which would date the first Jewish settlement at about 604 B.C., the first mention of Jews is by Paulus Diaconus, who refers to it, and by the council at Friuli in 796, which complained that the Christians as well as the Jews celebrated the Sabbath. The chroniclers state that Cividali was the rallying-point of the Jews from Göritz, Triest, and Vienna. There is also a report that Jewish corpses were brought to Cividali for burial from distant countries, even from Moravia. The cemetery near the city wall gave to that quarter the name "Zudaica," which name it still bears.

The graves found there date from the fourteenth century, the earliest decipherable inscriptions being of the year 1428, 1464, and 1606. In 1646 that part of the city wall, as well as part of the cemetery, was destroyed.

The presence of Jews in Cividali at an early date is shown by the fact of Jewish families bearing the name of that town. At the present day (1902) there are no Jews residing there.

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G. I. E.

CLAAR, EMIL: Austrian poet, playwright, and actor; born Oct. 7, 1842, in Lemberg. Early in life he went to Vienna with the intention of studying medicine; but, in compliance with the desire of his relatives, he adopted a commercial career. After long struggles he determined to give this up also and to become an actor. He made his début in 1860 at the Vienna Burgtheater, and afterward played in Graz, Linz, and the Berlin Hoftheater. Subsequently Claar was engaged to play at the city theater of Leipsic, and remained there for five years, and during the later part of this period also acted as a dramatic collaborator of Laube. From Leipsic Claar went to Weimar, becoming there stage-manager of the Court Theater till 1872, when he gave up this position and became chief stage-manager of the Landestheater at Prague. In 1876 he was appointed director-manager of the Berlin Residenztheater, and has since July 1, 1879, been superintendent of the United City Theaters of Frankfort-on-the-Main.

Besides two volumes of poems ("Gedichte," Leipsic, 1868; Berlin, 1885) Claar published a number of dramatic productions, such as "Simson und Delila," a comedy (1869); "Der Friede" (1871); "Auf den Knieen," a comedy (1871); "In Hamburg," a comedy (1871), "Die Heimkehr," a drama (1872); "Gute Geister" (1872); "Shelley," a tragedy (1874), and others.

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S. B. B.

CLASSICAL WRITERS AND THE JEWS: The name Ἰουδαῖος is apparently first mentioned by **Theophrastus,** a philosopher of the fourth century B.C. He regards the Jews as a nation of philosophers who "spend their days in discussions about God, and their nights in observing the stars." **Aristotle** met a Jew in Asia who knew Greek perfectly and was, according to Clearchus, a Greek at heart and a philosopher. **Megasthenes,** a historian of the first half of the third century B.C., says that "all the ideas expressed by the ancients in regard to the laws of physics were also known to non-Greek philosophers, partly to the Brahmans of India, and partly to those in Syria called Jews." The learned Greeks were naturally in sympathy with the monotheistic doctrines of the Jews, and at first assumed a friendly attitude toward them. Hecatæus of Abdera, Strabo, Varro, and even Tacitus himself have words of praise for the religious beliefs and for many of the institutions of Judaism. It was not long, however, before the religious isolation of the Jews, and their contempt of the heathen beliefs, created much antagonism.

As early as the third century B.C. the unfriendly feelings toward the Jews found expression. This is particularly true of Egypt, where the fable originated of the Jews being the descendants of lepers and unclean persons. **Hecatæus,** of Abdera (third century B.C.) tells of the expulsion of the Jews from Egypt in his history of that country. According to him there was a plague in Egypt, which the people ascribed to the anger of the gods. This they thought was caused by the increase in the land of foreigners not believing in their divinity. It was decided to expel them. The bravest and strongest of the foreigners united and moved to Greece and other places; the lower classes settled in Judea, which had been uninhabited theretofore. Describing the laws and customs of the Jews as established by Moses, Hecatæus says that Moses persuaded his followers that God has no form, and that He is the "sky surrounding the earth." Moses, he adds, established laws prohibiting humanity and hospitality.

Manetho, a learned Egyptian priest, is quoted by Josephus as describing the origin of the Jews, in substance, as follows: Amenophis, the king, compelled all the unclean persons and lepers, numbering 80,000, to work with criminals in the stone-quarries along the Nile. Among the lepers were some learned priests. After some time the king allowed them to leave the quarries, and gave them the city of Avario for their habitation. Settling there, they appointed a priest named Osarsiph—who afterward changed his name to Moses—as their leader, repaired the walls of the city, and called to their aid the inhabitants of Jerusalem, which city had been settled by shepherds expelled from Egypt. They made war on Egypt, and reigned there for thirteen years, after which the fugitive king returned with a great force and drove the shepherds and lepers into Syria ("Contra Ap." i. 26–27).

The same story with variations is repeated by **Diodorus Siculus** (first century B.C.). **Cleomedes** refers to the "beggars ever present near the synagogues"; and **Agatharchides** (second century B.C.) says that the Jews spend every seventh day in idleness, discarding their weapons, and playing in their temple. According to Josephus, **Apollonius Molo** (a contemporary of Cicero) wrote a treatise against the Jews, "in which he scattered his aspersions in all directions throughout the work." He calls Moses "a conjurer and deceiver," and the Jews he describes as "godless and hostile to other men." **Strabo,** the geographer (*c.* 60 B.C.–25 C.E.), does not repeat the story of the Jews being descendants of lepers, though he evidently follows Diodorus in his representation of Jewish theology. While Manetho ascribes the expulsion of the Jews to the king's desire to regain the favor of the gods, **Chæremon,** a Stoic of the first half of the first century B.C., traces it to a dream which Amenophis had and in which the goddess Isis appeared to him. Isis rebuked the king for allowing her temples to be demolished in the war. "Phritiphantes, the sacred scribe, informed him that if he would purge Egypt of the men who were diseased he should no longer be troubled with such apparitions. Amenophis thereupon collected 250,000 unclean persons and drove them out of Egypt. The leaders of these people, called Moses and Joseph, made their way to Pelusium, united with 380,000 men whom Amenophis would not allow to enter the country, made war on Egypt, and overran the land for thirteen years. The son of Amenophis, when he attained to manhood, drove these persons into Syria."

Lysimachus of Alexandria is also mentioned and criticized by Josephus. The version by Lysimachus

—thanks to Apion and Tacitus—was well known in the ancient world. According to him, in the reign of Bochoris, King of Egypt, the Jewish people, being infected with leprosy, scurvy, and other diseases, took refuge in the temples, and begged there for food. In consequence of the vast number of the persons infected, there was a failure of crops in Egypt. The oracle of Ammon being consulted, the king was told to drive into desert places all impure and impious men, and to drown all those affected with scurvy and leprosy. The king ordered the first to be driven out, and caused the others to be wrapped in sheets of lead and thrown into the sea. The former took counsel together, selected a priest named Moses as their leader, traveled amid great privation until they reached Judea, conquered it, and founded a city which they named Hierosyla (from their disposition to rob temples), but later changed it to Hierosolyma.

Apion, a grammarian and lawyer of Alexandria, expressed his evident enmity to the Jews by collecting, from whatever source, all current stories unfavorable to them. He repeats the story of their descent from unclean persons, represents their laws as antagonistic to those of their neighbors, and describes also their Temple and its interior. He even goes a step further and adds another fable—an invention of his own most probably. He relates that it was the custom of the Jews to capture every year some Greek stranger, to fatten him with good food, to kill him in sacrifice, and to eat his entrails. Stories similar to the above found credulous hearers, made curious by the mysteries of the Jewish religion. The customs of the Jews, so different from those of other peoples, formed a fruitful subject for discussion; as, for instance, their abstinence from pork, their rite of circumcision, their Sabbath, etc.

The claim of the Jews that theirs was the only true religion created not only interest, but also enmity. **Celsus** (second century C.E.), who wrote against Christians, also mentions the Jews. He accuses them of never having given anything useful to the world and of never having earned the respect of other peoples. They worship the imaginary, and neglect what is real; they look down upon the beliefs of non-Jews, and try to induce others to adopt the same views. **Philostratus** (180–250 C.E.) can not understand why Rome takes so much interest in the kingdom of the Jews. "From olden times," he says, "they have been opposed not only to Rome, but to the rest of humanity. People who do not share with others their table, their libations, their prayers, their sacrifices, are further removed from us than Susa, or Bactria, or even farthest India."

At the beginning of the third century of the present era the character of the Jews seems to change in the eyes of pagans: they cease to be a nation, and come to be regarded as a religious body. Proselytism becomes a feature of their activity, and is beginning to cause concern. **Dion Cassius** (150–236 C.E.) writes: "I do not know the origin of the term 'Jew.' The name is used, however, to designate all who observe the customs of this people, even though they be of different race. Therefore we find them also among native Romans. The Jews differ from all other peoples in their whole manner of life, but especially in that they do not honor any of the other gods, but worship with much fervor only one. Even at Jerusalem they never had an image of their divinity; they believe Him to be ineffable and invisible. . . . The day of Saturn is devoted to him. On this day they carry out many peculiar rites, and consider it a sin to work. All that relates to this God, His nature, the origin of His worship, and of the great awe with which He inspires the Jews, has been told long ago by many writers." In the same century **Porphyry,** a Neoplatonic philosopher, gives some oracles of Apollo. Among other things, he says: "The way of the happy is steep and rough, . . . and the Phenicians, Assyrians, Lydians, and the race of Hebrew men taught many ways of the happy. . . . The Chaldeans and Hebrews alone received wisdom as their destiny, worshiping in a pure manner, the self-produced Ruler as God."

The Roman writers devote considerably more attention to the Jews than do the Greek. The reason for this is the greater familiarity of the Romans with the Jews, whose numbers in Rome had largely increased. **Cicero,** the great orator, philosopher, and statesman (103–43 B.C.), often refers to the Jews in his orations, and in a tone of evident enmity. He calls them "nations born to slavery"; and in his defense of Flaccus he says, among other things: "While Jerusalem maintained its ground and the Jews were in a peaceful state, their religious rites were repugnant to the splendor of this empire, the weight of our name, and the institutions of our ancestors; but they are more so now, because that race has shown by arms what were its feelings with regard to our supremacy; and how far it was dear to the immortal gods, we have learned from the fact that it has been conquered, let out to hire, and enslaved."

Horace (65–8 B.C.) refers in his satires to the persistence with which the Jews try to convert people to their religion, and ridicules their Sabbath. **Ovid** also refers to "the seventh day kept holy by the Syrian Jew." **Seneca** (d. 65 C.E.) strongly attacks the Jewish Sabbath. He denies the utility of such an institution, and considers it even injurious; for the Jews, "by taking out every seventh day, lose almost a seventh part of their own life in inactivity, and many matters which are urgent at the same time suffer from not being attended to." Seneca admits the great moral power of "this most outrageous nation," and considers their successful proselytizing as an instance where "the conquered have given laws to their conquerors."

Martial (d. 104 C.E.) repeatedly pokes fun at the Jews, their Sabbath, the offensive odor of the keepers of the Sabbath, their custom of circumcision, and their beggars. **Juvenal** (d. 140 C.E.) also mentions the great swarms of Jewish beggars and their extreme poverty, the abstinence of the Jews from the flesh of swine, etc. **Tacitus** in his history, written between 104 and 109 C.E., devotes considerable space to the Jews. He derives his information from the Greek writers, and repeats the fable of the Jews being descendants of unclean persons, of lepers, etc.; tells of their wanderings and their suffering in the desert; discourses about Moses and the laws that he

established contrary to those of other nations; and attempts to account for the origin of their various customs. He says:

"These rites and ceremonies, however introduced, have the support of antiquity; but other institutions have prevailed among them, which are tainted with low cunning. For the refuse of other nations, having renounced the religion of their own country, were in the habit of bringing gifts and offerings to Jerusalem; hence the wealth and growth of Jewish power. And, whilst among themselves they keep inviolate faith and are always prompt in showing compassion to their fellows, they cherish bitter enmity against all others, eating and lodging with one another only, and, though a people most prone to sensuality, having no intercourse with women of other nations. Among themselves no restraints are known; and in order that they may be known by a distinctive mark, they have established the practise of circumcision. . . . They show concern, however, for the increase of their population. For it is forbidden to put any of their brethren to death, and the souls of such as die in battle, or by the hand of the executioner, are thought to be immortal; hence their desire to have children, and their contempt of death. . . . The Jews acknowledge one god only, and conceive of him by the mind alone."

These, in brief, are the views held by the classical writers concerning the Jews. In most cases they are far from complimentary. These unfriendly, unjust, and at times very naive opinions are expressed by writers, many of whom in other cases show much kindly yet critical judgment. In fact, to them can be attributed the lack of familiarity of the ancient world with the life and customs of the Jews, as is amply proved by Josephus in his work "Contra Apionem"; and there is no doubt that it was the social and religious isolation of the Jews, and their contempt for the pagan beliefs, that gave birth to an enmity that has descended to more recent times.

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G. J. G. L.

CLAUDIUS (Tiberius Claudius Drusus Nero Germanicus): Roman emperor, 41–54 C.E. Claudius was the second son of Drusus, the brother of the emperor Tiberius. Being of a feeble constitution, and unprepossessing in appearance, he was slighted by everybody, even by his own mother. During his reign both his freedmen and his wife Agrippina exerted a great influence over him. Finally, Agrippina, in order to secure the succession of Nero, her son by her first marriage, had Claudius poisoned.

After the murder of Caligula, Claudius had been brought forth from his hiding-place by a pretorian and proclaimed emperor. Thanks to the advice and diplomatic skill of his friend, the Jewish king Agrippa I., the accession of Claudius was, on the following day, recognized by the senate. In return he confirmed Agrippa in his possession of the dominions granted him by Caligula, and added thereto Judea and Samaria, so that Agrippa had now under his rule the whole former kingdom of Herod. He also interposed between the Jewish and the pagan citizens of Alexandria, who had been in open hostility to one another since 38 C.E. The leaders of the anti-Jewish Alexandrians, Isidorus and Lampon, were called to account in Rome, and executed (Wilcken, in "Hermes," xxx. 481 *et seq.*; "Berliner Philol. Wochenschrift," 1896, pp. 1617 *et seq.*; *ib.* 1897, pp. 410 *et seq.*; Th. Reinach, in "Rev. Et. Juives," xxxi. 161 *et seq.*; *ib.* xxxii. 160; *ib.* xxxiv. 296; Weil, in "Revue des Etudes Grecques," xi. 243 *et seq.*; Mommsen, in "Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie," 1898, p. 498; idem "Römisches Strafrecht," p. 265; Mitteis, in "Hermes," xxxiv. 88 *et seq.*). The governor of Egypt was ordered to suppress the disorder; the Alexandrian Jews had their privileges reconfirmed; and, at the instigation of Agrippa and Herod, an edict of tolerance was issued for the Jews of the whole Roman empire. On the death of Agrippa his kingdom was again taken under Roman administration. Repeated charges brought against the governor by Jewish envoys received favorable attention from the emperor, owing chiefly to the intervention of Agrippa the Younger. Thus, on one occasion the garments of the high priest were handed back to the Jews; and Agrippa's brother Herod was put in charge of the Temple, with the right of appointing the high priests. On the decision of Claudius in a dispute between Samaritans and Judeans, see Cumanus.

The Jews in Rome itself, however, in the year 49, were forbidden to hold religious gatherings, owing to continued disturbances resulting from the frequency of Christian Messianic sermons. No expulsion took place; but many Jews no doubt left Rome voluntarily. However, this measure of Claudius was certainly not directed against the Jewish religion.

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G. H. V.

CLAUDIUS, RUTILIUS NAMATIANUS: Roman poet. He held high public offices in Rome, but returned (416) to Gaul, the land of his birth, after the devastation of the latter by the Goths. He depicts his return in his poem "De Reditu Suo." As a polytheist he was antagonistic to Judaism; and his aversion was the more emphatic because he wished thereby to strike covertly at Christianity. He scorned the Jews mainly on account of their dietary laws, their rite of circumcision, and their strict observance of the Sabbath. He ends his diatribes by expressing the wish that Pompey and Titus had never subdued the Jews, for the insidious plague was spreading farther than before, and the vanquished had subdued the victors.

His poems were edited by Lucian Müller, 1870; a German translation was published in 1872 by Itasius Lemniacus (A. von Reumont).

G. H. V.

CLAVA, ISAIAH: Spanish poet of Amsterdam. He translated from Hebrew into Spanish a Purim song, under the title "Cancio de Purim, Establecido Sobre su Historia, Echo por un Anonimo, y Ahora Nuevamente Sacado del Hebrayco al Es-

pagnol," Amsterdam, 1772. The poem contains 110 strophes of nine lines each.

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G. M. K.

CLAVERING, ROBERT: Bishop of Peterborough and Christian Hebraist; born in 1671; died July 21, 1747. He was regius professor of Hebrew at Oxford from 1715 until his death. In 1705 at Oxford he published a translation of Maimonides' "Yad," Hilkot Talmud Torah and Teshubah.

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T. J.

CLAY ("ḥomer," "ṭiṭ"): A word used in the Old Testament to denote several kinds of soil, including the clays of the East as well as the loam of the Nile valley. Clay, in its technical sense, is "a mixture of decomposed minerals of various kinds. Alumina, silica, and pôtash are the principal constituents; but along with these may be variable quantities of lime, magnesia, and iron, which give variety both to the quality and color" (Hull, in Hastings' "Dict. of the Bible," *s.v.*). Clay was used among ancient peoples and in Biblical times for at least three specific purposes: (1) for making bricks; (2) for making pottery; (3) as writing-material.

(1) *For Making Bricks*: The great mounds of earth marking the remains of ancient cities testify to the prevalent use of clay bricks as building-material. Throughout Babylonia, and mainly in Assyria, sun-dried and kiln-burnt bricks were the chief materials of which the people built their magnificent palaces and huge and massive city walls. Lower Egypt, according to the representations in the pictures of ancient life, and to the remains discovered by Naville at Tell el-Maskhuta, has always been a place where brickmaking was an important industry. Most of its villages, ancient and modern, have been constructed of sun-dried brick.

(2) *For Making Pottery*: Among the ruins of the most ancient cities of Egypt, Babylonia, Palestine, and Assyria remains are found of the potter's art. In the Old Testament the potter at his wheel is used as a symbol of divine power over the fate of men (compare Jer. xviii. 1–3; Isa. lxiv. 8; Rom. ix. 2).

(3) *As Writing-Material*: This was the most remarkable use made of clay in ancient times. The tens of thousands of tablets found in the ruins of ancient cities testify to the prevalence of this curious custom. On the soft material, carefully selected for its freedom from hard bodies, cuneiform characters were impressed; and to preserve the tablet from ruin it was carefully baked. Some tablets were not only impressed with cuneiform signs, but sealed by rolling over the soft clay the private seals of the principals or witnesses: such tablets are called "contract tablets." Others when written were enclosed within an envelope of clay, upon which the matter of the inner document was more or less faithfully reproduced. It is not improbable that "the evidence" mentioned in connection with Jeremiah's transfer of land bought before the fall of Jerusalem refers to a clay document (compare xxxii. 10–14; also Job xxxviii. 14). Up to the present (1902) only one cuneiform tablet has been found in Palestine, that at Tell al-Ḥasi. It dates from the fourteenth century B.C.—the so-called Amarna period (see Bliss, "A Mound of Many Cities," pp. 52–60).

J. JR. I. M. P.

CLEAN AND UNCLEAN ANIMALS.—Animals ceremonially pure and fit for food, and such as are not. **Biblical Data:** The distinction between clean and unclean animals appears first in Gen. vii. 2–3, 8, where it is said that Noah took into the ark seven and seven, male and female, of all kinds of clean beasts and fowls, and two and two, male and female, of all kinds of beasts and fowls that are not clean. Again, Gen. viii. 20 says that after the flood Noah "took of every clean beast and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings on the altar that he had built to the Lord." It seems that in the mind of this writer the distinction between clean and unclean animals was intended for sacrifices only; for in the following chapter he makes God say: "Everything that moveth shall be food for you" (Gen. ix. 3). In Leviticus (xi. 1–47) and Deuteronomy (xiv. 1–20), however, the distinction between "clean" and "unclean" is made the foundation of a food-law: "This is the law . . . to make a difference between the clean and the unclean, and between the living thing that may be eaten and the living thing that may not be eaten" (Lev. xi. 46–47). The permitted food is called "clean," "pure" (טהור, ṭahor): the forbidden food is not simply not clean, but is positively unclean, polluted, impure (טמא, ṭame), "an abomination" (שקץ, sheḳeẓ). The terminology "clean and unclean" in the food-law has to a certain extent a different implication from that borne by the same terms as used in the sacrificial law (see SACRIFICE).

Distinction Between "Clean" and "Unclean."

The clean animals were: (1) All quadrupeds that chew the cud and also divide the hoof (Lev. xi. 3; Deut. xiv. 6); for instance, the ox, the sheep, the goat (*i.e.*, the sacrificial animals), the hart and the gazel, the roebuck, the wild goat, the pygarg, the antelope, and the chamois (Deut. xiv. 4–5). Among other forbidden animals, the camel, the rock-badger (see CONEY), the hare, and the swine were excluded by name (Lev. xi. 4–7; Deut. xiv. 7–8), probably because used as food or for sacrifice by the neighboring tribes.

(2) Fish proper; *i.e.*, "whatsoever hath fins and scales . . . in the seas and in the rivers" (Lev. xi. 9; compare Deut. xiv. 9).

(3) Birds. Here the Law proceeds by way of elimination. From the rather lengthy list of forbidden birds (Lev. xi. 13–19; Deut. xiv. 11–18) it may be concluded that all the birds of prey and most of the water-fowl were considered unclean. The bat closes the list.

(4) The winged creeping things "that go upon all four" which "have legs above their feet to leap withal," of which four kinds of locusts are named (Lev. xi. 21–22). All the other creeping things (see ANIMALS) are most emphatically and repeatedly forbidden and held up as the greatest abomination (Lev. xi. 20, 31–38, 42–43). A list of creeping things to be avoided includes the weasel, the mouse, four kinds of lizards, and the chameleon (Lev. xi. 29–30).

Restrictions were also placed on the use of the flesh of clean animals: it was forbidden to eat it when the animal had been torn in the field by a carnivorous beast (Ex. xxii. 30), or when it had died a natural death, or had been carried off by disease (Deut. xiv. 21). Although, however, the use of such meats rendered people unclean, strictly speaking, their prohibition belongs to the law concerning Blood.

——**Ethnological View:** For the distinction between clean and unclean animals various origins have been suggested; though few of them seem to have fully satisfied any one but their own originators. Omitting the most ancient ones (Origen, "Contra Celsum," iv. 93; ed. Migne, xi., col. 1171; Theodoret, on Lev. ix. 1, ed. Migne, lxxx., col. 299, and others, analyzed in Vigouroux, "Dict. de la Bible," i. 615 *et seq.*), only the most popular ones in our own day need be mentioned. According to Grotius, on Lev. xi. 3; Spencer, "De Leg. Hebr. Rit." i. 7, 2; S. D. Michaelis, "Mosaisches Recht," iv., § 220, etc., the distinction between clean and unclean animals is based on hygiene: it is a sanitary law. According to others, the law was a national one, intended to separate Israel from the neighboring nations, Arabians, Canaanites, and Egyptians (Ewald, "Antiq. of Israel," pp. 144 *et seq.*), and partly a sanitary one (Rosenmüller, "Scholia in Vetus Testamentum"—Leviticus). According to Keil, "Handbuch der Biblischen Archäologie," pp. 492 *et seq.*, the law is a religious one, intended to deter men from the vices and sins of which certain animals are the symbols, which view is a mere variation of the allegorical interpretation proposed by Philo ("De Concupiscentia," 5–10).

Theories of Distinction.

Of these explanations the first two have been refuted by Sommer in his "Biblische Abhandlungen," i. 187–193; Keil's opinion has been opposed by Nowack, "Lehrbuch der Biblischen Archäologie," i. 117, and others. The most popular theory at the present day is perhaps that offered by the late W. Robertson Smith, in his article "Animal Worship and Animal Tribes Among the Ancient Arabs" ("Journal of Philology," 1880), according to which the unclean animals were forbidden because they were totems of the primitive clans of Israel. This theory has been accepted by Cheyne ("Isaiah," i. 99; ii. 123–124, 303) and Stade ("Gesch. Israels," i. 408), but by Dillmann is either entirely and without discussion rejected ("Genesis," p. 382), or restricted to the prehistoric times of Israel, as being a survival of the old totem-worship and totem-clan organization, resembling in historic times the case of the horse in England, which anthropologists say is not eaten because it was once sacred to Odin, and thus tabooed (Joseph Jacobs in his "Studies in Biblical Archeol." p. 89, and similarly Salomon Reinach, "Les Interdictions Alimentaires et la Loi Mosaïque," in "Rev. Etudes Juives," xli. 144). See Blood; Food; and Totemism.

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E. G. H. H. H.

——**In Rabbinical and Hellenistic Literature:** The distinctions between clean and unclean animals, as described in the Scriptures, are more fully drawn in the Halakah. To chew the cud and to have split hoofs (Lev. xi. 3) are the marks of the clean tame quadruped ("behemah"), and the Talmudic traditions add that an animal without upper teeth always chews the cud and has split hoofs (see Aristotle, "Natural History," ix. 50), the only exceptions being the hare and the rabbit, which, in spite of having upper teeth, chew the cud and have split hoofs, and the camel, which has, in place of upper teeth, an incisor on each side (ניב). Even the meat of the clean and the unclean animals can be distinguished. The meat of the former below the hipbones can be torn lengthwise as well as across, which, among unclean animals, is only possible with the flesh of the wild ass. These differences apply also to clean wild animals (חיה טהורה) as against unclean wild animals (חיה טמאה). In order, however, to distinguish clean wild from clean tame animals attention must particularly be paid to the horns. The horns of the former must be forked, or, if not forked, they must be clear of splinters, notched with scales, and be הדורות ("round"), or, as others read, חדודות ("pointed"). It is important to distinguish the clean wild animals from the clean tame animals, because the tallow of the former may be used, while that of the latter is forbidden, and the blood of the clean wild animal must be covered up (Lev. xvii. 13), which is not the case with that of other animals (Ḥul. 59a, b).

Quadrupeds.

It was hard for the rabbinical authorities to distinguish clean from unclean birds, as the Scripture (Lev. xi. 13–19) enumerates only the birds which shall not be eaten, without giving any of the marks which distinguish them from the clean birds. This is all the more important as the names of some of the birds mentioned in the Scriptures are followed by the word "lemino" or "leminehu"—*i.e.*, "after its kind"—and it is therefore necessary to recognize certain fixed distinguishing characteristics. The following rules are fixed by the Talmud, by which a clean bird may be distinguished. It must not be a bird of prey; it must have a front toe, if that be the meaning of אצבע יתירה; but according to most explanations the hind toe is meant. Although most birds of prey have the hind toe, the toes of the clean bird are so divided that the three front toes are on one side and the hind toes on the other, while the unclean bird spreads his toes so that two toes are on each side; or if it has five toes, three will be on one side and two on the other (compare Rashi to Ḥul. 59a, and Nissim b. Reuben on the Mishnah to this passage).

Birds.

The clean birds, furthermore, have craws, and their stomachs have a double skin which can easily be separated. They catch food thrown into the air, but will lay it upon the ground and tear it with their bills before eating it. If a morsel be thrown to an unclean bird it will catch it in the air and swallow it, or it will hold it on the ground with one foot, while tearing off pieces with its bill (Ḥul. 59a, 61a, 63a). As this distinction is not found in Scripture, opinions dif-

fered greatly during and since Talmudic times. According to the Talmud (Ḥul. 62a, 63b), only the twenty-four kinds of birds mentioned in Scripture are actually forbidden. If certain birds are positively known as not belonging to these, no further investigation as to characteristic signs is necessary, and they may be eaten. The marks of distinction are laid down only for cases in which there is doubt whether the species is clean or unclean. Authorities, especially in Germany, would only permit the eating of such kinds as have always been eaten (מסורת). Accordingly some birds are permitted to be eaten in certain countries, but not in others. There are many controversies in the casuistic literature concerning this matter. Menahem Mendel Krochmal ("Ẓemaḥ Ẓedeḳ," No. 29), for instance, declares the wild goose forbidden, while Eybeschütz ("Kereti u-Peleti," § 82) permits it. When the turkey was brought to Europe Isaiah Horwitz forbade it to be eaten; and although his opinion did not prevail, his descendants refrain from eating it even to-day.

Fishes.

In regard to clean and unclean fishes the authorities of the Talmud have also made some additions to the regulations in the Scriptures. While it is stated in Lev. xi. 9 that only those fishes are to be considered clean which have scales and fins, the Mishnah (Niddah vi. 9) declares that all fishes with scales have, doubtless, fins also. According to this all fishes having scales but no fins may be eaten, as under that opinion it may be taken for granted that all scaly fishes have fins; apparent exceptions are accounted for by the supposition that sometimes fins are so small or rudimentary that they can not be distinguished. On the other hand, a fish with fins may be without scales and thus be unclean. The formation of the spinal cord and head also affords means of distinction. The clean fishes (דגים טהורים) have a perfect spinal column, and a head of a more or less flat projection; the unclean fishes have no spinal bone, and their heads end in a point ('Ab. Zarah 39b, 40a). There is a difference in the form of the bladder and roe in clean and unclean fishes. In clean fishes the bladder is blunt at one end and pointed at the other; while the unclean have the ends either both blunt or both pointed. Whether these marks can be depended on when the scales and fins are absent, or when the actual condition can no longer be positively ascertained, has been much discussed by old authorities (compare Jacob b. Asher, Ṭur Yoreh De'ah, 83). As a "cause célèbre" of modern times may be mentioned the controversy of Aaron Chorin with many Orthodox rabbis concerning the eating of sturgeon, which Chorin declared permissible, contrary to all former usage.

Insects.

Concerning the use of the four kinds of locust permitted in the Scriptures (Lev. xi. 21–22) the Mishnah (Ḥul. iii. 8) says that a clean locust must have four feet, two of which are for jumping, and four wings, which must be long and broad enough to cover the whole body. But it is still subject to the restriction that, to be eaten, it must belong to the species חגב, and there must be a reliable tradition recognizing it as eatable. Later authorities (compare Samuel b. David ha-Levi on Yoreh De'ah, 85) forbid its use entirely. Very rigorous are the rules set down by the Rabbis concerning the eating of "creeping things which crawl upon the ground" (Lev. xi. 41). According to the Rabbis only such "worms" are permitted for food as do not live in an isolated condition, but are found only in other substances; for instance, the maggots in meat, fruit, fish, drinking-water, etc. But even in such cases the eating is forbidden if the worms have been removed from the place in which they originated, or if they have left that place and returned to it, thereby practically excluding all worm-eaten food (Ḥul. 67a, b). The conditions concerning the enforcement of these rules are very complicated (compare Yoreh De'ah, 84), but it may suffice to point out the following: Fruit and vegetables must be thoroughly examined before use to see whether they contain worms, and Orthodox families pay strict attention to the fact that should the food, after cooking, be shown to have been worm-eaten, it is not fit for consumption (compare Danzig, "Ḥokmat Adam," pp. 35, 22).

Reasons for Distinction.

There was much speculation as to the reasons why certain species of animals should be allowed as food and others forbidden. In the Letter of Aristeas (lines 144–154) it is explained at length that "these laws have been given for justice' sake to awake pious thoughts and to form the character." It is especially emphasized that birds of prey have been forbidden, to teach that man shall practise justice; and not, depending upon his own strength, do injury to others. The marks which distinguish the clean animal are allegorically explained, as shown in the following instance: To have two feet and split hoofs signifies that all actions shall be taken with consideration of the right and wrong (compare Allegorical Interpretation). The martyr Eleazar, in IV Macc. v. 25, answers the king, who ridicules the laws forbidding unclean animals, "Whatever is congenial to our soul He permits us to eat; the use of obnoxious meats He forbade us." In this is apparently expressed the same idea which is stated later on by Ẓarza in the words: "All these things are forbidden, because they deprave the blood and make it susceptible to many diseases; they pollute the body and the soul" (Meḳor Ḥayyim, "Tazria'," beginning).

The prolix allegories of Philo concerning the clean and unclean animals (compare "De Agricultura Noe," xxv.–xxxi.) have been far surpassed by the Church Fathers (Irenæus, "Adversus Hæreses," v. 8; Clemens Alexandrinus, "Pædagogus," iii.; Origen, Hom. 7 in Lev.; and many others), and for this reason in many Jewish circles no exposition of the law whatever would be heard. One should not say "The meat of the hog is obnoxious to me," but "I would and could eat it had not my Heavenly Father forbidden it" (Sifra, Ḳedoshim, end). In Talmudic-Midrashic literature no attempt is made to bring these laws nearer to human understanding. It was feared that much defining would endanger the observance of them, and all were satisfied "that they are things the use of which the Torah forbids" (Tanḥuma, Lev. ed. Buber, Shemini, iii. 29), although they were not capable of explanation.

Beginning with Saadia, the Jewish commentators started to explain the Biblical laws either rationalistically or mystically. It is remarkable that Saadia's theory bears great resemblance to the modern theory of totemism. He asserts, namely, that some animals which were worshiped as divine were declared eatable as a protest against that worship, and for the same reason others were declared unclean ("Kitab al-Amanat Wal-I'tiḳadat," 117, bottom; Hebrew translation, iii. 2; ed. Slucki, p. 61). Ibn Ezra is of the opinion that the flesh of unclean animals has been forbidden because it is impure and obnoxious, and the substance swallowed and digested goes into the flesh and blood of those who have eaten it (commentary to Lev. xi. 93; concerning other passages of Ibn Ezra compare Ẓarẓa, *l.c.*).

Maimonides ("Morch Nebukim," iii. 48) finds in these ordinances mainly sanitary, and partly esthetic, principles. Similar is the opinion of the great French exegete Samuel b. Meïr, in his commentary on Leviticus. Naḥmanides agrees only partly with these theories, and mentions only one sanitary reason concerning fishes. The clean, he argues, get nearer the surface of the water, and therefore possess a degree of heat which drives away too much humidity; while the fishes without fins and scales, which stay in the deep water, and especially those in swampy water, possess a degree of cold and humidity which acts mortally. It is different with the birds, which, with exception of the "peres" and "'oz-niyyah," two species of eagles, are all birds of prey, the black and thick blood of which causes a marked inclination to cruelty. Concerning the quadrupeds, Naḥmanides wavers between ethical and sanitary reasons, and refers to non-Jewish physicians to maintain the objections to the flesh of the hog (commentary on Lev. ix. 13; compare his "Derasha," ed. Jellinek, p. 29). The explanations which Baḥya b. Asher (on Lev. xi.) gives concerning the forbidden animals are mainly taken from Naḥmanides. He adds the new explanation that this law is merely an expansion of the rules of the cult of sacrifice, so that many animals which can not be used for sacrifice shall not be eaten (*idem*, 163d, ed. Riva di Trento). Isaac Arama is especially opposed to sanitary reasons ("'Aḳedat Yiẓḥaḳ," part 60, ed. Pollak, iii. 33b), and acknowledges psychological and ethical motives only. "The unclean animals," says Arama, "cause coarseness and dulness of the soul." Arama, evidently referring to Abravanel, but without mentioning his name, gives other theories of Jewish scholars. In his remarkable polemic against the rationalistic explanation by Maimonides of the laws regulating food, Viterbo tries to show the untenableness of the sanitary grounds ("Ta'am Zeḳenim," ed. El. Ashkenazi, pp. 42-43).

Like the Jewish religious philosophers, the mystics have stated their speculations concerning the grounds of these laws. According to the cabalistic theory which makes the negative SEFIROT the cause of the existence of evil in the world, the Zohar (Shemini, iii. 41b) explains that the unclean animals originate from some of these negative Sefirot, and therefore they are forbidden as food; but as with the arrival of the Messiah all will become purer and nobler, these animals will then be permitted as food (Yalḳ. Ḥadash, Liḳḳutim, 36, 79). In this manner the mystics explained the idea, expressed in Midrash Tehillim to cxlvi., that in the future God will declare the unclean animals clean. This Midrash caused Abravanel and other Jewish scholars much embarrassment (see Buber, *ad loc.*), so that several of them did not hesitate to declare it a Christian interpolation; but without reason, as similar opinions have been held and expressed in the remotest time (compare ANTINOMIANISM), and probably had their origin in pre-Christian times. Regarding the view taken by Reform rabbis and by modern Bible exegetes of clean and unclean animals, see DIETARY LAWS; PURITY; REFORM; TOTEMISM.

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E. C. L. G.

CLEANNESS AND UNCLEANNESS. See PURITY.

CLEIF, DANIEL ḤAYYIM: Russian rabbi; born in Amsterdam 1729, died there May 14, 1794. He settled in Hasenpoth, in the government of Courland, originally as a jeweler; later he officiated there as rabbi for many years. At this time he wrote "'Arugah Ḳeṭannah" (The Small Garden-Bed), a booklet in which the 248 mandatory precepts are formulated in rime (Altona, 1787, and reprinted several times). He also left in manuscript a commentary on the Pentateuch.

One of Cleif's sons was a physician in the service of the Russian government, with the title of councilor of state: he died in the government of Orel in 1846.

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H. R.

CLEMENT XIV. (LORENZO GANGANELLI): Two hundred and fifty-sixth pope; born at San Arcangelo, near Rimini, Oct. 31, 1705; elected May 19, 1769; died Sept. 22, 1774. His election was hailed with particular joy by the Jews, who trusted that the man who, as councilor of the Holy Office, declared them, in a memorandum issued March 21, 1758, innocent of the slanderous blood accusation, would be no less just and humane toward them on the throne of Catholicism. In this they were not deceived. Two months after his accession Clement XIV. withdrew the Roman Jews from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition and placed them under that of the "Vicariato di Roma" (Aug. 5, 1769). Another token of his benevolence toward the Jews was the confirmation (March 29, 1773) of the bull of Clement VIII. concerning the JUS GAZAKA, which was of very great importance to the Roman Jews.

The memorandum of Clement XIV. (Ganganelli), referred to above, deserves special mention, as much from the importance of the subject treated therein as from the great authority of its author. It was called forth by a blood accusation against the Jews of Yanopol, Poland. Alarmed by this frequently repeated accusation, the Polish Jews sent one Jacob Selek to Rome to implore the protection of the pope. Benedict XIV. thereupon ordered a thorough exami-

nation of the matter, and the councilor of the Holy Office, Lorenzo Ganganelli (later Clement XIV.), was charged with the preparation of a report on the subject. This report, bearing on its title-page the motto "Non solis accusatoribus credendum," was presented to the congregation of the Inquisition March 21, 1758. The author shows therein not only the groundlessness of the Yanopol accusation, but, passing in review all the principal cases of blood accusation since the thirteenth century, demonstrates that they were all groundless. Only in two cases did Ganganelli hesitate to declare the falsity of the accusation; namely, in that of Simon of Trent, in 1475, and in that of Andreas of Rinn, in 1462. The future pope could not very well acknowledge that the canonization of these two pretended martyrs was undeserved. But he pointed out that the popes themselves hesitated a long time before admitting the worship of Saint Simon and Saint Andrew; the former having waited more than 110 years, and the latter almost 300 years —a proof that the veracity of the accusation was doubted. No account is to be taken of the testimony of some baptized Jews, such as Julio Morosini and Paul Sebastian Medici, who, in their hatred of their former coreligionists, claim in their writings that the Jews use Christian blood. Moreover, these writings were triumphantly refuted by high authorities. Ganganelli concludes his memorandum by reminding the Christians that they themselves were once accused by the heathen of the same crime, as attested by Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Theodoret, and Rufinus.

The effort of Ganganelli was crowned with success. Benedict XIV., impressed by the arguments in the memoir, declared the Jews of Yanopol innocent, and dismissed Jacob Selek with honors, recommending him, through Cardinal Corsini, to Visconti, Bishop of Warsaw, who received orders to protect the Polish Jews in the future from such accusations.

Ganganelli's memorandum was translated into German by A. Berliner, under the title "Gutachten Ganganelli's (Clemens XIV.) in Angelegenheit der Blutbeschuldigung der Juden," Berlin, 1888. The original Italian text was published by Isidore Loeb in "Rev. Etudes Juives," xviii. 179 *et seq.*

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J. I. Br.

CLEMENTINA or PSEUDO-CLEMENTINE LITERATURE: A series of kindred works of a Judæo-Christian sect of the second century, of which only the Homilies, the Recognitions, and the Epitomes have been preserved. The Homilies, published first in 1853, present in the form of dialogues between Peter, Clement of Rome, and others, a gnostic system based on revelation. By revelation alone can knowledge be obtained, not by philosophy (Hom. i. 19, ii. 5). This is illustrated by the history of Clement, who vainly tried to arrive at the truth by means of philosophy. The Homilies assume a twofold revelation—the primal revelation, and the continuous revelation through the true prophets. The first was given in the act of creation, especially in that of man. The Homilies say, like the Mishnah (Sanh. 37a): "God revealed Himself by making man in His image; were there another god he also would have to reveal himself, and create other men in his image" (Hom. xvi. 10). Man as the image of God is God's revelation, and as he also has in him God's spirit (*πνεῦμα*), the whole truth lies in him like a seed, needing only to be developed. Had men recognized the will of God and been ready to obey it, there would have been no need of a further revelation; but as they have sinned, the primal revelation is obscured and a new revelation is always necessary (*ib.* i. 18, viii. 5). This is afforded by the true prophet, who knows the past, the present, and the future. His knowledge is not derived from the external world, but is innate, as is the spirit in him; and his revelation is not ecstatic, but clear and unambiguous (*ib.* ii. 6–12, iii. 11–20). The true prophet has appeared not in one, but in various forms; changing name and shape, he will traverse this world until he finds rest in the coming world, *αἰὼν μέλλων* (*ib.* iii. 20).

Eight persons are exalted above the rest of humanity and brought into special connection with revelation—Jesus and the "seven pillars of the world," Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Moses; and among these eight Adam, Moses, and Jesus are preeminent as possessing all the qualities of the true prophet (compare Uhlhorn, "Die Homilien," pp. 164–166). The Haggadah (Ḥag. 12b) also says that the world rests on seven pillars, but according to other authorities one pillar, צדיק by name, supports the world (compare Prov. x. 25). *Ἀναμάρτητος* (צדיק) is, according to the Homilies (ii. 6), the true prophet (compare also Suk. 52c on the haggadic interpretation of the "seven shepherds and eight princes"; Micah v. 4).

Theological Teaching of the Homilies.

As the person of the true prophet is always the same, so the religion revealed by him is always the same: the primal revelations through Adam, through pure Mosaism, and through Christianity are identical (Hom. xviii. 3). The fundamental doctrine of this, the only true, religion is that of the one God, the Creator of the world. "Before all things, consider that no one shares His rule, no one has a name in common with Him; that is, is called 'God.' For He alone both is, and is called, 'God.' Nor is it lawful to think that there is any other, or to call any other by that name. And if any one should dare do so, eternal punishment of soul is his" (*ib.* iii. 37). The attacks on those who deny the unity of God, and the positive proofs of that unity, constitute the greater part of the Homilies. The conception of monotheism is entirely Jewish, and all attempts to modify abstract monotheism in the Christian way are emphatically rejected. So much stress is laid on monotheism that it almost becomes pantheism, God being designated as *τὸ Πᾶν*, *τὸ Ὄν*, and everything else as nothing. He alone is; He is the tangible and the intangible, near and far, here and there; He alone exists. He penetrates everything. As the sun warms and illuminates the surrounding air, so God warms and illuminates the world; He is the heart of the world,

and the center from which all life irradiates (*ib.* xvii. 7, xviii. 8, and *passim*; compare Uhlhorn, *l.c.* p. 174). Although this pantheistic conception is originally Greek, it must be remembered that it was also known to the Jewish scholars of Alexandria and of Palestine. Similar to the statement in the Homilies (xvii. 8): "The space of God is the non-existent, but God is that which exists," is the statement in the Midrash: שהוא מקום עולמו ואין העולם מקומו (Gen. R. lxviii. 10; Midr. Teh. xc.).

From this pantheistic point of view the Homilies regard the development of the world as a development within God; the πνεῦμα ("spirit") and the σῶμα ("body"), which were originally united in God, were separated, and this was the beginning of the world. The Creation is explained by assuming that the spirit of God changed into air, the air into water, and the water into fire. The Homilies teach not the emanation of the world from God, but the eternal flux of things, God being the beginning and the end. Herein the Book of Yeẓirah corresponds with the Homilies, holding likewise that the world was created out of the first four Sefirot; the last six Sefirot treated in this book—namely, the three dimensions of space in the two opposite directions, by means of which, out of the prototypes of the world, the world was produced as a reality—also occur in a passage of the Homilies, which, however, has often been misunderstood (xvii. 9; compare Grätz, "Gnosticismus," p. 113; Epstein, in "Rev. Et. Juives," xxix. 73).

Like the Book of Yeẓirah and the Cabala in general, the Homilies also hold the doctrine of contrasts, which constitutes their conception of the world. All things separate (διχῶς καὶ ἐναντίως) and go in opposite directions, unite, separate, and finally unite again. As the material world is made up of the four elements mentioned above, which oppose each other in pairs (Homilies, xix. 12), so the spiritual world is governed by contrast. The ruler of this world is Satan, the ruler of the better future world is the Messiah, who was produced by the spirit or pneumatic side of God. While the greater, masculine principle—heaven—earth, day—night, sun—moon, life—death; etc.—has precedence in the original syzygial series, the reverse takes place among men, the smaller, feminine principle preceding. Hence in history, especially in that of Israel, Cain is opposed to Abel, Ishmael to Isaac, Esau to Jacob, etc. The principles that appeared separate in Adam and Eve, but which are mixed in the majority of men, appear from time to time separated again. The final outcome of this evolution is a return to God by a process of purification or annihilation. When the Messiah, the eternal light, appears, all darkness will vanish (*ib.* ii. 17). At the resurrection all men will be transformed into creatures of light so that they may behold God (*ib.* xvii. 16). This rests on the assumption that He can not be seen by man in the flesh. "He who sees God can not live [Ex. xxxiii. 20], for the excess of light dissolves the flesh of him who sees, . . . but . . . at the resurrection of the dead, when they shall have been changed into light and become like the angels, they shall be able to see Him" (*l.c.*)—a theory found also among the tannaim of the second century, whom Akiba attacked (Sifra, Wayiḳra, 2; Sifre, Num. 103; compare also Abba Arika's description of the joys of the future world, when the pious "shall enjoy the glory of God"—נהנין מזיו השכינה; Ber. 17a; Tan. iv. 145, ed. Buber). This is an instance of that anthropomorphic conception of God which is found in the Homilies side by side with the pantheistic conception, and although in its present form it betrays attempts to reconcile these two diametrically opposed conceptions, yet the contradiction between the two is often very marked. The anthropomorphism is less pronounced in the metaphysical portions of the Homilies; but it forms the basis of their ethics, which is founded on the doctrine that man was made in the image of God (compare the teaching of the Jewish Gnostic Ben Azzai; Gen. R. xxiv. 7); and this doctrine they can establish only by assigning a shape to God (compare especially *ib.* xvii. 11).

Syzygies.

As regards the attributes of God, which are, however, only given in human similes, the Homilies hold that the מדת הדין ומדת הרחמים ("justice and mercy") of Jewish theology (Sifre, Deut. 27) constitute the nature of God (Homilies, iv. 13). It is this conception especially that stamps the Homilies as consisting entirely of Jewish gnosis, admitting of no contrast between the "righteous" God of the Old Testament and the "merciful" God of the New Testament, but identifying the teachings of Jesus with those of Moses, so that the salvation of those who follow Moses is as assured as that of those who believe in Jesus; the former, however, must not hate Jesus, nor the latter, Moses (*ib.* viii. 6, 7). Hence the Homilies never speak of Christians, their point of view being always designated as the "Jewish" one (see Langen, "Die Klemensromane," p. 90); and it is pointed out that the daughter of the Canaanite woman was healed only after the latter had become a Jewess (Homilies, ii. 19); that is, had accepted the Jewish Law. The Pentateuch did not originate entirely with Moses, for he put nothing into writing; and those who recorded his teachings after his death introduced much that was contrary to those teachings. The sacrifices especially do not belong to the original Law (an Essene heresy), and as these and similar interpolations obscured the meaning of the Torah, it became necessary for the true prophet to appear in the person of Jesus. It is difficult to say how the authors of the Homilies conceived of the incarnation of Jesus; they, however, decidedly opposed the doctrine of the divinity of Jesus, and considered the Christian doctrine of the atonement and salvation through the sufferings of Jesus as without importance. The strict asceticism found in the Homilies may be traced back to Essenism. It is a sin to possess anything whatever; the eating of meat is absolutely forbidden, only bread and water being allowed (compare Abot vi. 4); and the Homilies, like the Essenes, lay great stress on ablutions and bodily cleanliness. Bathing is legally prescribed after cohabitation, as in the Talmud (Ber. 21b, 22a); but marriage itself is highly regarded and recommended, even early marriage being insisted upon—in which points the Clementina follow

Judaism and Christianity.

entirely rabbinical Judaism (Yeb. vi. 6, based upon Gen. i. 28, ix. 1).

The Recognitions are extant only in the Latin translation of Rufinus. Regarding their relation to the Homilies, and regarding the historical value of the Clementina in general, opinions differ. While Baur and many representatives of the Tübingen school regard them as a chief source for the history of the early Christian Church, Harnack thinks that they contribute nothing toward determining the origin of that Church. It can not be denied, however, that the Clementina are highly important for the history of gnostic Judæo-Christianity, as well as for that of Jewish Gnosticism, being among the few extant literary documents of those sects. Compare ADAM ḲADMON; ELCESAITES; GNOSTICISM; SIMON MAGUS.

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K. L. G.

CLEOPATRA: Queen of Egypt 52–30 B.C.; daughter of Ptolemy Auletes. Through her association with the rulers of Rome, Cleopatra was of importance not so much to the Jews of her own country as to those of Judea. When Herod fled in great distress before Antigonus, he turned toward Egypt; but it was only after suffering many indignities at Pelusium that he was enabled to embark for Alexandria, where he saw Cleopatra. However, although she invited him to remain, he hastened on to Rome (40 B.C.) (Josephus, "Ant." xiv. 13, § 2; "B. J." i. 14, § 2).

After Herod became king by the help of the Romans, Cleopatra tried in every way to injure him. Alexandra, Herod's mother-in-law, complained to Cleopatra that the office of high priest was denied to her son Aristobulus, and she sent the pictures of her beautiful children, Mariamne and Aristobulus, to Antony, at that time held captive by Cleopatra's charms. Antony desired the handsome youth as a companion, and to prevent this Herod was forced to appoint Aristobulus as high priest (35 B.C.). Alexandra's ambition went so far as to desire the throne for her son. Hidden in coffins, mother and son intended to have themselves transported to Egypt to Cleopatra, but the plan was discovered, and Herod had Aristobulus secretly murdered ("Ant." xv. 2, §§ 5–7; 3, §§ 1–3). Alexandra notified Cleopatra of the deed (*ib.* 3, § 5); but Herod, protected by Antony, went unpunished.

Cleopatra's ambitious spirit seriously injured Herod. She not only induced Antony to give to her in fief the entire coast-line, except Tyre and Sidon, but appropriated Jericho, a region of Judea rich in palms and the far-famed balsam. She traveled to Judea by way of Apamæa and Damascus; and Herod was forced not only to appease her animosity with presents, but also to rent Jericho from her for a yearly sum of two hundred talents, and to send her at his own expense as far as Pelusium (*ib.* xv. 4, §§ 1–2; "B. J." i. 18, § 5). Through her machinations he was drawn into a war with the Nabatæan king Malich; and when he was victorious, Cleopatra sent her general Athenion to help the Nabatæans; whereupon the Jews were defeated and retired across the Jordan (31 B.C.). Herod had great difficulty in surmounting the consequences of this defeat ("Ant." xv. 5, §§ 3–4; "B. J." i. 19, §§ 5–6).

The anti-Jewish APION not incorrectly looked upon Cleopatra as a ruler hostile to the Jews; for she seems indeed to have been inimical to them. Still Josephus says ("Contra Ap." ii., § 5) that Apion should rather have denounced the vices of this devilish woman, and thinks it redounds to the honor of the Jews that they received no wheat from her during a famine in Alexandria. Cleopatra's hatred went so far that when her capital, Alexandria, had been taken by Cæsar Augustus and she had lost everything, she conceived the idea that all could yet be saved if she should murder the Jews of her city with her own hands (*ib.*). Her death immediately afterward saved the Jews from this fate (30 B.C.).

Rabbinical literature also reports one of her cruel deeds. The bodies of some of her female slaves, who had been condemned to death, were torn open and the contents examined (Tosef., Niddah, iv. 17; Talmud, Niddah, 30b). A question that she is said to have addressed to R. Meïr (Sanh. 90b) can scarcely be historical, owing to the anachronism involved in making them contemporaries, and it is probable that the reading קלפטרא מלכתא ("Queen Cleopatra") in this passage is a corruption of פטריקא דכותאי ("patriarch of the Samaritans"; see Bacher, in "Rev. Et. Juives," v. 185, vi. 159; *idem*, "Ag. Tan." ii. 68).

G. S. KR.

CLEOPATRA OF JERUSALEM: One of the nine wives of Herod I., whom he married late in life. She bore to him Herod and Philippus (Josephus, "Ant." xvii. 1, § 3; "B. J." i. 28, § 4).

G. S. KR.

CLERGY. See COHEN; PRIEST; RABBI.

CLERICAL ERRORS: Errors made in the writing of documents, especially legal documents, for the prevention of which the Jews have many stringent laws. The Jewish official scribes were notably exact in the preparation of legal documents (Giṭ. 2b); for an error was often fatal to the validity of the instrument. Care is taken not to write an acknowledgment of indebtedness on any substance on which it may be easily altered. Such an instrument would be absolutely invalid even though it were intended to be used immediately for the collection of the debt (Shulḥan 'Aruk, Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 42, 1). But if the instrument is a bill of sale, it is valid (*ib.*, gloss), because there would be no reason for the holder of the instrument to make any alteration in its terms.

Some authorities adopt the general rule that an instrument which is not prepared in accordance with

the rabbinical ordinances is ipso facto invalid (*ib.*, gloss). The instrument of indebtedness may be written in any language, but the scribe must take care that it does not deviate from the prescribed form of documents (*ib.* 42, 2). If an erasure is made, it must be noted on the instrument before the witnesses sign (*ib.* 44, 5–11). It is the duty of the witnesses and the court to scan the instrument carefully to note whether the rules for writing it have been complied with (*ib.* 45, 2).

Alterations in Deeds.

These rules are numerous. The scribe must write his letters of equal size and equidistant (*ib.* 42, 3). He must spell the amounts of money in full, and not merely use the letters (corresponding to modern figures) to designate the amount (*ib.* 42, 4). He must not write at the end of a line words that can easily be altered, such as the amounts from three to ten; as these by the addition of a letter or two can be raised to ten times their original amount (*ib.* 42, 4). The failure to close the instrument with the universally accepted formula, "All is fixed and established," is absolutely fatal (*ib.* 44, 9). If the scribe has omitted the date of the instrument, it is nevertheless valid, but is no lien on goods sold to third persons (*ib.* 43, 1). If the date is partially written, it is sufficient; as, for instance, if the scribe has omitted the thousands of the date (*ib.* 43, 2), or has written "on the fourth day," omitting "beshabbath" (of the week) (*ib.* 43, 4), or if he has erred in the day of the week (*ib.* 43, 5). But if the instrument is written by the debtor himself, it is valid even though it has no date at all and is without witnesses, and was delivered in the presence of witnesses without the customary "livery of seizin" (*ib.* 40, 2; 43, 6). If the instrument is wilfully antedated it is void; but if antedated by mistake it is valid, though it can not serve as a lien on property sold to a third person (*ib.* 43, 8). If the document is postdated it is valid (*ib.* 43, 12); but a bill of sale should not be postdated unless this fact is noted thereon (*ib.* 43, 13). If the date appears to be a Sabbath, or the Day of Atonement, the instrument is valid; for, inasmuch as no instrument can be written on those days, it is presumed to have been postdated (*ib.* 43, 14; 239, 2).

If there is a contradiction in the amounts mentioned in the instrument, the amount last stated governs (*ib.* 42, 5). If the coinage in which payment is to be made is not stated, the coinage of the place where the contract was made governs. If the place is not stated, then the coinage of the place where the debt is sought to be collected governs (*ib.* 42, 14).

Contradictions and Erasures.

If there is an erasure of one letter of the name on the last part of the instrument, it may be supplied from the statement of the name in the beginning; but if more than one letter is obliterated, the instrument is void. If by the error of the scribe there is more than one letter entirely omitted from the name in the last part of the instrument, it is valid for the bearer of the last name, it being presumed that the scribe has erred in the first name by writing two letters too many; but it is not to be supposed that he would err in omitting two letters of a name (*ib.* 42, 6).

All interlineations, obliterations, and erasures must be noted before the final formula; and if they occur in the names of the parties or in the amount, and are not so noted, the instrument is void (*ib.* 44, 5). The formula used is "The word . . . is interlined," or "The words . . . are obliterated." In bills of divorce, erasures or interlineations in the formal parts do not affect the validity of the instrument; but if they occur in the essential parts, it is void, unless they are noted at the end as in the case of other instruments (Shulḥan 'Aruk, Eben ha-'Ezer, 125, 19). The modern rule, however, is stricter and will not tolerate any such imperfections in the "get." To insure accuracy and freedom from clerical errors the Seder ha-Get (Eben ha-'Ezer, Rules 46–52) prescribes that the writing must be clear and neither crooked nor confused; the letters must be separately written and not joined together; the letters of two lines must not run into each other; nor should the letters extend beyond the marginal line. There must be no erasure of ink-spots or of words, no roughness in the letters, and no writings over erasures. In case any of these rules be violated a new get must be written.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Shulḥan 'Aruk, Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ*, xlii., xliii.

J. SR. D. W. A.

CLERMONT-FERRAND: Chief town of the department of Puy-de-Dôme, France. The origin of the Jewish community of Augusta-Nemetum (Clermont) is usually assigned to the third century of the common era. It is said that the first apostle of Auvergne, St. Austremoine (Stremonius), was killed about 286, by order of Lucius, the Jewish governor of Issoire, by a Jew, the owner of the village Perrier (compare Labbe, "Nova Bibliotheca," ii. 482; Gonod, "Chronologie des Evêques de Clermont"; A. Tardieu, "Histoire de Clermont"). This is evidently a legend, as perhaps is also the story told by the Abbé Marmeisse ("Vie de St. Verny et de Ste. Marcelle," Clermont, 1858), that, about the second half of the thirteenth century, a Jewish working man murdered a young Christian child named Verny, who was afterward proclaimed a saint. It is certain, however, that the Jews established themselves in Clermont at a very early period. They then occupied the entire eastern part of the market-town Fontgiève, called "Fontjuifs" or "Fontjuifve" in the fourteenth century; and they owned the hillock Montjuzet; *i.e.*, "Mons Judæus" or "Judaicus" (Cohendy, "Inventaire des Chartes des Archives, Département du Puy-de-Dôme," pp. 11, 51).

Early History.

Sidonius Apollinarius, Bishop of Clermont (472–488), held the Jews in great esteem. He speaks in the highest terms of the Jew Gozolas, servant of the Bishop of Narbonne ("Epistle," vi. 4), and recommends to the bishop Eleutherus the cause of a Jew. In a third letter, addressed to the bishop Nonnechius, Sidonius Apollinarius recommends to him Promotus, a Jew of Clermont (*l.c.* ii. 13). Bishop Gallus, uncle of Gregory of Tours, also showed good-will to the Jews. When he died (551) the Jews of Clermont took part in the general mourning, weeping for the man who had treated them so kindly, and carrying

the wax tapers at his funeral (Gregory of Tours, "Vitæ Patrum," vi. 7). Bishop Cautinus (551–571) esteemed them no less. "He was dear to the Jews," says Gregory of Tours (*l.c.* iv.), "and was much attached to them." The historians of Auvergne, Savaron in his "Origines de Clairmont," and Audigier in his "Histoire de Clermont," censure this prelate for his familiarity with the Jews, saying that "he lived on friendly terms with them, not with the view of enlightening them, but in order to buy his furniture and jewels cheap from them." On his death the presbyter Euphrasius sent to the king many valuable things which Cautinus had bought from the Jews—a proceeding quite different from those of Bishop Avitus a few years later (see Avitus of Auvergne).

The councils which met at Clermont in the sixth century occupied themselves repeatedly with the affairs of the Jews. Those of 535 and 549 forbade intermarriages between Jews and Christians, and the appointment of Jews as magistrates of the people (Conc. Arverne, Canons vi. and ix.).

It does not appear that Jews were living at Clermont at the time of the first Crusade (1096). Only toward the end of the thirteenth century are traces of a Jewish community again found in that city. At that time (1298–99) the Jews of Auvergne paid into the royal treasury a tax of 992 livres, 6 sous, 6 deniers (Library of Clermont, Auvergne MS. No. 62; compare "Revue Etudes Juives," xv. 248). In 1293 Jews dwelt in several market-towns or villages of Auvergne, such as Herment, Ennezat, Móntaigut, Lignat, etc. (see article by M. A. Tardieu, in "La Dépêche du Puy-de-Dôme," Sept. 14, 1891). At Orbeil lived one of the disciples of R. Ḥayyim of Blois, R. Isaac, author of "Menahel" (The Guide), a collection of ritual rules known only by the quotations from it found in the ritualistic work "Orḥot Ḥayyim" of Aaron of Lunel (Renan-Neubauer, "Les Rabbins Français," p. 448). The Manuscript de Rossi 313, 3, cited by Gross ("Gallia Judaica," p. 589), contains the haggadic explanations of Nathan ben Joseph. This scholar probably came from Clermont.

There were also Jews in other French places which bore the name of Clermont. Some are found in 1321–23 at Clermont-en-Argonne, in the department of the Meuse ("Revue Etudes Juives," xix. 257), and some at Clermont, Hérault, in 1350–1400 (S. Kahn, "Les Juifs de Tarascon," p. 25). In 1808 thirty-eight Jews were living at Clermont; in 1901 it had twenty-five to thirty families. The community is part of the consistory of Lyons.

Bibliography: In addition to the citations in the text, see *Regesten zur Gesch. der Juden*, Nos. 29, 34, 35, 38.

G. S. K.

CLEVE, GERMANY. See Jülich.

CLEVE, ELIJAH. See Gomperz Family.

CLEVELAND: Capital of Cuyahoga county, Ohio, U. S. A.; situated at the mouth of the Cuyahoga River, and an important port on Lake Erie. The history of its Jewish community dates back to the year 1837, when a Bavarian, Simson Thorman, settled here. He was soon followed by others of his countrymen—Cleveland being then a thriving town of about 6,000 inhabitants—and in 1839 the colony had increased sufficiently to warrant the establishment of a permanent religious organization.

This first congregation, called The Israelitish Society, began with twenty members. In 1842 it was divided, the seceding branch forming the Anshe Chesed society; but four years later these two again united, and formed the Anshe Chesed congregation, the oldest existing religious organization in the town. Its first synagogue was built on a lot exchanged for land which had been presented to the Anshe Chesed society, for building purposes, by Leonard Case, a wealthy non-Jewish landowner.

First Settlements.

Dissensions in 1848 resulted in the withdrawal of members, who in 1850 formed the Tifereth Israel congregation, the second of the now existing congregations. A legacy of $3,000 bequeathed by Judah Touro of New Orleans in 1854, purchased the site upon which its first synagogue was erected. These two congregations have always been the leading factors in Cleveland Jewry—the Anshe Chesed representing the Conservative branch, its present membership being 210; the Tifereth Israel, the Radical Reform, with a membership of 513, and a Sabbath school enrolment of 775. Both are prosperous, and worship in splendid modern edifices.

The rabbis of Anshe Chesed congregation have been: Fuld, 1850; E. Hertzman, 1860–61; G. M. Cohen, 1861–66; Nathan, 1866–67; Gustave M. Cohen, 1867–75; M. Tintner, 1875–76; M. Machol, the present incumbent, from 1876.

The rabbis of Tifereth Israel congregation have been: Isidor Kalisch, 1850–55; Wolf Fassbinder, 1855–57; Jacob Cohen, 1857–66; G. M. Cohen, 1866–1867; Jacob Mayer, 1867–74; Aaron Hahn, 1874–92; Moses J. Gries, the present incumbent, from 1892.

The congregation next in importance is the B'ne Yeshurun Hungarian, which was founded in 1865, reorganized in 1886, and has (1903) a present membership of about 200. Its rabbi is Dr. Sigmund Drechsler.

The year 1881 saw the arrival of the first Russian refugees, who, in point of numbers, have since become a highly important part of the community. Besides the three leading congregations mentioned, there are no less than eleven minor congregations, mostly Russian, with a combined membership of about 700—the largest of them, Beth Hamidrash Hagodol Beth Israel, having 600 seat-holders. There are also many so-called "ḥebrahs," formed only for services during the principal holidays. On Oct. 17, 1885, the first American Rabbinical Conference was held in Cleveland. The first annual conference of of the existing Conference of American Rabbis was held in Cleveland, July 13, 1890.

The Jewish Orphan Asylum of Cleveland, founded by the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, District No. 2, was established in 1868; its superintendent since 1878 has been Dr. S. Wolfenstein. This institution, which shelters 500 children, has become famous, being considered a model of its kind (see article thereon in "Ohio State Bulletin of Charities and Corrections," vol. iv. 47), and exerting a wide-spread influence in furnishing (from its trained assistants) superintendents and matrons for other similar insti-

tutions. The heads of the Jewish orphan asylums of San Francisco, Atlanta, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Rochester were formerly assistants at the Cleveland institution. The Educational League, formed for the higher education of orphans, and now a national organization, was founded in Cleveland in 1896.

Charitable and Other Organizations.

In 1875 the Hebrew Relief Association, the oldest benevolent society of importance, was organized; in 1890 it joined the National Conference of Jewish Charities. Its annual income is about $4,500. There are many lesser charitable organizations in the community, among them the Daughters of Israel, the oldest women's benevolent society, founded in 1860. The Association, in which charity the larger part of its funds is expended. It supports also a free Sabbath-school of about 500 children, a working girls' club of 160 members, a free kindergarten, and several other departments. Its annual expenditure is nearly $3,000. In 1899 an educational organization, called the Council Educational Alliance, was formed, and a building for its use was presented by Moritz Joseph. Though not a social settlement, its work is along settlement lines; being educational and social in character, and having a resident director. In its building are a large gymnasium with baths, a free public library with reading-rooms, and club, class, and social rooms. Courses of free lectures and entertainments are given during the winter. A public playground is maintained by the Alliance. The monthly expenditure is $400; the average monthly attendance (1902) was about 25,000.

THE JEWISH ORPHAN ASYLUM, CLEVELAND, O.
(From a photograph.)

Russian part of the community has recently developed several of its own. In 1881 the Sir Moses Montefiore Home for Aged and Infirm Israelites, founded by the Order Kesher Shel Barzel, was established in the city. It has at present 54 inmates. In 1889 the Young Men's Hebrew Association was formed; but after a more or less active life of eight or nine years it went out of existence in the fall of 1899, for want of interest and support.

In 1894 the Council of Jewish Women was organized by the federation of the older women's societies—the Benevolent Society, the Sewing Society, the Personal Service Society, and others. This organization joined the National Council of Jewish Women in 1896, and has since become an active power in educational and philanthropic work. It assumes the care of the sick poor, and in this works jointly with the older society, the Hebrew Relief

The Jewish lodges in Cleveland are as follows: Independent Order B'nai B'rith, 3; Independent Order Sons of Benjamin, 9; Order B'rith Abraham, 5; Order Kesher Shel Barzel, 2; Independent Order Free Sons of Israel, 2; Order Knights of Joseph, 7. The B'nai B'rith lodges now form Cleveland Lodge, No. 16. There are also several Zionist societies and two newspapers, "The Jewish Review and Observer," an amalgamation of the "Hebrew Observer," founded in 1888, and the "Jewish Review," founded 1893; and a Yiddish paper which has led a precarious existence under various names, and is now (1903) appearing as the "Jewish Free Press."

In a total population of about 400,000, estimates place the number of Jews between 15,000 and 25,000.

Of these not more than 7,000 to 9,000 are permanently affiliated with any religious organization.

The older part of the community is rapidly increasing in wealth and importance, an extensive cloak and clothing manufacturing interest being almost entirely under its control. Its members are also well represented among the prominent merchants, and in law, medicine, art, and music.

Social Status.

The younger part of the community, the Russian and Polish element, is also rapidly forging to the front. Some of its earlier arrivals have already attained to affluence; and they also are well represented in the medical profession. The majority, however, are still small tradesmen and pedlers, with a good percentage of tailors, cloak-makers, cigar-makers, carpenters, shoemakers, plumbers, etc.

Temple of Tifereth Israel Congregation, Cleveland, O.
(From a photograph.)

The early struggles of the Jews of Cleveland were perhaps more severe than those of other communities, and development was slower. It is indeed only within the last decade that university education has become fairly general; and perhaps it is for this reason that Cleveland has not given more Jews of prominence to the world. The best known now living here is Dr. Marcus Rosenwasser, for some years dean of the Wooster Medical College, and for many years professor of abdominal surgery in the Cleveland College of Physicians and Surgeons. In the early days Benjamin F. Peixotto was a resident and active communal worker here. Simon Wolf also lived here for some years. Besides these the community boasts of but two famous sons—the artists George P. M. Peixotto and Louis Loeb.

The religious attitude of the community differs but little from that of others in the West, save perhaps in that the Reform movement has advanced more rapidly in Cleveland than elsewhere. All shades and varieties of Judaism are to be found, from the most rigidly Orthodox to the ultra-radical Reform—on the one hand, an unswerving adherence to tradition; on the other, at Tifereth Israel synagogue, now called "The Temple," almost an entire abolition of it. The Temple congregation worships on Sunday, a large number of its attendance being non-Jews. It has abolished the reading of the Torah and practically all Hebrew from its service and Sabbath-school. Its Sabbath school session is held on Sunday afternoon. In its house of worship are given regular public courses of lectures and entertainments. It has a public library and reading-room; and recently a large, well-equipped gymnasium, with baths, has been added.

Bibliography: *Anniversary Souvenir of the Anshe Chesed Congregation*, 1896; *Souvenir Tifereth Israel Congregation*, 1900.

A. S. Wol.

CLIMATION or **ACCLIMATIZATION:** The adaptation of the individual to a new climate. It has been observed that when people emigrate to a strange country, even when the new climate differs but little from that of the mother country, there occurs a transformation which affects the entire organism. It has been shown by Virchow that it is not only the individual who is affected by a prolonged sojourn away from his native country, but his posterity as well. At present one of the most urgent problems confronting modern statesmen and sociologists is whether Europeans can emigrate to other climates, particularly the tropics, live healthful lives, and perpetuate their kind and ethnic type there (see C. H. Pearson, "National Life"; B. Kidd, "Control of the Tropics," p. 79, note).

The Jews furnish perhaps the best statistics for solving the problem of climation. They live, thrive, perpetuate their kind, and preserve their identity in almost every climate. Many students of the problem of acclimatization have shown that the Jews are a cosmopolitan race (see particularly Boudin, "Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie," i. 117).

Jews an Example.

Andree aptly says that "the Jew is able to acclimatize himself with equal facility in hot and in cold latitudes, and to exist without the assistance of native races. He lasts from generation to generation, in Surinam (Dutch Guiana) or in Malabar (India), tropical climates where Europeans, in the course of time, die out unless they are constantly reenforced by immigration from the mother country" ("Zur Volkskunde der Juden," pp. 70, 71). In Algiers, where the French find it so difficult to adapt themselves, the Jews are known to prosper and multiply, as the following figures show:

Year.	Mortality per 1,000 Population.	
	Europeans.	Jews.
1844	44.6	21.6
1845	45.5	36.1
1847	50.0	31.5
1848	42.5	23.4
1849	105.9	56.9

The climation of the Jews in Algiers appears the more striking in view of the following figures for the year 1856, given by Boudin (*l.c.* p. 119), showing the relation of the birth-rate to the death-rate among the Jews in comparison with Europeans and the native Mohammedans:

	Births.	Deaths.
Europeans	1,234	1,553
Mohammedans	331	514
Jews	211	187

A similar vitality and power of acclimatization are shown by the Jews in India (for statistics see M. Legoyt, "De Certaines Immunités Biostatiques de la Race Juive," pp. 21–24), in the tropical countries of South America (Montano, "L'Hygiène et les Tropiques," in "Bulletin de la Société de Géographie," series 6, xv. 418–451), in the southern portion of the United States, and in Cuba. The same holds good in South Africa and Australia.

Extremes of Temperature.

A. R. Wallace considers the Jews "a good example of acclimatization because they have been established for many centuries in climates very different from that of their native land; they keep themselves almost wholly free from intermixture with the people around them. . . . They have, for instance, attained a population of near two millions [at present nearly six millions] in such severe climates as Poland and Russia; and according to Mr. Brace ('Races of the Old World,' p. 185), their increase in Sweden is said to be greater than that of the Christian population; in the towns of Algeria they are the only race able to maintain its numbers; and in Cochin China and Aden they succeed in rearing and forming permanent communities" ("Acclimatization," in "Encyclopædia Britannica," 9th ed., vol. i.).

It is important to note that wherever they live the Jews preserve their peculiar typical Semitic features, and in most cases also their habits of life.

Felkin ("Can Europeans Become Acclimatized in Tropical Africa?" in "Scottish Geographical Magazine," ii. 653) states that it is probably due to a certain amount of Semitic blood that the southern Europeans possess in a higher degree the power of adapting themselves to a subtropical climate. Discussing the overwhelming superiority in adaptability of the Maltese over the Spaniard, Virchow says that it is derived from the mixture of foreign (Semitic) blood ("Ueber Akklimatisation," in "Verhandlungen der Versammlung der Naturforscher und Aerzte in Strassburg," 1885).

Investigation tends to show that even a little Semitic blood in the veins of nations is a great help in acclimatization, and that the power to adapt themselves to a strange climate is a racial trait of the Jews. Another important point is that while other white races find it advantageous to climation to intermarry with the native races, and while many have shown that this is absolutely necessary for successful climation, the Jews do not, as a rule, inter-marry with their neighbors, and still adapt themselves easily to new climatic conditions. See Intermarriage.

Suggested Causes.

Some consider that the superior power of climation of the Jews is a racial trait, acquired by their constant migrations, and even their temporary stay in Egypt; and their slow progression ("petit acclimatement") is stated by Bertillon ("Acclimatement," in "Dictionnaire des Sciences Anthropologiques," Paris, 1884) to have had its influence on their power of climation. But Schellong ("Akklimatisation," in Weyl's "Handbuch der Hygiene," i. 334) points out that the center of dispersion of the Jews was in the countries near the Mediterranean, whence they have slowly penetrated into the heart of Europe (an opinion not shared by all authorities on the subject); and that in this manner they have reached the northern countries of Europe, their progression being constantly in the direction of the colder regions, for which less aptitude for climation is necessary.

Another point especially worthy of notice is the fact that the Jews in the tropical countries are not engaged in pursuits requiring much exertion and exposure to the hot rays of the sun. This is especially emphasized by Ripley ("Races of Europe," p. 563), who says that Jews confining all their activities to shops in the towns can not be compared with others who take up the cultivation of the soil.

Another view of the question of the causes of the Jew's power of climation is that his sobriety, purity of home life, and freedom from vicious habits contribute largely to his easy adaptation to a new climate. That there is a great deal of truth in this can not be denied, because it is well known that immigrants in tropical countries are prone to do things which they would not even think of amid the restraints of home life. The English (according to Wallace), who can not give up animal food and the use of spirituous liquors, are less able to sustain the heat of the tropics than the more sober Spaniards and Portuguese. The Boers in South Africa are another example of a people who keep sober and prosper in a tropical land. The sobriety of the Jew is admitted by all, and has undoubtedly a great influence on his adaptability to new climates, although this adaptability seems to be a racial characteristic of the Semites, not dependent upon the merely negative virtue of sober and temperate living.

Bibliography: R. Virchow, *Akklimatisation*, in *Verh. Berl. Gesell. für Anthropologie und Ethnologie*, 1885, p. 202; A. R. Wallace, *Acclimatization*, in *Encyclop. Britannica*; A. Bertillon, *Acclimatement*, in *Dictionnaire des Sciences Anthropologiques*, Paris, 1884; Boudin, *Traité de Géographie et de Statistique Médicale*, Paris, 1857; O. Schellong, *Akklimatisation*, in Weyl's *Handbuch der Hygiene*, Jena, 1894; W. Z. Ripley, *Races of Europe*, New York, 1899.

J. M. Fr.

CLISSON: Town in the department of Loire-Inférieure, France, formerly belonging to the province of Brittany. Clisson was a center of Jewish learning, several renowned scholars having resided there; and its name, variously written קולצון, קלצון, לצון, קלבון, קלאצוף, קלצין, occurs in the Hebrew writings of the thirteenth century. Its most prominent scholars were: (1) the Tosafist Joseph, called also "Joseph the Jerusalemite"; (2) Meïr Clisson, mentioned as a Biblical commentator in the commentary "Zofnat Pa'neaḥ"; (3) Isaac of Clisson, mentioned in the "Semaḳ"; (4) Jacob, mentioned by Mordecai ben Hillel.

Bibliography: Zunz, *Literaturgesch. der Synagogalen Poesie*, p. 612; Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, pp. 594 *et seq.*

G. I. Br.

CLOAK. See Mantle.

CLOUD.—Biblical Data: The Hebrew equivalents for "cloud" are: (1) "'Anan," (Gen. ix. 13, 14; Ex. xiii., *passim*), which occurs once in the feminine

form "'ananah" (Job iii. 5), and once in the Aramaic form ענן (Dan. vii. 13). (2) "'Ab" is generally used in the poetic books instead of the more prosaic "'anan" (Job xxxvi. 29; xxxvii. 11, 16; I Kings xviii. 44; Isa. v. 6, etc.). (3) "Shaḥaḳ," a purely poetic form, occurring frequently in the plural, but only twice in the singular (Ps. lxxxix. 7, 38), is used for "heavens" (Job xxxvii. 15; Ps. lxxxix. 7, 38). In Deut. xxxiii. 26; Isa. xlv. 8; Jer. li. 9; Job xxxv. 5, xxxviii. 37; Ps. xxxvi. 5, lvii. 11, cviii. 5, it is used as a parallel for "heaven." (4) "'Arafel," a thick, heavy, dark cloud (Deut. iv. 11, v. 22; II Chron. vi. 1; Job xxii. 13, xxxviii. 9; Isa. lx. 2). (5) "Nesi'im," rendered "vapors" in Jer. x. 13, li. 16. Ps. cxxxv. 7 seems to echo Jer. x. 13 and li. 16, having a very similar phraseology. "Nesi'im" occurs also in Prov. xxv. 14, "clouds and wind and no rain."

In the peculiar climatic conditions of Palestine clouds were an important feature. The year was divided into a rainy season, from October to May, and a dry season, from May to October. During the rainless season not only was there no rain, but not even a cloud appeared in the heavens (I Sam. xii. 17, 18), and when the rain-cloud did appear it arose gradually from the west—that is, from the sea—and then the heavens were darkened and a tremendous downpour followed (I Kings xviii. 45). Many figurative expressions are derived from the qualities of the clouds. They are driven across the sky very quickly; hence it is said that the enemy "shall come up as the clouds" (Isa. xix. 1, ix. 8; Jer. iv. 13). Job complains of his welfare passing away as the cloud (Job xxx. 15). Here, too, is the thought that the cloud leaves no trace behind it. Originating from this thought is the phrase in Isa. xliv. 22, "I have blotted out, as a thick cloud, thy transgressions." The clouds of the rainy season foreshadow the rain, hence symbolize a favor bestowed (Prov. xvi. 15). In the dry season the dew-cloud revives the dried vegetation; God's favor is therefore pictured as the dew (Hosea xiv. 5). The blackness of the clouds betokens misfortune (Ezek. xxx. 18; Lam. ii. 1), and even a curse, as in Job iii. 5.

Clouds are frequently pictured as hiding God from man and as intercepting man's petitions (Lam. iii. 44; Job xxii. 13, 14). In Job xxvi. 8 there is the strong figure of the cloud used to bind up and contain the waters. As direct manifestations of God, the clouds are His chariots (Ps. civ. 3; Isa. xix. 1). When God appeared over Mount Sinai it was in clouds and thunder and lightning. A cloud covered the mercy-seat (Lev. xvi. 2) in the Tabernacle, and later on it rested over the Temple (I Kings viii. 10, 11; II Chron. v. 13, 14). A pillar of cloud accompanied the Ark, showing the way by day through the wilderness (Ex. xiii., *passim*). See Rainbow.

J. G. B. L.

—**In Rabbinical Literature:** The observation of clouds for the purpose of divination (עונן) was one of the forbidden methods of forecasting the future (Lev. xix. 26). Notwithstanding this, the pillar of cloud of the altar was observed for that purpose in the Temple on New-Year's or Atonement Day (compare Yoma 21b.; B.B. 147a), the direction which the pillar of cloud took being thought to indicate what part of the land would be blessed with plenty during the year (Lev. R. xx.; compare Abraham's forecasting of the year while observing the stars on New-Year's eve [Book of Jubilees, xii. 16]). A cloud stationary over the top of Mount Moriah, betraying the presence of the Shekinah, was the means by which Abraham recognized "the place afar off" (Gen. xxii. 4; Gen. R. lvi.; Tan., Wayera, 46; Pirḳe R. El. xxxi.; Targ. Yer. to the passage). A cloud over the entrance to the tent of Sarah also indicated the presence of the Shekinah (Gen. R. lx.).

Of Moses it is narrated that when he was about to ascend to heaven, a cloud came to meet him, and, forming about him, carried him up (Pesiḳ. R. 20; ed. Friedmann, p. 96). God wrapped Moses in a cloud to protect him when the angels of heaven, who were jealous of him, wanted to cast him down (Ex. R. xli., xlii.). The cloud of the divine glory also appeared at Aaron's death on Mount Hor, and gradually covered him until he disappeared from before Moses (Yalḳuṭ, Mas'ʿe, § 787). Moses was sanctified by the cloud so that he could receive the Law from God on Sinai (Ab. R. N. i.). When Moses' life was drawing to an end, the cloud of glory surrounded his successor, Joshua, at the gate of the tent, and Moses, standing outside, felt that his leadership was transferred to Joshua (Jellinek, "B. H." i. 116). Josephus ("Ant." iv. 8, § 48) relates of Moses' end that after he had dismissed the elders and was still discoursing with Eleazar, the high priest, and Joshua, a cloud suddenly stood over him and he disappeared (compare Samaritan Book of Joshua, vi.).

The clouds carried along from the River Pishon in paradise the precious stones for the ephod and the high priest's breastplate, as well as the sweet odors, the sacred oil, the balsam for the candlestick, and the ointment and incense for the Tabernacle (Targ. Yer. to Ex. xxxv. 27, 28, the word נשיאים, used in the passage, denoting both "princes" and "clouds"). The clouds spoken of in Isa. lx. 8 ("Who are these that fly as a cloud?") are miraculous clouds, carrying the righteous every morning and evening from all parts of the world to the Temple at Jerusalem, so that they may participate in the divine service (Pesiḳ. R. 1.; compare I Thess. iv. 17: "We which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them [the angels] in the cloud to meet the Lord in the air").

The cloud of divine glory which carries the Son of man in the Messianic vision (Dan. vii. 13) has given rise to the identification of Anani, the descendant of David (I Chron. iii. 24), with the Messiah as "the one who will come down from the clouds" (see Targ. and Sanh. 92b: בר נפלי [*νεφέλη*], "the son of the cloud"; hence Matt. xxiv. 30, *passim*).

Clouds of a miraculous character appeared to R. Ḥiyya ben Luliani in the time of a drought, saying to one another: "Come, let us bring rain to Ammon and Moab" (Ta'an. 25a). For the cloud-vision in the Baruch Apocalypse (liii. *et seq.*), see Baruch, Apocalypse of.

Regarding the origin and nature of the clouds, R. Eliezer holds, pointing to Gen. ii. 6 and Job xxxvi. 28, that the clouds above sweeten the water rising from the ocean as mist, while R. Joshua, referring to Deut. xi. 11 and Job xxxvi. 37, says that the

clouds form a receptacle through which the water coming from above pours down as through a sieve; whence the name "sheḥakim" (grinders), as they "grind" the water into single rain-drops (Gen. R. xiii.; compare Bacher, "Die Agada der Tannaiten," i. 136). These views seem to have given rise to another controversy between R. Johanan and R. Simon b. Laḳish, the former referring to Dan. vii. 13, the latter to Ps. cxxxv. 7 (Gen. R. *l.c.*). The five Biblical names for "cloud" are explained: "'ab" = the cloud thickening the upper atmosphere; "ed" = the cloud bringing, in the form of rain, "calamity" upon corn-speculators; "'anan" = the cloud rendering people "pleasant" toward one another through prosperity; "nesi'im" = the cloud rendering people "princes," either by benefiting all or by favoring some; "ḥaziz" = the "shining" cloud causing men to have "visions" (Gen. R. *l.c.*, and Yer. Ta'an. iii. 66c).

S. S. K.

CLOUD, PILLAR OF (עמוד הענן, Ex. xiii. 21). —**Biblical Data:** When Israel was marching through the wilderness, YHWH, wrapped in a pillar of cloud, preceded the people in order to show them the right way. During the night the cloud turned into a pillar of fire (Ex. xiii. 21; xiv. 19, 24; Num. xiv. 15; Deut. i. 33; compare Ps. lxxviii. 14; Neh. ix. 12, 19). On one occasion the pillar of cloud moved behind the Israelites in order to shield them from the pursuing Egyptians (Ex. xiv. 19, 24).

The historic basis of this account is doubtless found in the frequently mentioned custom of carrying fire before an army on the march, so that the route might be indicated by day by the rising smoke and after nightfall by the light. When Alexander was marching through Babylonia and Susiana he gave the signal for his army to set out, not by trumpet, but by means of a long pole fastened above the chief tent, on which a fire burned by night, and from which smoke rose by day (Curtius, v. 2, 7). Thrasybulus, leading home banished men through untrodden regions, was preceded at night by a fire (compare Clement of Alexandria, "Stromata," ed. Colon, i. 348). In Arabia to-day iron vessels filled with burning wood are carried on long poles at the head of caravans (compare Harmer, "Beobachtungen," i. 348; Pococke, in "Morgenland," ii. 51). Since YHWH is Israel's leader, and clouds and fire signify His presence (Ex. iii. 2, xix. 9), smoke and fire are transformed into cloud and firelight.

E. G. H. W. N.

——**In Rabbinical Literature:** The Haggadah, taking the words "I placed the children of Israel in tents" ("sukkot," Lev. xxiii. 43) in an allegorical sense as signifying that the Israelites were surrounded with clouds for protection, and the name of the city Sukkot (Ex. xii. 37, xiii. 20) as the place where they were covered with clouds (see Mek., Bo, xiv.; Mek., Beshallaḥ, i.), mentions not one, but seven, "clouds of glory" as having accompanied Israel on its march through the desert (ענני כבוד); namely, one on each of the four sides, and one above, one below, and one in front of, these four. According to another passage there were even thirteen clouds, two on each side, two above, two below, and one in front. Others, again, speak of only four, or of two (Mek., Beshallaḥ, i.; Sifre, Num. 83). The cloud in front prepared the way by leveling the heights and depths (see ARNON), killing the snakes, and making the way pleasant. These "clouds of glory" prevented the garments of the Israelites from becoming soiled or worn during the forty years in the wilderness (Pesiḳ., ed. Buber, x. 32a; compare the parallel passages in Buber, *l.c.*). They were combined with the standards of the twelve tribes as follows: a strip of the seventh cloud, on which the initials of the names of the three patriarchs flashed in heavenly light, rested on the standard of the tribe of Judah, while a second strip of the same cloud, on which the second letters of the names of the three patriarchs flashed, rested on the standard of the tribe of Reuben; the standards of the tribes of Ephraim and Dan were similarly distinguished by strips of the seventh cloud. Hence the first strip of cloud bore the letters אי; the second strip, בצע; the third, רחק; and the fourth, מקב, the name of Abraham being spelled without the letter ה, and appearing on these strips of cloud as "Abram." This ה combined with י and forming the name of God (יה), appeared on the pillar of cloud that hovered over the Ark of the Covenant. During the seven days of the week the pillar of cloud went the rounds of all the camps of Israel, giving light as the sun by day and as the moon by night. When God wished the Israelites to remove their camps, the cloud on which the letters יה were marked moved upward from the Ark of the Covenant. The four other strips of cloud followed after it, and as soon as the priests noticed these clouds following in the wake of the first, they blew their trumpets as the signal to continue the journey ("The Chronicles of Jerahmeel," pp. 149–157; a slightly different version is found in the description of the cloud in the "Ḳanah," ed. Korez, p. 32b–c). These clouds receded from the Israelites when they had committed sins, and thus failed to protect them; this happened in the case of the tribe of Dan, which, having been guilty of idolatry, was assailed by Amalek, and many were slain (Mek., Beshallaḥ, Amalek, 1). Compare FIRE, PILLAR OF; STANDARD.

E. C. L. G.

——**Critical View:** An account somewhat different from that in the two earlier sources of the Pentateuch, J and E, is found in the latest source, the Priestly Code. The latter never speaks of a pillar, but merely of a cloud, and this appeared only after the erection of the Tabernacle, which it covered by day, while by night it contained fire, which was perceived on the Tabernacle and taken as an omen. When the cloud rose the Israelites broke camp, and when it was lowered they set up their tents (compare Ex. lx. 34 *et seq.*; Num. ix. 15 *et seq.*, x. 11 *et seq.*, xvii. 7). Hence the conception in the Priestly Code seems to be based on the idea of the continually burning altar-fire in the tent (compare Dillmann, on Ex. xiii. 21).

E. G. H. W. N.

COAL: Expressed in the Bible by two words, פחם (Prov. xxvi. 21; Isa. xliv. 12, liv. 16) and

גחלת, גחלים (Ps. xviii. 9 [A. V. 8]; Prov. xxv. 22). Since גחל means "to glow" or "to burn," גחלים probably means "the glowing," and פחם, "black coal" (compare Prov. xxvi. 21), although this distinction does not always obtain (Isa. xliv. 12, liv. 16). Of course, charcoal is always meant, which was made of tamarisk and broom, the kind formed of the thick roots of the latter (רתם) giving an especially strong and lasting heat, and being still much sought in the East (Robinson, "Biblical Researches in Palestine," i. 203; Germ. ed., iii. 683). According to Jer. vi. 29, the flame was fanned by a bellows (מפח), probably the ancient variety worked with the feet and hands; but in a picture found in Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians," iii. 339, the Egyptians are shown using for that purpose long reeds protected against the flame by long metal points.

Though the coal-fire was used chiefly for cooking food, and for baking bread, meat, and fish (Isa. xliv. 19), it was also used for heating the homes. In the winter, live coals were placed in a brazier standing in the middle of the room (אח, Jer. xxxvi. 22; כיור אש, Zech. xii. 6); in the houses of the poor they were placed in a hole in the floor. As there were no chimneys, the smoke found vent either through the door or through the grated window (ארבה), which was generally rather high in the wall (Hosea xiii. 3).

The word "coal" is often used in a metaphorical sense: II Sam. xiv. 7 speaks of the "quenching of the coal" of a man, meaning the complete annihilation of his issue; while in Prov. xxv. 22 kindness bestowed upon an enemy is called "heaping coals of fire upon his head," since it tends to waken his deadened conscience and help him to realize his wrong. Ecclus. (Sirach) viii. 10 compares the smoldering and easily roused passion of the godless man to the coal that is easily lighted and breaks forth into flame.

E. G. H. W. N.

COAT: An outer garment with sleeves, for the upper part of the body; in the Bible it is an article of dress for both men and women, worn next to the skin, and is distinct from the "cloak," or outer garment (compare Matt. v. 40); either "shirt" or "tunic" would be a more correct rendering. The Hebrew has "kuttonet," rarely "ketonet," which is sometimes translated "robe" or "garment" (Isa. xxii. 21; Neh. vii. 70, 72; II Sam. xiii. 18, 19; Ezra ii. 69). "Kuttonet" is a word of doubtful etymology (coming, perhaps, from a root meaning "to clothe"), but its cognate forms are found in Arabic ("kattan"), Ethiopic ("ketân"), Assyrian ("kitinnê"), and Greek ("chitôn").

Originally (Gen. iii. 21) the garment worn by the Hebrews was a simple loin-cloth of leaves or skins, like that adopted by Elijah (II Kings i. 8, "girdle of leather"; compare the use of the "puntî" on the border of the Red Sea: Müller, "Asien und Europa," p. 108). In course of time this developed into a short shirt, with an aperture for the head to pass through, and was gradually lengthened to the knees (especially when used by women), and sometimes to the ankles. Even tunics with trains are mentioned (Isa. vi. 1; Jer. xiii. 22; Nahum iii. 5). The shirt was made at first without sleeves, and also failed to cover the left shoulder (see Müller, *l.c.* pp. 296 *et seq.*). The working classes continued to wear the "primitive loin-cloth" (Müller, *ib.* p. 297), or the sleeveless coat, as this allowed full freedom of movement for both arms and legs. When the shirt was long, a belt or girdle was worn over it, partly for the purpose of holding it together, but mainly to enable the wearer to tuck in the laps when running, walking, or working.

The expression "mouth of the coat" can not be understood to mean that the shirt had a collar. It denotes simply the opening at the top, fitting closely round the neck (Job xxx. 18). At night (Cant. v. 3) this undergarment was taken off. Later, as outer garments came into use, one clothed only with the kuttonet was considered to be "naked." As a sign of mourning, originally, every article of dress was removed, and cuts were made in the flesh; but as soon as the wearing of the kuttonet alone came to be regarded as equivalent to "nakedness," that garment was rent to express grief (II Sam. xv. 32; compare Morris Jastrow, in "Journal of the American Oriental Society," xxi. 23, 39; and see CUTTINGS). That a loin-girdle was regarded as equally inadequate with the kuttonet is shown in Talmudic allusions (Shab. 62b; Soṭah 9a; Esth. R. 104b).

The more luxurious classes of society—*e.g.*, women of royal blood (II Sam. xiii. 18, 19) and men of leisure—wore tunics with sleeves. This is the meaning of the Hebrew "passim" occurring in the description of the garment presented to Joseph by his father (Gen. xxxvii. 3). It was not "of many colors" (see Septuagint); the color of the shirt worn even by those of high rank was yellow, or red, or black (Müller, *l.c.* pp. 297–299); the upper garment, wound spirally round the body, was of blue and red, and showed various patterns, like those worked into rugs; but its significance lay in the fact that the sleeves (Targ. and Bereshit R. parashah 84) marked the favorite son, who was absolved from work. These sleeves sometimes extended only to the elbow-joint; when they covered the whole length of the arm, the lower part was, as a rule, richly ornamented with fringe. Whether or not the common shirt had seams is not clear. The more costly shirts appear to have been sewed together, the seams, especially those round the neck, being heavily covered with embroidered strips (Müller, *l.c.* pp. 298, 299). The materials from which these tunics were made were wool—woven by the women—flax, and, for the more costly ones, worn by officials, both secular and sacerdotal (Ezek. xxvii. 16; Isa. xxii. 21), imported Egyptian byssus ("shesh," Gen. xli. 42; Ex. xxviii. 39; and "buẓ," Ezek. xxvii. 16).

In Mishnaic times this coat, or shirt, was still worn. It is found under the name "onḳali" ("nokli," Yer. Shab. 15d), which sometimes seems to denote a garment worn by women, and is correctly explained in the "'Aruk" as "a thin article of apparel worn next to the skin" (compare also Meg. 24b; Sanh. 82b; M. Ḳ. 24a). It was, however, provided with sleeves (Brüll, "Trachten der Juden"; Krauss, "Lehnwörter," *s.v.*). "Sarbalin" in Dan. iii. 21 is not "coat," but "trousers." (See COSTUMES IN BIBLICAL TIMES).

E. G. H. G. B. L.—E. G. H.

COAT OF ARMS: Armorial bearings of families to which the right to bear arms has been granted by the recognized heraldic authorities. This right is in a heraldic sense distinctly feudal in character; and it seems to have originated, toward the end of the twelfth century, in the international relations during the Crusades, which rendered it desirable to introduce some system into the devices on shields. As Jews had no recognized position in the feudal system after this period, they could not use these devices, though for some time they were ranked with nobles, and had the right of deciding their disputes by duel. Consequently, no Jewish coats of arms were recognized by the heralds in the Middle Ages; though rich Jewish families of means used devices, as is shown by the occurrence of heraldic SEALS.

The first recorded Jewish coat of arms is that of Bassevi von Treuenfeld, which was granted by the German emperor Ferdinand II. Jan. 18, 1622. Grätz ("Gesch." x. 37) blazons his shield a blue lion, eight red stars in a blue field, thus committing one of the most elementary heraldic blunders in thus putting color upon color. The true blazon will be found below. In the same year two Jewish envoys from Candia arrived at Venice bringing with them designs practically the same as coats of arms. One of these (Samuel Abdala) is figured below; but it is unlikely that they were granted by any heraldic

Arms of Samuel Abdala.
(From the "Jewish Chronicle.")

authority, since one of the envoys had a device referring to his given, and not his family, name.

The practise of bearing coats of arms became more general among the Jews at the time of the Maranos. When a Jew became converted in Spain, he was generally adopted by some noble family, and thereby obtained the right to bear the family arms. In this way many Jewish families gained the right to shields, which they carried with them to Holland, and had carved on their tombstones, even after they had repudiated Christianity, which had given them the right to such shields. It would appear that at an even earlier period certain Spanish Jews had adopted arms; since there is on record the elaborate seal of the Halevis of Toledo, bearing the triple-turreted castle of Castile, a device afterward adopted by the earl of Beaconsfield.

Sephardic Coats of Arms.

Arms of the Halevi Family.
(In the British Museum.)

In more recent times a grant of arms has lost its feudal significance; and it now merely implies that the grantee is a person of some wealth who desires to have the same external trappings as other persons in his social position. Jews have occasionally yielded to this desire, and a certain number of coats of arms have been granted in England by the heraldic authorities. Besides these, those Jews who have been received into the ranks of the nobility on the continent of Europe have, as a matter of course, been granted armorial bearings, which are recorded in the usual works on heraldry. There is rarely anything distinctively Jewish in the coats of arms thus granted. Occasionally, as with the Montefiores and the Sassoons, a Hebrew word is used; but as a rule the ordinary heraldic signs are utilized.

The subjoined list of coats of arms of Jewish families—the first that has been made—has been compiled from the standard works on heraldry of the respective countries, with occasional reference to Jewish books in which armorial bearings sporadically occur. The full titles of the works cited under names of authors at the end of each blazon are as follows:

Almanac de Gotha. Gotha, 1900–02.
Annuaire de la Noblesse de France (cited as "Annuaire"). Paris, 1897, 1902.
Burke, John.—A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry or Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland. 4 vols. London, 1836–38.
—— Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies of England, Ireland, and Scotland (cited as "Burke's Extinct Baronetcies"). 2d ed., London, 1844.
—— Peerage, Baronetage, and Knightage (cited as "Burke's Peerage"). London, 1898.
—— History of the Landed Gentry. 2 vols. London, 1894.
Burke, Sir John Bernard.—The General Armory of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, with a Supplement (cited in Jacobs' "General Armory"). London, 1883.
Castro, D. Henriques de.—Keur van Grafsteenen op de Nederl. Portug. Ysrael. Begraafplaats te Ouderkerk aan den Amstel. Part i., Leyden, 1883.
Costa, Isaac da.—Adellijke Geslachten Onder de Israelieten, in "Ysrael en de Volken," pp. 460–537. 2d ed., Utrecht, 1876.
Debrett.—House of Commons and the Judicial Bench. London, 1896.
—— Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage, and Companionage (cited as "Debrett's Peerage"). London, 1901.
Fairbairn.—Book of Crests of the Families of Great Britain and Ireland (cited as "Fairbairn's Crests"). 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1892.
Foster, Joseph.—Collectanea Genealogica. 4 vols. Privately printed, London and Aylesbury, 1883–85.
Fox-Davies, Arthur Charles.—Armorial Families. Edinburgh, 1895.

Freiherrliches Taschenbuch. Gotha, 1902.
Gräfliches Taschenbuch. Gotha, 1899.
Jewish Year Book. London, 1900–02.
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Maichol, D. de.—Dictionnaire Historique et Héraldique de la Noblesse Française. 3 vols. Paris, 1895–97.
Piferrer, D. Francisco.—Nobiliario de los Reinos y Seniorios de España. 2d ed., 6 vols. Madrid, 1857–60.
Rietstap, I. B.—Armorial Général, Precedé d'un Dictionnaire des Termes du Blason (cited as "Rietstap"). 2d ed., 2 vols. Gouda, 1887.
—— Wapenboek van den Nederlandschen Adel (cited as "Rietstap, Wapenboek"). 2 vols. Groningen, 1883–87.
Siebmacher, I.—Grosses und Allgemeines Wappenbuch. Nuremberg, 1856–86.
Vorsterman van Oijen.—Stam-en-Wapenboek van Aanzienlijke Nederlandsche Familien. 3 vols. Groningen, 1885–90.
Walford, E.—County Families of the United Kingdom. 37th annual issue. London, 1897.
Wurzbach, Constant von.—Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich. 59 vols. Vienna, 1856–89.

Coats of Arms of Jewish Families.

Abarbanel (Spain, Portugal, Holland): Argent, a lion gules, rampant, toward a tower gules. [Rietstap, i. 1; Da Costa, p. 511.]

Abarbanel de Sousa (Portugal): Quarterly, 1 and 4, argent, a lion gules, rampant, toward a tower gules (for Abarbanel); 2 and 3, argent, four crescents, appointé, affronté, gules (1. 2. 1) (for Sousa). [Rietstap; Da Costa, *ib.*]

Abarbanel da Veiga (Portugal): Quarterly, gules, an eagle argent; argent, three fleurs-de-lis azure. [*Ib.*]

Abdala (Corfu, 1622; grant for Samuel Abdala): Divided, dexter, in an outstretched hand the goblet for the Ḳiddush in a field azure; sinister, in an outstretched hand a twig of myrtle (which in Corfu supplies the place of the spice-box), in a field or. ["Jewish Chronicle," Sept. 19, 1902, pp. 23–25, 55. See illustration on page 125.]

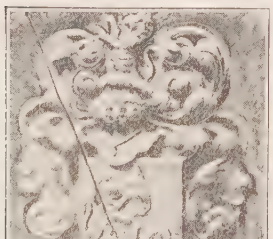
Abendana (Amsterdam): Two swords, put in saltier, the hilts below. Crest: Upon a helmet two ostrich-plumes. [Jewish Encyclopedia, i. 52.]

Abendana: An eagle upon a bolt of lightning, surrounded by a sun. Crest: A sinister hand. Colors or metals unknown. [Da Costa, p. 513.]

Aboab: Or, five stars, 2. 1. 2, put saltier-like (see Frontispiece, Fig. 4). [Piferrer, i. 21; compare Da Costa, p. 515.]

Aboab (Altona, Hamburg): A house or fortress with cannon and banner. ["Ost und West," Aug., 1902, p. 534, from Grunwald, "Portugiesengräber," 1902.]

Abolais (Portugal, Holland): Divided, 1, a lion rampant toward 2, half of a tree, a rose in the point. Crest: A lion issuant, turned the reverse way (dexter). Colors unknown. Date, 5392 = 1632. [De Castro, plate xiv.]



Abolais.

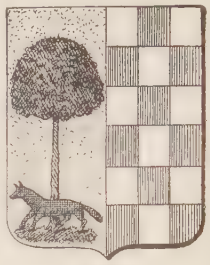
Abravanel: Per bend, charged with a star (8 points) between two arrows, the points upward, accompanied by two stars (8). Crest: Upon a helmet two serpents entwined, combatant. Colors unknown. [Jewish Encyclopedia, i. 127.]

Acosta (Spain, Portugal, Holland): Quarterly, 1, or, a mountain, surmounted by a plantation of reeds, proper; 2, gules, a duck natant, proper; 3, gules, a hill, surmounted by a towered castle argent, embattlements azure; at the entrance to the castle a pomegranate, half opened, proper; 4, azure, five stars (8) argent (2. 1. 2), saltier-like. [Piferrer, i. 17; Rietstap, i. 7.]

Aguilar (Spain): Gules, an eagle sable, holding in its beak a shield gules, charged with three bars or. [Rietstap, i. 16; Piferrer's plate gives shield in center of the eagle.]

Aguilar or **D'Aguilar** (London, Spain, Portugal): Gules, an eagle or, surmounted by a bezant argent; in a chief argent, three hills sinople, surmounted each by a pear or, stem and leaves sinople. Crest: A lion issuant or, charged by a bezant argent. [Rietstap, i. 16.]

Alvarez (Spain, Holland): Per pale, 1, or, a tree sinople, at the base of the trunk a wolf sable; 2, checky argent and gules. [Piferrer, iv., No. 1573.]



Alvarez.

Andrade or **D'Andrade** (Spain, etc.): Or, five wolves passant sable (2. 2. 1). [Rietstap, ii. 47.]

Arnstein, Arnsteiner (Austria; creation: knight 1793; baron 1793–98): Quarterly, 1 and 4, azure, an eagle argent; 2 and 3, argent, a fess azure, charged by a sun or. Over all, sable, a crown or, surmounted by a bunch of five ostrich-plumes or. Two crests: (1) Wings, alternately azure and argent. Lambrequins: Argent and azure. (2) Five ostrich-plumes or. Lambrequins: Or and sable. [Rietstap, i. 69; Kneschke, i. 114.]

Asser (Amsterdam): Azure, a bend argent, a border or, sometimes charged by four "A's" sable, put in the cantons. Supporters: Two lions regardant, proper. [Rietstap, i. 76.]

Avernas-le-Gras. See Suasso and Lopez-Suasso-Diaz-Da Fonseca, below.

Azevedo (**Acebedo** = holly-tree) (Castile): Quarterly, 1 and 4, argent, a holly-tree sinople; 2 and 3, or, a wolf passant sable. The shield is surrounded by a border gules, charged with eight small saltiers or. [Rietstap, i. 92; Piferrer, iii., No. 1272.]

Azevedo.

Azevedo - Coutinho (Brabant): Quarterly, 1 and 4, or, a holly-tree sinople; 2 and 3, argent, a wolf passant sable. The shield is surrounded by a border gules, charged with a fleur-de-lis argent, and five hatchets argent, handles or. [Rietstap, i. 92.]

Bassevi von Treuenfeld.

Bassevi von Treuenfeld (Austria; creation Jan. 18, 1622): Sable, a bend argent, charged by three stars (5) gules, and accompanied by two lion-leopards or. Crest: A lion issuant or, between couped wings; dexter, argent and sable; sinister, or and gules. Lambrequins: Dexter, or and sable; sinister, argent and gules. [Rietstap, i. 128.]

Bebri (1673): In a shield, a sword, quiver with arrows and bow, with a cuirass. Crest: Upon the helmet of a prince (?) a cubit arm, dexter, holding a simitar. Colors not known. [De Castro, plate vi.]

Bebri.

Belmonte: Gules, a lion rampant or; in a chief azure, three roses argent. Crest: A bunch of ostrich-plumes (5). Supporters: Two vultures sable, collared argent, holding a standard. Motto: Virtute et fide. [Jewish Encyclopedia, ii. 665.]

Bernal (Spain, England): Gules, a horse courant argent, saddled and bridled azure. [Rietstap, i. 177.]

Bessels (Amsterdam): Azure, a fess, ondé, argent, accompanied by three stars or (1. 2); in the point of a chief a fleur-de-lis argent. [Rietstap, i. 188.]

Bleichroder (Prussia; creation March 8, 1872): Checkered of nine fields; five gules, four sable; the seams argent. Crest: Two wings sable and gules, each wing charged by a fess argent. Lambrequins: Dexter, argent and sable; sinister, argent and gules. [Rietstap, i. 205.]

Brito (Castile): Gules, nine lozenges argent (3. 3. 3), each lozenge charged by a lion gules. [Rietstap, i. 304; Piferrer, s.v.]

Bueno (1669): In a shield the tree of life, colors not known. [De Castro, plate v.]

Caceres-Solis (Seville, Spain, Holland): According to Rietstap: Or, a deer gules; a border comp. vairé and or. [Rietstap, i. 351.] According to Piferrer: Or, a sun gules (for Solis); a border comp. vairé argent and azure. [Piferrer, ii. 106.]

Cahen d'Anvers (France): Azure, a lion or, holding in his paws a harp or; a border argent, charged by eight billets azure. ["Annuaire," p. 385.]

Cahen d'Anvers, Marquis de Torre-Alfina (Italy; creation 1885): Divided by a seam argent, 1, gules, a tower argent, embattled with five pieces à la Guelph, surmounted by an alfa-plant arraché or; 2, azure, a lion or, holding a harp or; all surrounded by a border argent, brochant, and charged by eight billets azure. [*Ib.* p. 385.]

Camondo (Italy; creation April 28, 1867; arms of Abraham Salvator Camondo): Divided, 1, gules, six bezants or (3. 2. 1); 2, sinople, two hands joined together, habilé gules, issuing dexter and sinister from a cloud argent. A chief over all the division argent, charged by a fleur-de-lis fleuronné, accompanied by two stars, all azure. [*Ib.* p. 385.]

Capadose (Amsterdam, The Hague): Divided, 1, sinople, two small angels proper, affronté in chief, holding together a mantle gules, lined ermine, in point a beehive or, put upon a terrace proper; the beehive accosted by four bees or, and accompanied by two other bees or, brochant upon the terrace underneath the beehive; 2, or, a lion gules. Crest: A beehive. Supporters: Two lion-leopards proper. [Rietstap, i. 368.]

Cardozo (England): Sable, five bezants or (2. 1. 2); a chief denché argent, charged with three tobacco-plants sinople. Crest: A savage proper, issuant, holding in his dexter hand a tobacco-plant sinople; the sinister is leaned upon a triangle or. [Rietstap, i. 373.]

Carvajal: Or, a bend sable, a border argent, charged with an oak-branch sinople, acorns or, wound around the shield. [Rietstap, ii. 1312.]

Castello (England): On a bend cottised, three triple-turreted towers, accompanied by a lion rampant in upper, and an antique crown in lower, division. Crest: Out of a mural crown five ostrich-plumes, surmounted by a triple-turreted tower. Motto: Utriusque arbiter. . . . [Gaster, "Hist. of Bevis Marks," plate facing p. 161.]

Castro, De (Hamburg, Altona): A tower and a hand. Motto: Castrum et fortitudo mea Deus. ["Ost und West," Aug., 1902, p. 533.]

Castro, De (Portugal, Spain, Holland, Hamburg): Argent, six bezants azure (3. 3). Crest: A lion issuant, proper, armé, lampassé gules, crowned or. Lambrequins: Argent and azure. [Vorsterman van Oijen, plate 18.]

Cesana (Corfu, 1622; grant for Sanson Cesana): The given name of Cesana being that of the Biblical hero Samson, in the escutcheon is seen a man sitting on the back of a lion, in the act of tearing open the mouth of the animal. ["Jew. Chron." Sept. 19, 1902, pp. 23–25, 55.]

Cohen (England; granted to Samuel Cohen, Esq., of Park Place, Brixton): Or, two chevronels azure between two griffins segreant in chief gules, and in base, on a mount vert, an oak-tree proper. Crest: A demi-lion issuant, barry of eight argent and gules; in the dexter paw an acorn, slipped proper. [Burke, "General Armory," p. 211.]

Cohn.

Cohen (England): Or, a lion rampant gules. Crest: A bear's head, couped sable, muzzled gules. [*Ib.* p. 211.]

Cohen (England): A chevron cottised, charged with three bezants (roses?), accompanied in chief by two roses, in base by a stag's head. Crest: A stag's head erased, holding in its mouth a rose with stem and leaves. Motto illegible. Colors not known. [Gaster, *l.c.* plate facing p. 161.]

Cohn (Saxe-Coburg-Gotha; creation, 1869, for Moritz Cohn): Gules, a wheel or, winged or, surmounted by a crane argent; in a chief azure, a rising sun or, upon a tertre sinople. Crest: The wheel, winged, surmounted by the crane. Lambrequins: Dexter, or and azure; sinister, or and gules. Supporters: Two figures, one representing Industry, habit argent, with a brownish mantle, accompanied by her attributes, amongst them a beehive; the other Fidelity, habit azure, rifl. yellow, accosted by a dog. Motto: Thätig und treu. [Rietstap, i. 443; Siebmacher, "Anhalt," plate 9.]

Coronel (Spain): Azure, five eagles or (2. 1. 2). [Rietstap, i. 465.]

Costa, Da (Portugal, Holland; arms of Isaac da Costa, poet): Gules, six ribs argent fesswise, three in a row, one upon another. Crest: Two ribs in saltier argent, bound gules (see Frontispiece, Fig. 8). [Rietstap, i. 469.]

Costa, Da (London): Or, three ribs gules in fess, one upon another. Crest: A reindeer passant, proper. [Rietstap, i. 469.]

Curiel (Spain, Holland, Hamburg): Gules, a bend or, engoulée by two dragons' heads or, a border azure, charged by eight kettles or. [Rietstap, i. 497.]

Delmar (Prussia; creation May 14, 1810, for Ferdinand Moritz Levi Delmar): Divided, 1, parted, (a) azure, three annulets, mal ordonné, interlaced or; (b) argent, a twig of oak, arraché, sinople in base; 2, or, a pyramid natural upon a terrace sinople. A fess argent, brochant, charged with three stars (5) argent. The shield surrounded by a border or. [Rietstap, i. 522; Kneschke, ii. 447.]

Disraeli.

Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield (England; creation Aug. 21, 1876): Per saltier gules and argent a castle, triple-turreted, in chief proper, two lions sable in fess sable, and an eagle displayed in base or. Crest: Issuant from a wreath of oak a castle, triple-turreted, all proper. Supporters: Dexter, an eagle; sinister, a lion, both or, and gorged with a collar gules, pendent therefrom an escutcheon of the last, charged with a tower argent. [Foster, "Collectanea Genealogica," i. 10; Rietstap, i. 543.]

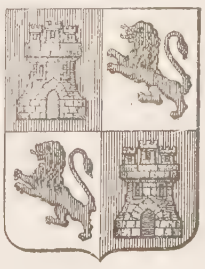
Eichthal.

Eichthal (Bavaria; creation 1814, A. E. Seligmann): Azure, two rocks argent from the base of the shield, accompanied in chief by two stars or. Crest: Upon a crown two wings argent, each charged by a fess argent, surcharged by a star or. Lambrequins: Argent and azure. [Rietstap, i. 602; Siebmacher, "Bavaria," plate 29.]

Elkan von Elkansberg (Austria; creation inscribed Bavaria, 1825): Azure, a chevron, accosted in chief dexter by a staff (attribute of Mercury); sinister, an anchor, on the left side of same a star, all argent; the chevron accompanied in point by a crane proper, upon a tertre sinople. Crest: Upon a crown the crane upon a tertre, between divided wings, alternately argent and azure. [Rietstap, i. 606; Siebmacher, "Bayrischer Adel," plate 84.]

Elkan von Elkansberg.

Enriquez, Henriques (Spain, England): Party per chevron, argent, two lions rampant gules; gules, a triple-towered castle or; port, windows, and masonry azure. Crest: A lamb passant upon a wreath of the colors. Motto: Deus Pastor meus! [Piferrer, i. 31.]


Enriquez.

Erlanger (Austria, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Paris, Portugal; creation Portugal, 1859, and Austria, 1871): 1, argent, a fess azure, accosted by two turtles azure (one in chief and one in point); 2, azure, an anchor argent (sometimes or, an anchor sable). Motto: Rast ich, so rost ich! ["Annuaire de la Noblesse," 1897, p. 386.]

Eskeles (Austria; creation 1797; knights 1810; baronets 1822): Quarterly, 1 and 4, or, a demi-eagle sable, beaked and membered or, moving from the

partition; 2 and 3, azure, two winged serpents enlacés, affrontés; over all, argent, a redorte of vine proper, adorned with branches, sinople; clusters of grapes azure. Three crests: 1 and 3, three ostrich-plumes, one argent, between two azure; 2, an eagle ep. sable, beaked and membered or. Supporters: Two cranes proper. Motto: Patriæ suisque. [Rietstap, i. 627.]

Faudel-Phillips.

Espinosa (Spain and Flanders): Argent, a tree terrassé sinople, accosted by two wolves affrontés, sable, rampant toward the trunk; a border gules, charged with eight flanches or. [Rietstap, i. 629.]

Faudel-Phillips: Quarterly, 1 and 4, paly of six ermine and azure, on a chief gules a squirrel sejant, cracking a nut (for Phillips): 2 and 3, quarterly argent and or, in 1 and 4 a chevron azure, and in 2 and 3 a peacock's head erased proper, all within a border sable (for Faudel). Crests: (1) Upon a mount vert, a squirrel sejant, cracking a nut or; between on the dexter side a trefoil slipped, and on the sinister a branch of hazel fructed, extending to the dexter, charged on the shoulder with an acorn, leaved and slipped, proper. (2) Upon a mount a peacock regardant, in its pride, proper; between two roseleaves argent, leaved and slipped vert. Supporters: Dexter, a Hindoo; sinister, a Mohammedan of India, both habited proper. Motto: Ne tentes aut perfice. ["Jewish Year Book," 1902.]

Fonseca: Azure, five stars or (2. 1. 2). (Compare LOPEZ DE FONSECA, LOPEZ-SUASSO, and LOPEZ-SUASSO-DIAZ-DA FONSECA [see Frontispiece, Fig. 4.])

Fould (France): Divided diagonally, 1, azure, a lion argent; 2, sinople, a lion or; a bend ermine over all the division, in a chief sable, three stars or. Motto: Aide toi, Dieu t'aidera! ["Annuaire de la Noblesse de France," 1897, p. 387.]

Franco.

Franco (England; for Jacob Franco, London): Argent, a fountain proper, thereout a palm-tree issuant, vert. Crest: On a wreath of the above colors a dexter arm, couped and embowed, habited purple, purfled or, the cuff argent, the hand proper, holding therein a palm-tree vert. Motto: Sub pace copia. ["Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc. England," ii., Append., p. 166.]

Franco-Mendes (Amsterdam): Gules, a ringlet or, accompanied by three lions naissant or. Crest: Out of a mural crown or, a lion issuant or. [Da Costa, p. 512; Rietstap, i. 703.]

Gideon (England; creation 1759): Party per chevron, vert and or; in a chief a rose or, between two fleurs-de-lis argent; in base a lion rampant, regardant, azure. [Burke's "Extinct Baronetcies," p. 218.]

Gideon.

Goldschmidt (Austria; creation July 27, 1862): Quarterly, 1, party argent and gules, an anchor argent, broché upon the party passed through a mural crown argent; 2 and 3, or, a bar azure, charged by three stars or; 4, party, argent and gules, an eagle of alternate colors, charged upon the breast with the letter "F" or. The shield is surrounded by a border gules. Crests: (1) A nombriled escutcheon between wings argent. Lambrequins: Argent and gules. (2) Six ears of corn or between wings azure; each wing charged by a crescent or. Lambrequins: Or and azure. Motto: Super omnia veritas! [Rietstap, i. 794-795.]

Goldsmid: Per saltier erminois and ermine, on a chief gules, a goldfinch proper between two roses or (being the family arms); over all an escutcheon gules, charged with a tower or, and ensigned by the coronet of a baron of Portugal. Crest: 1st, out of a coronet of a baron of Portugal proper, a demi-dragon with wings elevated, or, holding in its claws a rose gules, slipped, proper; 2d, a demi-lion argent, in the paws a bundle of twigs erect, or, banded azure. Supporters: Dexter, a lion argent, ducally crowned and charged on the shoulder with a rose gules; sinister, a wyvern with wings elevated, or, and charged on the shoulder with a rose gules. Mottoes: Over crests, Quis similis tibi in fortibus domine? (Ex. xv. 11; Maccabean motto). Under the arms, Concordia et sedulitate. ["Jewish Year Book," 1896.]

Goldsmid.

Gomez (America; Moses Gomez, Jr., 1768): Three fishes naiant in pale, the first and third looking to the dexter, the middle one to the sinister side. Colors not known.

Gomez de Sossa (Spain, Holland): Double shield: (1) Divided horizontally, 1, three towers; 2, a fleur-de-lis. (2) A bar, charged by a star, and accompanied by two stars, one on top, one in base. Crest: A lion issuant. Colors not known. [From a tombstone in Port.-Jewish cemetery, Amsterdam, dated 5427 = 1667 and 5431 = 1671 respectively; De Castro, p. 83.]

Gomez de Sossa.

Günzburg (Hesse; creation Nov. 9, 1870; barons Aug. 2, 1874): Quarterly, 1 and 4, argent, an arm in armor proper, holding a lance of tournament with its pennon, all gules; 2 and 3, gules, a beehive or, accompanied by three bees, mal ordonnées, argent. Crest: A deer issuant, proper, armed or. Lambrequins: Dexter, argent and gules; sinister, or and gules. Supporters: Dexter, a deer proper, armed or; sinister, a lion or. Motto: Laboramus. [Rietstap, i. 1043.]

Haber (Baden; creation June 2, 1829): Quarterly, 1 and 4, a lion or, in 1 the lion contourné; 2 and 3, or, two demi-wings, adossé, sable. Over all: Azure, nine ears of oats or upon a terrace sable. Crest: A star or between wings sable. Lambrequins: Or and gules. [Rietstap, i. 864; Siebmacher, "Baden," plate 32.]

Haber von Lindsberg (Austria; creation 1869): Quarterly with center-shield, azure nine ears of oats, fan-like: 1, or, a demi-lion sable; 2, sable, a demi-eagle or; 3, gules, a lion or, contourné, crowned or; 4, argent, open wings sable. Crest: (1) A double eagle issuant, sable; (2) between open wings sable, a star or; (3) the lion of the field or, issuant, contourné. Lambrequins: (1) Sable and or; (2) azure and or; (3) gules and or. [Siebmacher, "Baden," p. 53.]

Haber.

Halevi (Toledo): A triple-towered castle, charged with a fleur-de-lis (see illustration, page 125). [Lucien Wolf, "Jewish Coats of Arms," in "Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc. Eng." ii. 155.]

Heine (Prussia; creation 1840): Gules, a chevron renversé, azure, accompanied by three fleurs-de-lis, mal ordonnés, argent. [Rietstap, i. 717.]

Heine-Geldern (Austria; creation 1867; barons 1870): 1 and 4, azure, two swords argent, hilted or, put in saltier; 2 and 3, divided, gules and or; an eagle or upon the gules, and sable upon the or. Over all, azure, three stars argent. Crest: Couped wings, dexter, argent and azure; sinister, gules and or. Lambrequins: The same. Supporters: Two lions gules. Motto: Alles durch Gott! [Rietstap, i. 918.]

Herschell (England; creation 1886): Per fess azure and sable, in fess a fasces proper, between three stags' heads, couped or. Crest: On a mount vert a stag proper, collared azure and supporting with its dexter forefoot a fasces in bend or. Supporters: On either side a stag proper, collared azure, standing on a fasces or. Motto: Celeriter! [Debrett's "Peerage," p. 414.]

Hirsch von Gereuth (Bavaria; creation 1818): Or, a stag rampant, proper, with antlers of six ends, lampassé gules, upon a mount sinople; sometimes also upon a tertre sinople (see Frontispiece, Fig. 2). ["Annuaire," p. 391; Siebmacher, "Bayrischer Adel," p. 99.]

Hofmann von Hofmannsthal (Austria; creation Aug. 13, 1835): Quarterly, 1, or, upon a rock proper an eagle in profile, proper, lampassé, gules; in his right claw a bunch of six arrows argent, pointed upward; 2, azure, a poor-box argent (as he was poormaster); 3, a book, bound gules, gilt edges, supported by the two Hebrew tables of the Decalogue; upon the dexter, in Roman numbers, I.–III.; sinister, IV.–X.; 4, or, a mulberry-leaf proper, stem downward, charged by a silkworm proper, head upward. Crest: Between eagle-wings, alternately azure and or, an anchor argent, standing erect, the ring toward the sinister side. [Rietstap, ii. 1260, Supplement; Wurzbach, ix. 166.]

Hönig von Hönigsberg (Austria; creation 1789, for Israel Hönig): Quarterly, 1 and 4, azure, upon a mountain sinople a dead lion proper, stretched upon his back, eight bees or, swarming around his open jaws; 2 and 3, gules, a bar argent, charged with four tobacco-plants proper. Crest: A lion issuant, proper, holding in the dexter paw a tobacco-plant proper. Lambrequins: Dexter, argent and azure; sinister, argent and gules. [Wurzbach, ix. 124.]

Jessel.

Hurtado de Mendoza: Azure, a bend or, engoulé by two lions' heads or. [Rietstap, i. 1010.]

Hurtado de Mendoza: Gules, five panels argent (2. 1. 2), the stems upward. [Rietstap, ii. 96.]

Jessel: Azure, a fess sable ragulé ermine between three eagles' heads erased argent; in the center chief point a torch erect and fired proper. Crest: A torch fesswise, fired proper, surmounted by an eagle volant, argent, holding in the beak a pearl, also argent. Motto: Persevere! ["Jewish Year Book."]

Joel von Joelson (Austria; creation Sept. 1, 1817): Party by gules and argent; in gules two stars argent; in argent gules. Crests: (1) A star argent between two horns gules; (2) a star gules between two proboscides argent. [Rietstap, i. 1095.]

Josephs (Holland): Azure, a goose passant, or. [Rietstap, ii. 1265, Supplement.]

Kaulla (Joseph Kaulla, banker, Munich; acknowledged in Bavaria 1866): Sable, a horse argent, galloping, upon a terrace sinople; a border argent, charged with five bezants or. Crest: A fox issuant, proper, over his head a star argent, between couped wings, dexter, gules and sable; sinister, or and sable. Lambrequins: Dexter, or and sable; sinister, gules and sable. [Rietstap, i. 1069.]

Kusel (England; naturalized 1867; Italy; creation 1890; royal license for England 1892 93): Azure, a lion rampant, argent, holding in his paws a ring or. Crest: Crown of a baron of Italy. Motto: Qui perstat vincit! [Debrett's "Peerage," p. 927.]

Lämmel (Austria; creation, 1812 for Simon, and 1856 for Leopold, Lämmel): Azure, a lamb argent upon a hillock sinople. In a chief or, an eagle sable, lampassé gules, spread out. Crests: (1) Dexter, the spread eagle of the field; (2) sinister, between open wings, alternately or and azure, a star or. Lambrequins: Azure and or. [Kneschke, v. 350; Wurzbach, xiii. 476.]

Lemos, De: Double arms (probably De Lemos and wife): (1) sinister, a lion rampant; (2) a burning light in a candlestick. Crest: Three ostrich-plumes, colors not known. [Port.-Jew. cemetery, Altona; "Ost und West," Aug., 1902, p. 569.]

Leon, De (America): Argent, a lion rampant gules, crowned or. Motto: Concordia res parvæ crescunt. [Piferrer, vi., No. 2581; Rietstap, ii. 51.]

Levin (London, England, late of New Zealand): Vert, on a chevron nebulé between four escallops, three in chief and one in base, or a cross crosslet crossed of the field. Crest: On a mount a squirrel passant, proper, resting the right foot on an escallop or. Motto: Certavi et vice. [Burke's "General Armory," Supplement, *s.v.*]

Levy (England; granted to Joseph Moses Levy of London, and borne by his son Edward Levy Lawson of Hall Barn, Bucks, D.L., lord of the manor of Beaconsfield, who assumed by royal license, Dec. 11, 1875, the surname of Lawson): Arms: Gules, a saltier parted and fretté or, between two rams' heads couped, fesswise, argent. Crest: A ram argent, holding in the mouth a trefoil, slipped vert, and resting the dexter foreleg on a quatrefoil. Motto: Of old I hold! [Burke's "General Armory," Supplement.]

Levy (America; family of Moses Levy): Two keys put in saltier, the key-locks upward, accompanied by two lions combatant, brandishing a seax; in chief over the saltier a pair of scissors, open, blades downward. Crest: A demi-lion erased, brandishing a seax. [From an impression.]

Lopez (England; grant Nov. 1, 1803, for Massey Lopez, Esq., Jamaica): Quarterly, 1 and 4, azure, on a chevron; between three eagles rising, or, as many bars gemel, gules; on a chief of the second five lozenges of the first (for Lopez); 2 and 3, in a landscape field a fountain, thereout issuing a palm-tree, all proper (for Franco); and impaling the arms of Newman, namely: azure, three demi-lions, couped argent, crusilly sable. Upon the escutcheon, which is charged with his badge of Ulster as a baronet, is placed a helmet befitting his degree, with a mantling azure and argent. Crests: (1) Upon a wreath of the colors a lion sejant, erminois, gorged with a bar gemel as in the arms, reposing the dexter paw on a lozenge azure (for Lopez). (2) Upon a wreath of the colors a dexter arm, couped and embowed, habited purpure, purfled and diapered or, the cuff argent, holding in the hand proper a palm-branch vert (for Franco). Mottoes: Quod tibi id alii (for Lopez); Sub pace copia (for Franco). [Fox-Davies, p. 627; Debrett's "Peerage," p. 370; Lucien Wolf, *l.c.* Appendix, p. 166; Rietstap, ii. 96.]

Lopez (Biscaya, Belgium, Holland): Argent, two wolves passant, sable, one upon the other; a border gules, charged with eight saltiers or (see Frontispiece, Fig. 1). [Rietstap, ii. 96.]

Lopez de Fonseca (Biscaya): Quarterly, 1 and 4, argent, two wolves sable, one upon the other; a border gules, charged with eight flanches or (for Lopez); 2, counter-quarterly, a and d, or, a lion gules, armé, lampassé, couronné, azure (for Suasso); b and c, gules, five panels argent (2. 1. 2), the stems upward (for Hurtado de Mendoza); 3, azure, five stars or (2. 1. 2) (for Fonseca) (see Frontispiece, Fig. 4). [Rietstap, ii. 96.]

Lopez-Suasso (Spain, Brabant, Holland; registered 1818, 1821): Divided, 1, argent, two wolves sable, one upon the other; a border gules, charged with eight flanches or (for Lopez); 2, quarterly, a and d or, a lion gules, armé, lampassé, couronné, azure (for Suasso); b and c, gules, five panels argent (2. 1. 2), the stems upward (for Hurtado de Mendoza) (see Frontispiece, Fig. 4). [Rietstap, ii. 96.]

Lopez-Suasso-Diaz-Da Fonseca (Spain, Brabant; recognized in Holland 1831): Quarterly, 1 and 4, argent, two wolves sable, one upon the other; a border gules, charged with eight flanches or (for Lopez); 2, counter-quarterly, a and d or, a lion gules, armé, lampassé, couronné azure (for Suasso); b, and c, gules, five panels argent (2. 1. 2), the stems upward (for Hurtado de Mendoza); 3, azure, five stars or (2.1. 2) (for Da Fonseca) (see Frontispiece, Fig. 4). [Rietstap, ii. 96.]

Losada y Lousada, De (Dukes in Spain, England): Azure, three doves regardant, argent, wings expanded or, in their beaks a sprig of olive proper. Crest: On a mount vert a dove, as in the arms, a sprig of olive in its beak proper. Supporters: Two angels proper, the exterior hand of each supporting a standard gules, charged with an Eastern crown or. Motto: El honor es mia guia. [Burke's "General Armory," p. 623; Fairbairn's "Crests"; Debrett's "Peerage."]

Lowenthal (Austria; creation July 30, 1863, for Max Ritter von Löwenthal): Divided by a bar or; upper field, azure, a bee or; lower field, gules, a lion or, lampassé gules; in his dexter paw three flashes of lightning or. Crests: (1) Wings, alternately azure and or; (2) the lion of the field, with the flashes. Lambrequins: Dexter, azure and or; sinister, gules and or. [Wurzbach, xv. 453.]

Machado (Spain, Flanders): Gules, five hatchets argent (2. 1. 2). [Rietstap, ii. 122.]

Machiels-Clinbourg (Saxe-Coburg-Gotha; creation Aug. 8, 1884): Azure, a bar argent, accompanied in chief by a tower or, pierced by two archières sable; in base two stars (5) or. Motto: Labor est decus! [Rietstap, ii. 1276, Supplement.]

Marx von Marxburg (Austria; creation, chevaliers April 10, 1875; barons, Sept. 13, 1881): Azure, a tower argent, doors and windows sable, surmounted by a crane proper, put on a rock proper, the azure chapé or, charged dexter and sinister by a demi-eagle or, moving from the field. Crests: (1) Antique wings, one or, back, one sable, front, each charged by an acorn, tiged and branched or, the stem downward. Lambrequins: Or and sable. (2) A screech-owl proper. Lambrequins: Argent and azure. Supporters: Two eagles sable. Motto: Recte et suaviter. [Rietstap, ii. 644.]

Mattos, De (Spain, Portugal, Holland): Gules, a fir-tree sinople, rooted argent between two lions rampant, affronté, or, armed azure. [De Castro, p. 103; Rietstap, ii. 1316.]

Mayer-Ketschendorf (Saxe-Coburg-Gotha; creation 1889, for Jacob and Adolph Mayer): Divided, 1, argent a lion gules, armed and crowned azure; 2, azure, upon a tertre sinople three barley-ears or. Crest: The lion issuant. Lambrequins: Dexter, gules and argent; sinister, azure and or. Motto: Fortes fortuna adjuvat. ["Freiherrliches Taschenbuch," Gotha, 1893, p. 578.]

Mendes.

Mendes (Amsterdam; arms of Abraham Rodrigo Mendes): Dexter, an archer: sinister, a lion rampant on a tree. Over all an eagle, holding a roll or a fish. Crest: The coronet of a baron. Colors unknown. [From a tombstone dated 5470 = 1709; De Castro, plate xiii.]

Mendez (London; arms of Moses Mendez, 1746): Gules, six ribs argent, arranged in two rows of three fesswise; a canton ermine. Motto: Gratia Dei sufficit me. [Rietstap, ii. 197; Tausin, "Dictionnaire des Devises," i, 209.]

Mesquita (Spain): Quarterly, or and azure, a griffin azure in or, and or in azure. [Rietstap, ii. 209.]

Mocatta (England): Per chevron, a seven-branched candlestick in base, two cinquefoils in point. Crest: A leopard issuant, gardant, holding a cinquefoil between his paws. Motto: Adhere and prosper. [Wolf, "Anglo-Jewish Coats of Arms," in "Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc. Eng." 1895, p. 161.]

Mocatta.

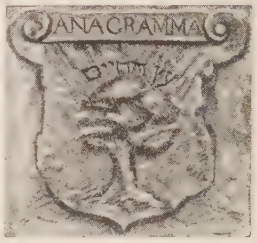
Montagu: Or, on a pile azure between two palm-trees eradicated in base proper, a tent argent. Crest; A stag statant, holding in the mouth a sprig of palm, proper, in front of a flagstaff erect, or, therefrom flowing to the dexter a banner azure, charged with a lion rampant or. Motto: Swift, yet sure. ["Jewish Year Book."]

Montefiore: Argent, a cedar-tree between two mounts of flowers proper; on a chief azure, a dagger erect, proper, pommel and hilt or, between two mullets of six points or. Crest: Two mounts, as in the arms, therefrom issuant a demi-lion or, supporting a flagstaff proper, thereon hoisted a forked pennant flying toward the sinister, azure, inscribed ירושלם, or. Supporters (by royal warrant, dated Dec. 10, 1866): Dexter, a lion gardant or; sinister, a stag proper, attired or, each supporting a flagstaff proper, therefrom flowing a banner to the dexter, azure, inscribed ירושלם, or. Motto: Think and thank (see Frontispiece, Fig. 3). ["Jewish Year Book."]

Montagu.

Morenu (Spain, Holland): In a shield the tree of life; over the tree the words עץ החיים. A ribbon on top of the shield with the word "Anagramma." Colors not known. See illustration in next column. [From a tombstone, dated Port.-Jew. cemetery, Amsterdam, 5427 = 1667; De Castro, pp. 85–86.]

Morpurgo (Austria; creation Jan. 12, 1867): Quarterly, with center-shield or, a dove argent, flying to the dexter side, in its beak an olive-branch proper; 1, argent, a towered castle; 2, azure, a sun or, rising over a mountain sinople; 3, azure, upon a hill sinople a cock proper; 4, gules, a crown, pierced by an anchor with cable, all or. Crests: (1) Center, a dove argent, same as in the shield. Lambrequins: Azure and or. (2) Dexter, a star argent between two open wings proper. Lambrequins: Azure and argent. (3) Sinister, three ostrich-plumes or, between argent and gules. Lambrequins: Azure, gules, or. Supporters: Dexter, a lion or; sinister, a griffin or, langued gules. Motto: Semper recte! [Wurzbach, xix. 107.]



Morenu.

Nieto (Castile): Party gules and azure, a lion or, broché upon the party, accompanied by four fleurs-de-lis argent, in the cantons, alternating with four fig-leaves of the same, the stems upward. [Rietstap, ii. 316; Piferrer, vi. 792.]

Oliveira (Amsterdam, Bordeaux; enregistered in France, 1700): Or, three martlets sable. ["Revue Etudes Juives," xxv. 100.]

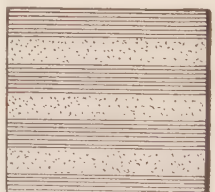
Oppenheim (Austria; creation March 15, 1867; acknowledged in Prussia Feb. 14, 1868): Sable, an anchor argent, with cable argent; the field chapé-ployé gules, with two antique crowns or; a chief azure, charged with a star argent, hérissé or. Crest: Wings, sable and gules, each wing charged with a demi-circled trefoil or. Lambrequins: Dexter, argent and sable; sinister, argent and gules. Supporters: Dexter, a woman representing Integrity, standing upon a serpent and holding a buckler; sinister, a woman representing Industry, standing upon an oak-branch, holding a spiked wheel. Motto: Integritas, concordia, industria. [Rietstap, ii. 352.]

Oppenheimer (England; Charles Oppenheimer, British consul in Frankfort-on-the-Main): Quarterly, gules and azure a cross invected between a lion rampant, regardant, supporting a flagstaff, therefrom flowing to the dexter a banner in the first and fourth quarters, and an anchor erect in the second and third, all or. Crest: Two branches of oak in saltier vert, fructed or; in front, a flagstaff in bend, proper, therefrom flowing a banner gules, surmounting a trident in bend sinister, also proper. [Fox-Davies, p. 759; Burke's "General Armory," Supplement.]

Palache (Spain, Holland): A lion. Crest: An earl's coronet. Colors not known. [From a tombstone, Port.-Jewish cemetery, Amsterdam, 1616; De Castro, p. 91.]

Pardo (Spain, Bruges): Quarterly, 1 and 4, three trees sinople; a border comp. of twelve pieces, or and vair; 2 and 3, argent, an eagle sable, tongued gules. Crest: The eagle issuant. [Rietstap, ii. 386.]

Parente (Austria; creation 1847; barons, 1873): Quarterly, 1, azure, a lion or, lampassé gules, holding in his paws a grappling-iron in form of a fleur-de-lis; 2, gules, two joined hands proper, parée purple, accompanied by three stars or (two in chief, and one in base); 3, gules, a horse, cabré argent; 4, azure, a ship with three masts proper, sails inflated, riding upon an agitated sea, flags and pennants couped argent and gules. Over all, or, a cock hardy sable, armed and membered gules, put upon a terrace sinople. Crests: (1) The lion of the field issuant and contourné; (2) a dove argent, put in front, holding in its beak an olive-branch sinople; 3, a horse, as above in 3, issuant. Lambrequins: Dexter, or and azure; sinister, argent and gules. Supporters: Dexter, a leopard-lionné or, lampassé gules; sinister, a horse argent. Motto: In te Domine speravi. [Rietstap, ii. 387.]



De Pas.

Pas, De (enregistered in Bordeaux, France, 1697): Azure, four fesses or. ["Rev. Etudes Juives," xx. 297.]

Pereira (Portugal): Gules, a pear-tree arr. sinople. Crest: Five ostrich-plumes, alternately sinople and gules. Lambrequins: Gules and sinople. [Rietstap, ii. 411.]

Pereira-Arnstein (Austria; barons Jan. 16, 1812): Quarterly, 1, or, a demi-eagle sable, moving from the partition; 2, azure, an anchor argent; 3, azure, a hatchet proper, handle or; 4, or, a tree terrassé, sinople. Supporters: Two lions or, lampassé gules. [Rietstap, i. 411.]

Pimentel (Portugal, The Hague): Quarterly, 1 and 4, or, three fesses gules; 2 and 3, sinople, five scallops argent (2. 1. 2); the shield surrounded by a border argent, charged by eight

flanches gules. Crest: A steer issuant, gules, accorné patté argent, charged in front with a scallop argent (see Frontispiece, Fig. 6). [Rietstap, ii. 440; Da Costa (?).]

Pinto, De (The Hague): Azure, five crescents argent (2. 1. 2). Crest: Three ostrich-plumes argent. [Rietstap, ii. 442.]

Pirbright (blazon in patent from Franz Joseph I., Emperor of Austria): Quarterly, 1 and 4, azure, a key in bend or; 2, or, an eagle displayed sable; 3, or, an eagle displayed respecting the sinister, sable; on an escutcheon of pretense, gules, a right hand couped proper, grasping three arrows, two in saltier and one in pale, barbs upward, or, barbed argent. Crest: Out of a ducal coronet or, a plume of five ostrich-feathers, 1st, 3d, and 5th or, 2d gules, 4th a zure. Supporters: Two lions rampant or, langued gules, collared azure, chained or: pending from the collars two escutcheons argent, each charged with a squirrel sejant on a branch of hazel turned up behind its back, proper. Motto: Vinctus non victus. ["Jewish Year Book."]

Pirbright.

Porges von Portheim (Austria; creation June 5, 1841, for Leopold [Judah] Porges): The same as Moses Porges (see below). Crest: Instead of the stag's head between the wings, a rose gules, accompanied by, dexter, a bud, sinister, two leaves. [Wurzbach, xxiii. 125.]

Porges von Portheim (Austria; creation June 5, 1841, for Moses Porges): Divided, azure and or. Upper division, azure, two stars or; lower division, two arms and joined hands, out of clouds, all proper. Crest: Between wings, alternately or and azure, a stag's head proper, with antlers of yen, lampassé gules. Lambrequins: Azure and or. [Wurzbach, xxiii. 125.]

Reinach (Italy; creation 1866; acknowledged in Prussia 1867): Argent, an agitated sea proper in base; in chief party: 1, Sable, three bees mal ordonnée, or; 2, tierced in pale by sinople, argent, gules. Italian colors. ["Annuaire," p. 402.]

Reuter, De (Saxe-Coburg-Gotha; creation 1871; England): Azure, a terrestrial globe between four flashes of lightning, one issuant from each corner. Crest: A horse in full gallop, on his back a knight in full armor argent, grasping in his dexter hand a lance in the act of charging, and in the sinister a flashing flame of light, proper. Supporters: On either side a lion rampant, proper. Motto: Per mare per terra! [Debrett's "Peerage," p. 929.]

Ricardo (England): Gules, a bend vairé argent and vert, between three garbs; or, on a chief ermine a chess rook, sable, between two bezants. Crest: A bird, holding in the dexter claw a flagstaff with a flag, the latter charged with a cross. [Burke's "Dictionary of Landed Gentry," 1851, ii. 1113; Fairbairn's "Crests," i. 376.]

Rodriguez (Spain, Holland): Sinople (sometimes sable), five bezants argent (2. 1. 2). [Rietstap, ii. 590.]

Rothschild: Quarterly, 1, or, an eagle displayed sable, langued gules; 2 and 3, azure, issuing from the dexter and sinister sides of the shield, an arm embowed, proper, grasping five arrows, points to the base, argent; 4, or, a lion rampant, proper, langued gules, over all an escutcheon gules, thereon a target, the point to the dexter, proper. Crests: Center, issuant from a ducal coronet or, an eagle displayed sable; dexter, out of a ducal coronet or, between open buffalo's horns, per fess, or and sable, a mullet with six points or; sinister, out of a ducal coronet or, three ostrich-feathers, the center one argent and the exterior ones azure. Supporters: On the dexter side a lion rampant or, and on the sinister a unicorn argent. Motto: Concordia, integritas, industria (see Frontispiece, Fig. 5). ["Jewish Year Book."]

Salomons.

Salomons: Per chevron, gules and sable, a chevron vairé between (in chief) two lions rampant, double queued, or, each holding between the paws a plate charged with an ermine spot, and in base a cinquefoil erminois. Crest: A mount vert, thereon, issuant out of six park-pales or, a demi-lion, double queued, gules, holding between the paws a bezant charged with an ermine spot. Motto: Deo adjuvante. [*Ib.*]

Salvador (Holland; creation Nov. 23, 1821): Sinople, a lion or, armed and lampassé gules, accompanied by three fleurs-de-lis or. Crest: A lion issuant gules, armed and langued azure, holding between the paws a fleur-de-lis or (see Frontispiece, Fig. 9). [Rietstap, ii. 662.]

Salvador (England; Jesurun Rodriguez): Vert, a lion rampant, between three fleurs-de-lis or. [Burke's "General Armory," p. 893.]

Salvador-Rodrigues (Spain, Portugal, Holland; creation as Netherland barons, Nov. 23, 1821): Sinople, a lion or, armed and lampassé gules, accompanied by three fleurs-de-lis of the second. Crest: A lion issuant, gules, armé and lampassé azure, holding between his paws a fleur-de-lis or. [Rietstap, ii. 662; *idem*, "Wapenboek," ii. 131.]

Sampayo (Portugal, Holland): Quarterly, 1 and 4, or, an eagle purple, flying out for prey; 2 and 3, checkered of or and sable of sixteen fields; a border gules, with compartments and eight "S's" argent. Crest: Five ostrich-plumes, sable, or, gules, argent, sable. Lambrequins: Dexter, or, gules, sable; sinister, argent, gules, sable. [De Castro, p. 104; Rietstap, ii. 891.]

Samuel (London): Per chevron argent and gules, two wolves' heads erased in chief sable, and in base as many squirrels sejant addorsed, and each cracking a nut of the first. Crest: Upon a rock proper in front of three spears, one in pale and two in saltier, argent, a wolf courant sable, pierced in the breast by an arrow of the second flighted or. Motto: A pledge of better times. ["Jewish Year Book."]

Samuel (Liverpool): Vert, two bars between seven bees volant, four in chief and three in base, or; on a chief nebulé of the last, three roses sable. Crest: On a wreath of the colors upon a mount vert, a rose argent, barbed, seeded, stalked, and leaved proper between two bees volant, also proper. [L. Wolf, "Families of Yates and Samuel," p. 56.]

Samuel De Vahl (Portugal; creation May 13, 1865; London): Quarterly, 1 and 4, azure, a leopard or, accompanied by three crowns or; a canton argent, charged with the cross of the Brazilian Order of the Rose, suspended by a ribbon or, bordered gules (for De Vahl); 2 and 3, gules, a cross argent, charged with a rose gules, and accompanied in 1 and 4 by a lion argent, and in 2 and 3 by an eagle argent (for Samuel). Crests: (1) A lion issuant, argent, crowned or, holding a scepter, or, in pale (for De Vahl); (2) an eagle argent, surmounted by an imperial crown or (for Samuel). Supporters: Dexter, a lion argent, crowned or; sinister, an eagle argent, surmounted by an imperial crown or. Motto: Habent sua sidera reges. [Rietstap, ii. 664.]

Sarmiento (Spain): Argent, a sarment (twig of a vine) sinople, couped above and below, or, put in a bar. [Rietstap, ii. 672.]

Sarmiento (Spain, England): Gules, thirteen bezants or, 3. 3. 3. 3. 1. [Rietstap, ii. 672; Piferrer, i., plate 34.]

Sassoon: Or, a palm-tree eradicated, proper, between, on the dexter, a pomegranate, also proper, and on the sinister, a branch of laurel fructed, vert, both proper; on a chief azure a lion passant of the first, in the dexter paw a rod erect or. Crest: On a mount vert, a fern brake surmounted by a dove volant, having in the beak a laurel-branch, all proper, the wings semé with estoiles or. Motto: Candide et constanter, or אמת ואמונה (see Frontispiece, Fig. 1). ["Jewish Year Book."]

Seligmann (Austria; creation 1874, for Dr. Seligmann, born 1815): Azure, a double eagle or, lampassé gules; a bar across the shield, charged with a cross gules (the "red cross"). Crest: Two helmets, two crowns: dexter, closed wings azure and or; sinister, three ostrich-plumes argent, charged with the "red cross." Lambrequins: Dexter, azure and or; sinister, gules and argent. Motto: In a blue ribbon under the shield in Gothic characters, Helfen und Heilen! [Wurzbach, xxxiv. 50.]

Simson (Prussia; creation Sept. 10, 1840): Quarterly, 1, or, in a chief gules three crescents argent; 2 and 3, argent, a bend azure, accompanied in chief by a swan sable, and in base by a hunting-horn sable and argent, a saltier gules, accompanied in chief by a star or; 4, a chief gules, charged in sinister by a star or. [Rietstap, ii. 781.]

Sonnenfels (Austria; creation 1804 [?]): Quarterly, 1 and 4, a tower proper (?); 2 and 3, a sun or, rising behind a jagged rock proper. Crest: From the crown over the helmet, a woman's figure, holding in the dexter hand a book; the head is surrounded by rays of the sun, between two eagle-wings proper (?) Lambrequins: Azure and argent. [Wurzbach, xxxv. 335.]

Sonnenfels (Austria; 1797, baron): Quarterly, with centershield azure, a sun or, upon a jagged rock; 1 and 4, barry of six, sable and or, surmounted by a three-towered tower gules, ports and windows sable; 2 and 3, gules, a serpent in pale, argent, twice coiled. Crests: (1) Between horns of plenty, or and sable, and or and argent, the figure of a man, dress azure, the hands folded over the breast and holding a closed book, bound gules; the man's figure, instead of a head, has a sun in its splendor. Lambrequins: Azure and argent. (2) Five ostrich-plumes, gules, argent, gules, argent, gules. Lambrequins: Gules and argent. [Rietstap, ii. 799; Siebmacher, "Der Adel in Böhmen," p. 96, plate 54.]

Suasso (Spain; registered in Belgium, 1676): Or, a lion gules, armé, lampassé, couronné, azure (see Frontispiece, Fig. 4). [Rietstap, ii. 864.]

Sylva, Da (Portugal): Argent, a lion-leopardée purple, armed azure; sometimes surrounded by foliage sinople. [Rietstap, ii. 874.]

Tedesco (Milan): Gules, semé with lozenges or; an arm proper, coming from a cloud argent, which moves from the sinister; in the hand a poplar sinople, sustained by a square slab argent, upon its border in sable the words "Mit Zeit." [Rietstap, ii. 890.]

Teixeira (Spain): Azure, a cross potencée or. [De Castro, p. 103.]

Teixeira (Holland; inscribed Sept. 27, 1817): Quarterly, 1 and 4, or, an eagle displayed, purple; 2 and 3, checky or and sable (sixteen fields). The shield is surrounded by a border gules, charged by eight "S's" argent. Crest: Five ostrich-plumes, sable, or, gules, argent, sable. Lambrequins: Dexter, or, gules, sable; sinister, argent, gules, sable (see Frontispiece, Fig. 7). [Rietstap, ii. 891; *idem*, "Wapenboek van den Nederlandschen Adel," ii. 87.]

Teixeira (Amsterdam).

Teixeira (Amsterdam): Quarterly, 1 and 4, gules, a lion . . . (?); 2 and 3, gules, a tree upon a terrace sinople. Crest: The lion, issuant. [Rietstap, Supplement, p. 1303; De Castro, "Keur," p. 103.]

Teixeira de Mattos (Holland): Quarterly, 1 and 4, gules, a lion . . . (?); 2 and 3, gules, a tree upon a terrace sinople. Crest: The tree. [Rietstap, Supplement, p. 1303.]

Treves (England): Argent, three boars' heads, couped azure. Crest: A demi-griffin, brandishing a sword, proper. [Burke's "General Armory," p. 1029.]

Vahl, De (London): Azure, a leopard or, accompanied by three crowns or, a canton argent, charged with the Brazilian Order of the Rose, suspended by a ribbon or, bordered gules. Crest: A lion issuant, argent, crowned or, holding a scepter or, in pale (see also Samuel de Vahl). [Rietstap, ii. 966.]

Vidal (Portugal): Argent, five vines sinople (2. 1. 2). Crest: One vine of the field. [Rietstap, iii. 499.]

Waley (England): A chevron, in chief two eagles displayed, in base a deer passant. Crest: Upon a wreath on a mount a deer's head erased, holding in its mouth a trefoil (?) or fleur-de-lis. Motto: Fortiter et fideliter. [Gaster, "Hist. of Bevis Marks," plate facing p. 161.]

Wandsworth.

Wandsworth: Or, on a pile sable a lion rampant of the last, a chief gules, thereon two horses' heads erased, argent. Crest: A lion passant, proper, gorged with a collar flory counterflory, gules, resting the dexter forepaw on an escutcheon of the last, charged with a horse's head erased, argent. Supporters: On either side a horse argent, charged on the shoulder with an estoile within an annulet, all gules. Motto: Vincit perseverantia. ["Jewish Year Book."]

Wartenegg von Wertheimstein (Austria; creation Dec. 19, 1791): Quarterly, 1 and 4, gules, a chevron argent, accompanied by three lozenges; 2, azure, two panels of a door, brownish color, fixtures argent, the panels put in saltier; 3, azure, a stag contourné, or. Crest: A stag issuant, or. Lambrequins: Dexter, argent and gules; sinister, or and azure. [Rietstap, ii. 1051.]

Weil von Weilen (Austria; creation Sept. 20, 1874): Azure, a bar argent, charged with a sphinx, winged gules, accompanied in chief by two stars or, and in base by a lyre or. Crests: (1) Wings azure, the extreme plumes or. Lambrequins: Or and azure. (2) Wings argent, the extreme plumes gules. Lambrequins: Argent and gules. [Rietstap, ii. 1061; Wurzbach, liv. 8.]

Weling, alias **Seligmann** (Bavaria; creation Dec. 17, 1816): Party, argent upon gules, two roses argent in gules, gules in argent. Crest: A rose argent, between wings; dexter, gules upon argent; sinister, argent upon gules. [Rietstap, ii. 1066.]

Wertheimer (Austria; creation 1860, for Joseph von Wertheimer): A bar or, charged in the center by a bow and arrow proper, pointed upward. In point sinister, gules, a lion or, tongued gules, holding in the right paw a bundle of arrows proper. In base, azure, a sun in its splendor or, rising behind a mountain proper. Crests: (1) Open wings, azure and argent, and argent and azure, each charged with a star or. (2) The lion of the field, contourné. Lambrequins: Dexter, azure and argent; sinister, gules and or. Motto: In a blue ribbon with letters argent, Luce et concordia. [Wurzbach, lv. 129.]

De Worms.

Worms, De: Quarterly, 1 and 4, azure, a key in bend dexter, wards downward, or; 2 and 3, or, an eagle displayed, sable; over all an escutcheon gules, a dexter arm, fesswise, couped at the wrist, proper, the hand grasping three arrows, one in pale and two in saltier, argent. Crest: A ducal coronet or. Supporters: On either side a lion, collared and chained, or. or. Motto: Vinctus non victus. ["Jewish Year Book."]

Ximenes (England): Or, two bars gules; over all a pale counterchanged within a border azure. Crest, Out of a mural crown or, an arm embowed in armor, proper, garnished or; the hand, also proper, supporting a trumpet erect and issuant of the first. [Burke's "General Armory," p. 1147.]

Ximenes-Cisneros: Checkered or and gules. [Rietstap, ii. 1127.]

Bibliography: Lucien Wolf, *Anglo-Jewish Coats of Arms*, in *Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc. Eng.* 1894-95, pp. 153-169.

J. H. Gut.—J.

COBLENCE, ADOLPHE: French army surgeon; born at Nancy May 11, 1812; died in Paris Sept 18, 1872. He entered the service of the army as an assistant surgeon in the military hospital at Metz in 1832; became surgeon in 1834; and subsequently was made head of the clinic at the Hôtel des Invalides, Paris, by Baron Larrey. While at the Invalides he received the degree of M.D. from the faculty of Paris, and was appointed surgeon, with the rank of adjutant, to the Fifty-fifth Regiment of the line and to the engineer corps stationed at Metz. In 1846 he was promoted to surgeon-major of the Twelfth Infantry, which took part in the last expedition against 'Abd-al-Ḳadir.

In 1849, in recognition of his self-sacrificing devotion to his duties during the outbreak of the cholera in Oran, he was presented by the civil authorities with a gold medal, and was made a chevalier of the Legion of Honor. Coblence was attached in 1856 to the military hospital at Bayonne, but gave up his position and went to the Crimea, afterward devoting himself to the typhoid-stricken soldiers quarantined in the island of Porquerolles. In 1859 he was made an officer of the Legion of Honor for his

splendid services with the Renault division during the Italian campaign, particularly at Magenta and Solferino, and subsequently was appointed physician-in-chief of military hospitals, with quarters at Algiers. His excessive exertions and an unfavorable climate brought on blindness in 1863, whereupon he returned to Paris, and was retired.

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S. A. R.

COBLENZ: Prussian city on the Rhine. Jews settled there between 1135 and 1159, and are first mentioned in the "Judenschreinsbuch" (Archives) of Cologne. As early as 1100 there is mention of a custom-house in Coblenz at which Jews were obliged to pay four denarii for every salable slave. Perhaps a note in the "Memorbücher," according to which Jizchak and his wife Bela brought about the "abolition of the tax," refers to the above-mentioned duty. Between 1160 and 1173 the traveler Benjamin of Tudela found a large community in Coblenz. Marsilius, the mayor of Treves, and the knights Heinrich and Dithard of Pfaffendorf, testified, in 1265, that the archbishop Heinrich of Treves had freed the Jews in Coblenz of all taxes for a year. In the same year the Jews of this city were subjected to a persecution, as a result of which more than ten were killed. In 1334 the "Judenschläger" (Jew-beaters) attacked the Jews in Coblenz; in 1349 they suffered under the Flagellants, who killed almost all of them.

The records show that from 1352 the houses of the Jews were frequently subject to confiscation and sale for the benefit of the reigning prince. In 1322 and 1326 there is mention of a cemetery, and in 1333 and 1352 of a Jewry. The emperor Charles IV. ordered, in 1354, that a certain Jew named Samuel receive protection. In 1356 he granted Archbishop Boemund II. of Treves the right for Jews to settle in his district; and from 1366 Jews are found in Coblenz as house-owners. This prelate took the Jew Symon for his court physician. In 1418 Archbishop Otto drove them out of his domains, and in 1421 he gave in fief the Jewish cemetery of Coblenz to the daughters of Gottfried Sack of Dieblich, and presented the Jewish houses in the Burggasse to the religious order of St. Florin. In 1512 the elector Richard admitted two Jewish families to Lützel-Coblenz, and in 1518 five more families to Coblenz itself. The Council first extended civil protection to them in 1518. In 1583 they were again ordered to leave, and until 1592 they were excluded from the electorate.

In 1597 John VII. granted a Jewish firm permission to settle in Treves and Coblenz, and carry on a trade with the East. Their religious center was in Frankfort-on-the-Main. Twenty-one years later the elector Lothar von Metternich issued an order regulating the status of the Jews. In 1723 a statute was enacted recstablishing the Jewry, and permitting Jews to have a rabbi. When the elector Wenceslaus made his public entry into Coblenz in 1786, the Jews wished to take part in the ceremonies. On Nov. 23 they held religious services in his honor, and were admitted by him to an audience. On Jan. 24, 1851, a new synagogue was dedicated, and in 1901 there were 600 Jews in the city, out of a total population of 45,146.

Among the rabbis and scholars of Coblenz Moses Kohen ben Eliezer, the author of "Sefer Ḥasidim" (1473), should be mentioned. Wolf of Coblenz took part in the convention of rabbis at Frankfort in 1603. In 1650 Judah Löb Heilbronn ben Abraham David Eliezer, as rabbi of Coblenz, signed a letter of introduction for David Carcassonne. From 1666 to 1669 Jair Ḥayyim Bacharach, author of the responsa "Ḥawwot Yaïr," was rabbi in Coblenz. He was succeeded by Moses Meïr Grotwohl, a member of the rabbinate in his native city, Frankfort-on-the-Main, who died in 1691. His successor was Aaron Spira, who died in 1697. From 1697 to 1717 Jacob Kohen Poppers was rabbi in Coblenz; he is the author of the responsa "Sheb Ya'akob," and died in 1740 in Frankfort-on-the-Main. He was followed by Eliezer Lipman, son of Isaac Benjamin Wolf, rabbi in Berlin and the Mark, and author of "Naḥalat Binyamin." Eliezer (d. 1733) was teacher and tutor of Simon von Geldern, Heine's maternal grandfather. Mannele Wallich, who came of an old family of physicians, and was himself a physician, succeeded in the rabbinate, and died on the first day of the Feast of Weeks in 1762. The founder of the Altona printing-house (1715), Samuel Sanvel Poppert, who was also publisher of several short works, likewise came from Coblenz. The author of "Mafteaḥ ha-Yam" (novellæ to the Pentateuch; Offenbach, 1788) calls himself Jacob Meïr ben Wolf Coblenz. Ḥayyim Löb Gundersheim of Frankfort-on-the-Main had been rabbi in Coblenz for nearly thirty-five years, when he went back to Frankfort, became a member of the rabbinate there, and died in 1803. Ben Israel, born 1817, in Diersdorf, was preacher (1843), later rabbi, in Coblenz. He died Nov. 6, 1876, and was succeeded by Dr. Adolf Levin (1878–85), who is now rabbi of Freiburg, and by Dr. M. Singer (died in 1901).

Coblenz has the following Jewish charitable associations: Männer- Krankenverein, Wohlthätigkeitsverein, Wittwen- und Waisenverein, Sterbekassenverein, Seligmannsche Stiftung, Alberti-Stiftung, and Bragsche Stiftung.

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G. A. F.

COBLENZ, GERSON BEN ISAAC MOSES: French rabbi and author; born about 1717; died at Metz in the first half of the eighteenth century. He was a pupil of R. Jacob, author of "Shebut Ya'akob," and officiated as dayyan at Metz. Of his works the following are known: "Kiryat Ḥanah," responsa, finished by the author at the age of twenty-five, and published by his son Jacob (Metz, 1785); many responsa found in "Shebut

Ya'aḳob" and in the "Keneset Yeḥezḳel" of Ezekiel Katzenellenbogen. Coblenz also wrote novellæ on the "Ṭurim," and corresponded on rabbinical subjects with the rabbis Judah Möller, Samuel Helmann, and Jacob Joshua of Cracow.

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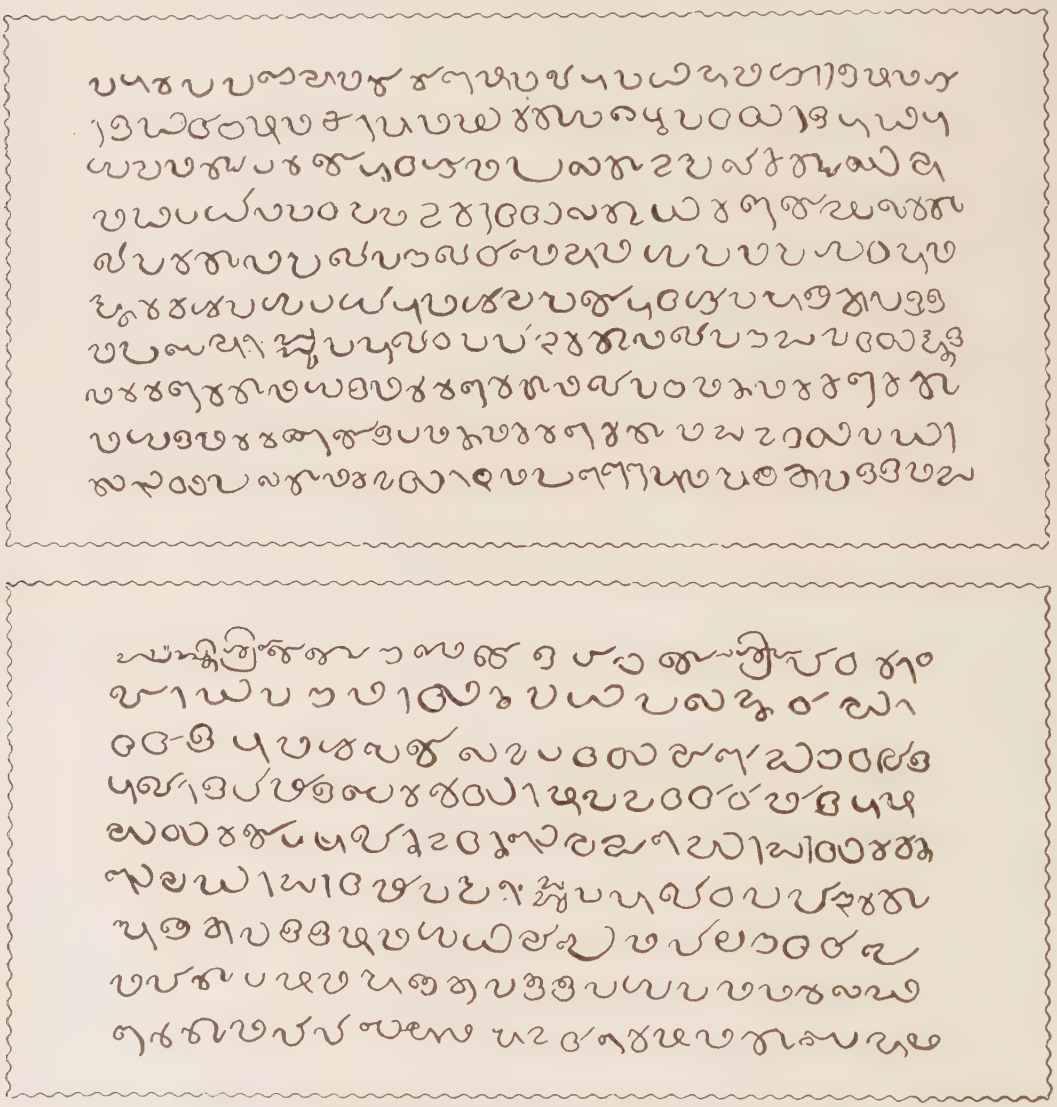
L. G. N. T. L.

COBO. See Covo.

COCCEIUS (KOCH), JOHANNES: German theologian and Hebraist; born at Bremen 1603; died at Leyden Nov. 5, 1669. He was appointed professor of Hebrew at Bremen in 1629, and at Franeker in 1636, where, after 1643, he also held the chair of theology. In 1650 he was appointed professor of theology at Leyden. He was the founder of the school of theology known by his name.

Cocceius wrote commentaries on most of the books of the Old Testament, in which he maintained that sentences and phrases should be interpreted only according to their context.

He compiled a Hebrew dictionary of the Old Testament, which was published at Leyden in 1669 under the title "Lexicon et Commentarius Sermonis Hebraici et Chaldaici Veteris Testamenti," which to a certain extent marks an epoch in Hebrew lexicography among Christians. Of interest to Judaism are his "Versio Latina Mischnæ cum Excerptis ex Gemara Tractatuum Synhedrin et Makkot," 1629; "Judaicarum Responsionum et Quæstionum Consideratio," with a "Præfatio de Fide Sacrorum Codd. Hebræorum ac Versionis LXII. Interpretum



SASANAM OF THE JEWS OF COCHIN, GRANTING PRIVILEGES TO JOSEPH RABBAN, ABOUT 750 C.E.
(From "Indian Antiquary.")

et Oratio de Causis Incredulitatis Judæorum" (Amsterdam, 1662); "Tractatus Makkot Versio Latina" (in Surenhusius, "Versio Latina Mischnæ et Commentationum Maimonidis et Obadjæ)", 1698–1703.

JEWS OF COCHIN.
(From a photograph.)

All three essays were reprinted in his complete works, which were published in Amsterdam, two years after his death, under the title "Opera Omnia."

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J. F. T. H.

COCHABI, JOSEPH BEN ABRAHAM.
See KOKABI, JOSEPH BEN ABRAHAM.

COCHIN: State of India, within the Madras Presidency. The Jews in Cochin numbered 1,142 in 1891, and are divided into two classes: the Whites, whose complexion is almost as fair as that of European Jews, and the Blacks, who, though darker than the former, are not so black as negroes, and are of the same complexion as the Jews of Yemen or Kurdistan.

The White Jews number at present about fifty families, and these are divided into six stocks: the Zakkai, who are the oldest, and are said to have come from Cranganore in 1219; the Castillia, exiles from Spain in 1492, who arrived at Cochin in 1511; the Ashkenazi and Rothenburg, who came from Germany in the sixteenth century; and the Rahabi and Haligua families, who came from Aleppo about 1680. There are three hundred families of the Blacks.

The earliest trace of the Cochin Jews is to be found in two bronze tablets known as the "Sâsanam" (Burnell, "Indian Antiquary," iii. 333–334), which are now in the possession of one of the elders and contain a charter given by Cheramal Perumal, King of Malabar, to Isuppu Irabbân (Joseph Rabban), probably a Jew of Yemen who led an expedition of Jews to Cranganore about the year 750. By the terms of the charter, engraved in Vaṭṭeluttu characters on the plate, Rabban, who is referred to as the prince of Ansuvannam, was granted seventy-two "free houses" and feudal rights in Ansuvannam, near Cranganore. The date of the charter can be fixed at about 750; it can not, for paleographical reasons, have been much earlier than this, nor later than 774, since a grant made to the Nestorian Christians at that time was copied from it.

Earliest Mention—the "Sâsanam."

These Jews intermingling with the natives became the progenitors of the Black Jews of Cochin. These are mentioned by Ibn Wahab in the ninth century; and Benjamin of Tudela appears to have visited or heard of them about 1167. He reports that they were one hundred in number and as black as the rest of the inhabitants of Coilum or Quilon, then the most important port on the Malabar coast. There Marco Polo found them a century later ("Travels of Sir Marco Polo," ed. Yule, ii. 263), and when Vasco da Gama reached Calicut in

Traces in Middle Ages.

1487, the first person he met was a Jew said to have come from Posen via Turkey and Palestine (Kayserling, "Christopher Columbus," pp. 113–114). In 1511 they were joined by Jews from Portugal. In 1565 they were threatened with the Inquisition by the Portuguese Christians settling at Cranganore, and fled to Cochin, where their number increased so rapidly that the Portuguese historian De Barros (1496–1570) refers to the King of Cochin as the "king of the Jews" ("Asia," III. ii. 234).

Group of Cochin Jews.
(From a photograph.)

Slavery was formerly allowed in Malabar, and the White Jews could make others slaves. The native males and females whom they bought were admitted as slaves according to the Jewish law, and even those who voluntarily entered the fold of Judaism were not admitted and treated as "strangers of righteousness," but as slaves. The males had to undergo the rites of circumcision and ablution, and the females were subjected to ablution. Their offspring were also treated as slaves. At the time of circumcision the mohel who performed this rite recited the blessing of circumcising slaves, and a similar blessing was recited at the time of their ablution. Even after undergoing these rites they were not allowed to intermarry with the other Jews, to study the Holy Scriptures, or to wear ẓiẓit and tefillin, unless they obtained a certificate of emancipation from their masters or mistresses. To make this emancipation known to the community of the White Jews, the freed slave went about and kissed the hands of all the Jews of the city. The children and children's children of all such freed slaves were also considered emancipated and were at liberty to wear ẓiẓit and tefillin, but were not called up to the reading of the Law except on Simḥat Torah. On the first two Seder nights the emancipated slaves with their families were allowed to join their masters at the table and to chant the Haggadah. This was the only occasion on which they were treated as free men and women. At the conclusion of the service on the Day of Atonement they kissed the hands of their former masters. The property of one who had no heir went to his or her former master. In the synagogue they were formerly made to sit on the ground in the veranda outside the synagogue proper.

Slaves.

In 1848 the freed slaves asked permission of the White Jews to use the benches in the synagogue; being refused, they moved within the boundary of the British territory, where no distinction is made between masters and slaves. Led by Ava, a wealthy emancipated slave, who acted as sofer and shoḥeṭ, they built a synagogue; but their numbers were soon diminished by the plague, and after Ava's death they were obliged to return to the White Jews, and to reassume their old position in the synagogue. Though they neither eat nor drink together, nor intermarry, the Black and the White Jews of Cochin have almost the same social and religious customs. They hold the same doctrines, use the same ritual (Sephardic), observe the same feasts and fasts, dress alike, and have adopted the same vernacular, Malayalam, a dialect of Tamil. Their chief articles of food are rice and the milk of the coconut. Maẓẓot are eaten only at the Seder, and though the Whites eat cooked fishes and chicken on the Sabbath, the Blacks eat no meat.

Religious Observances.

The two classes are equally strict in religious observances. The Blacks have two synagogues, one of which was built in 1625. The synagogue of the Whites, a magnificent edifice, was erected in 1568, burned by the Portuguese in 1662, rebuilt by Shem-Ṭob Castillia in 1668, and finally completed by Ezekiel Rahabi in 1730. It is situated next to the raja's palace, and is richly endowed with landed property. The Ark in these synagogues is situated in the western end of the building, not in the eastern, as in European lands, so that the congregation may turn in prayer toward Jerusalem.

Among the Blacks there are no Kohanim or Levites, so that they hire impoverished White Jews of the tribe of Levi and of the family of Aaron on the

occasions when their presence is necessary. In 1615 a false Messiah appeared among the Jews of Cochin (Schudt, "Jüdische Merckwürdigkeiten," i. 42).

Pereyra de Paiva ("Notisias dos Judeos de Cochin") states that during the week of Nov. 21–26, 1686, some Dutch merchants of the Sephardic congregation of Amsterdam visited Cochin, at that time an important commercial port, and at the request of David Rahabi had rolls of the Pentateuch, prayer-books, and various rabbinical works sent from Amsterdam to Cochin. The books were received on the Fifteenth of Ab, and this day was appointed a holiday to be observed every year. In 1757 the White Jews had their own prayer-books printed at Amsterdam, and brought out a second edition in 1769. Their houses, situated in the section of the city called the "Jewish Town," are of one story, built of chunam and teak-wood, and are situated on the east and west of the road leading to the synagogues. In the yard is usually found a cistern required for the "ṭebilah" and a tabernacle for the festival. The whole locality is kept clean, and lighted on Sabbath, new moon, and holiday nights. The commercial and synagogal affairs of the community are looked after by five elders with a זקן הראשון ("chief elder") at their head.

Connection with Europe.

During the Portuguese and Dutch periods, that is, until about 1790, the greater part of the business of Cochin was in the hands of the White Jews. But their money was lost by Baruch David Rahabi, and for a time the community was very poor. About 1860 their condition improved, and while few are still able to live on the income of their ancestral landed property, none are dependent on charity. The Whites are engaged chiefly as merchants or farmers, the Blacks as fishermen, fruiterers, wood-choppers, or oil-pressers; while many of the freed slaves are bookbinders, clerks, or merchants.

Black Jew of Cochin.
(From "Globus.")

Social Conditions.

In education the Jews of Cochin are extremely unprogressive. Formerly boys of thirteen or fourteen were taught to pray and to read the Law; now there are no Talmudists among them, few are well versed even in the Torah, and most of them learn only sufficient English to enable them to do clerical work. There are both Black and White teachers in the schools. The women, if instructed at all, are taught merely to recite their prayers. The only Cochin Jews who have made any contributions to literature are David Rahabi, author of "Ohel Dawid," a calendar, printed at Amsterdam in 1791; and Solomon Riemann, author of "Mas'ot Shelomoh," Vienna, 1884. Riemann taught the Blacks the Torah and shehiṭah, and was the first to consider them eligible for Minyan.

Literary Efforts.

The week-day dress of the White Jew is the same as that worn by the natives; but the Blacks are covered only from the waist down, wear a red kerchief on the head, and have "pe'ot." In the synagogue, the Black wears the kaffa; the White, a turban, a shirt, a jacket with twelve buttons, over this a jubba, and trousers. Some of the younger men have adopted European dress. The "tahli," a gold chain with a peculiar coin in the middle, is worn by all married women, including widows; but the latter are not allowed to wear their wedding-rings.

The rites and ceremonies of the Cochin Jews are usually conducted on a very extravagant scale.

The only ceremony which is performed in the case of a female child is its naming, in the synagogue or at home, eight days after birth; while the male child, eight days after birth, is carried under a canopy by his maternal uncle from the house to the synagogue, where he is circumcised; the occasion is then observed by the usual feast. If a woman dies in childbirth, and the child dies even one hour after, the dowry, contrary to the usual Jewish custom, remains in the husband's family.

Birth Rites.

The proposal of marriage is made to the father of the girl by the father of the man, through professional match-makers for both parties. Two days before the wedding, which usually takes place on Tuesday evening, the girl is taken to the synagogue for "ṭebilah" (purification); on her return, taking four threads of ẓiẓit in her hands, she kisses seven times the portion of the Bible containing the Decalogue. The making of the wedding-ring, and the cutting of the bridegroom's hair, usually done on the day of the wedding, are attended with music and festivities. At the beginning of the ceremony the bridegroom, who wears a white head-covering, takes a glass

of wine and a ring, and recites a responsive formula. To his salutation, "With the permission of you all," those present respond, "With the permission of Heaven."

He then repeats the usual blessings of betrothal, followed by a betrothal formula in which the exact name of the bride is mentioned. He drinks of the wine, and handing the cup to the bride, whose face

A Synagogue in Cochin.
(After a photograph.)

is covered with a silk or embroidered network, says, "With this, also, do I betroth thee." Hereupon the officiating minister reads with cantillation the "ketubbah" (marriage contract), which is handsomely engrossed upon parchment. Before the last sentence is read the bridegroom hands the fringe of his ẓiẓit to the rabbi, and while both hold it the minister adjures him: "By the command of the Holy and Sanctified, by the Mighty One, who revealed the Law at Sinai, 'her support, her clothing, and her conjugal right he shall not diminish!'" The bridegroom replies: "Her support, her clothing, and her conjugal right I will not diminish." The rabbi says, "Dost thou undertake this?" and the bridegroom replies, "I undertake it." The minister adds, "A promise before Heaven and earth?" and the response is, "A promise before Heaven and earth."

Marriage Rites.

When the reading of the contract is completed, the signatures of the bridegroom and witnesses are appended and read aloud, and the bridegroom presents the contract to the bride; while those assembled exclaim, "Be-simana ṭaba!" (May it be for a good sign!) The whole company then joins in singing a quaint epithalamium.

On the Sabbath after the wedding, the bridegroom is called up to the reading of the Law, and after the recital of the usual portion of the day, the passage Gen. xxiv. 1–7 is read by him and the ḥazzan alternately, verse by verse, in Hebrew and Aramaic. Verses from Isaiah lxi. 10–lxii. 5 are similarly added to the Haftarah (lesson from the Prophets). After the ceremony the guests are invited to a feast at the home of the bride, at which the poor sit above the rich; and the festivities are continued for seven days, the bride's parents defraying most of the expenses.

In case of adultery (Deut. xxiv.), bills of divorce, written in Hebrew, are given; but divorces are very rare. "Yibbum," the obligation to marry the childless widow of a deceased brother (Deut. xxv. 5, 6), is still observed by the Cochin Jews, as is the ceremony of ḤALIẒAH (Deut. xxv. 7, 10). Bigamy and polygamy are almost unknown among them.

Other Ceremonies.

The funeral and mourning ceremonies are observed in accordance with the prescriptions of the Shulḥan 'Aruk. Soon after a death the shirt of the chief mourner is torn from his body; and on returning from the cemetery, the funeral party, except the mourners, wash themselves and their clothes. During the seven days of mourning, the bereaved wear a piece of white cloth over the head, which the ḥazzan removes on the seventh day. On the seventh and twenty-ninth days, and at the expiration of the eleventh and twelfth months, the family visit the grave, and on the return home, selections from the Psalms, Mishnah, Torah, and "Hashkabah" are read, and the "Ḳaddish" is recited. The latter is repeated by the mourners for one year, with some intermissions at the beginning of the twelfth month.

All the Jews of Cochin buried their dead in one plot of ground until twenty-five years ago, when the White Jews, through the influence of the British agent of the Cochin raja's court, were allotted a separate place.

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J. J. E.—J.

COCK: The male of the domestic fowl. The original habitat of the domestic fowl is generally supposed to be India, whence it was introduced at an early time into Babylonia and Greece. It is difficult to say when it was brought to Palestine, as the allusions to it in the Bible are still very doubtful. According to rabbinical tradition גבר (Isa. xxii. 17) is a designation for "cock," which was known under this name in various districts of Babylonia as late as the third century C.E. (Lev. R. v.; Midr. Mishle xxx.

19). The Jewish teacher of Eusebius also explained the word thus (see Eusebius' commentary on Isaiah, *loc. cit.*; compare, however, Ket. 28a and Yoma 20b, in both of which passages Abba Arika's opposition to this explanation is declared). Another term which, according to an amora of the fourth century, signifies "cock," is שכוי (Job xxxviii. 36), the statement being added that the cock bore a similar name about this time in Arabia (R. H. 20 a; Lev. R. xxv.).

The assumption of the Midrash (Midr. Mishle xxx. 31) that זרזיר (Prov. xxx. 31) is a designation for "cock" is more plausible than the foregoing explanations, since the Arabic "zarzar" means "cock." In the Talmud and in Midrashic literature, however, the cock is always called by his Babylonian name תרנגול (compare Oppert in "Zeitschrift für Assyriologie," vii. 339), which fact may be taken, perhaps, to indicate that the cock was introduced into Palestine from Babylonia. In this literature the cock is also frequently mentioned as a common domestic fowl, although it is expressly stated that at Jerusalem the breeding of cocks was forbidden during the existence of the Temple because they scratch the ground and pick up objects which are Levitically unclean, and are thus likely to spread uncleanness (B. Ḳ. 82b). The cock and the bat are contrasted as the bird of day and the bird of night. The cock and the bat were both waiting for daylight, when the cock said: "I may wait for the dawn, for light belongs to me; but for what do you need light?" (Sanh. 98b, bottom). The cock is characterized as the most impudent of birds (Beẓah 25b); his lasciviousness is also proverbial (Ber. 22a), yet his kind treatment of the female is set up as a model, inasmuch as he humors the hen to win her favor ('Er. 100b).

The comb is the cock's chief ornament, of which he is very proud, and when it is cut off he loses his spirit and no longer seeks the hen (Shab. 110b, bottom). The cock is also said to be quarrelsome and vicious (Pes. 113b), those from Bet Buḳya having an especially bad reputation in this respect, as they suffered no intruders among them (Yeb. 84a). A cock once killed a child by picking at its scalp with its beak ('Eduy. vi. 1; Yer. 'Er. x. 26a). The crowing of the cock, as well as his flight, sometimes causes dishes to break (B. Ḳ. 17a; Ḳid. 24b).

The Cock in Folk-Lore.

The cock, which occupies a prominent place in the mythology of many peoples (compare Gubernatis, "Zoological Mythology," ii. 280–291), was an especially sacred bird among the Persians, where he was the ally of Sraosha in the battle with the powers of darkness. In Talmudic-Midrashic literature there are reminiscences among the pagans of the divine honors paid to the cock, as well as of the influence on the Jews of these ideas. The Mishnah ('Ab. Zarah i. 5) mentions the pagan custom of sacrificing white cocks, the Jews being forbidden for this reason to sell them to the pagans. The idol Nergal (II Kings xvii. 30) was taken by the Rabbis to be a cock (Sanh. 63b), which assumption was based probably on something more than the mere similarity of sound between "tarnegol" (cock) and "Nergal" (compare the cock-shaped Melek Taous of the Devil-worshipers; see Herzog's "Real-Encyklopädie," *s.v.* "Nergal"). The various theories found in Jewish literature on the crowing of the cock at the approach of day are probably traceable to Persian influence (compare Darmesteter's translation of the Zend-Avesta, in "Sacred Books of the East," i. 192, 193; Schorr, "He-Ḥaluẓ," i. 143, iii. 93, vii. 19).

The Greek Baruch Apocalypse says that the rustling of the wings of the phenix, a fabulous bird which accompanies the sun, awakens the cocks, "who then converse in the language peculiar to them"; for when the angels get the sun ready for the day the cock crows (ch. iv., end; compare Slavonic Enoch, xv. 1). As in the Zend-Avesta the cock is said to crow out to men early in the morning: "Arise, O men! recite the Ashem Yad va histen" (Vendidad, Fargard, xviii.), so the Zohar says that in the hour of grace (about midnight), when God visits paradise to confer with the souls of the pious, a fire proceeds from this holy place and touches the wings of the cock, who then breaks out into praise to God, at the same time calling out to men to praise the Lord and do His service (Zohar, Wayiḳra, iii. 22b, 23a). In this connection must be mentioned a precept of the Talmud to the effect that on hearing the cock crow in the morning, the following benediction must be pronounced: "Praised be Thou, O God, Lord of the world, that gavest understanding to the cock to distinguish between day and night" (Ber. 60b). This benediction is traced back to Job xxxviii. 36, where שכוי is derived from שכה ("to see"), and the cock is designated as the one who foresees the day. In the Zend-Avesta the cock is also called "parôdars" (he who foresees [the coming dawn]). Characteristic also is the statement in a late Midrash ("Seder Yeẓirat ha-Walad," in Jellinek's "B. H." i. 155) that the sobs of the dying at the sight of the angel who comes to take the soul are heard by no one except the cock. The favor in which the cock is held by the heavenly beings has perhaps also given rise to the statement that by closely watching the cock's comb one can determine the moment when God lays aside His mercy; this happens at some one moment during the first three hours of day, the color of the comb changing at that moment.

Superstitious speculations in regard to the cock were frequent during the Middle Ages. The cock is still killed as a "kapparah" for a man (see Atonement); and the will of Judah the Pious directs that a cock which upsets a vessel shall be killed immediately, because evil spirits have seized it. The demons ("shadim") are said to have cock's feet (Ber. 6a). Many of these superstitions are still found among ignorant people in various countries. Thus, for instance, the scratching of the cock with his claws is taken to signify that visitors are coming. Compare Hen.

Bibliography: Lewysohn, *Zoologie des Talmuds*, pp. 194–199; Kohut, *Aruch Completum*, s.v. תרנגול; Rubin, in *Ha-Karmel* (weekly), vol. iii., Nos. 9, 11.

E. C. L. G.

COCKATRICE. See Basilisk.

CODES. See Laws, Codification of.

CODICIL. See Will.

CŒLE-SYRIA: The name, occurring in the Greek apocryphal writings, of a Persian province lying between Egypt and the Euphrates. In old editions it is given as "Celosyria." This name stands for the earlier expression "the country beyond the river" (Ezra iv. 10, R. V.; compare I Esd. ii. 17, 24, 27, R. V., "Cœle-Syria and Phenicia"; *ib.* vi. 29, "tribute of Cœle-Syria and Phenicia"; and *ib.* vii. 1, "the governor of Cœle-Syria and Phenicia"). II Macc. iii. 5, 8 speaks also of a single governor for both Cœle-Syria and Phenicia under Antiochus Epiphanes, so that the old Persian administrative division must have been retained.

The Greek term "Cœle-Syria" originally meant the valley between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, the modern Bika', called in the O. T. (Josh. xi. 17, xii. 7) "the valley of Lebanon." Greek writers extend that name vaguely and inconsistently to "the land from Seleucis [*i.e.*, northern Syria] to Egypt" (Strabo, p. 756), or to central Syria with Palestine except Judea proper (Strabo, p. 750), or with all Palestine (thus Polybius, v. 80, 86; while v. 87, like the apocryphal writings, distinguishes Phenicia from Cœle-Syria).

Josephus also varies in his use of the term, applying ("Ant." xiv. 40) "Cœle-Syria" to the valley, excluding Damascus, but (*ib.* xiii. 13, § 2 [Niese xii. 136]) including Palestine, east of the Jordan (*ib.* xiv. 154), Galilee, and (*ib.* xiv. 79) extending it to the Euphrates (this passage is, however, corrected by Niese). The Romans later used "Syria Cœla" for northern Syria.

E. G. H. W. M. M.

COEN: Physician-in-ordinary at the court of Prince Vassile Lupu, hospodar of Moldavia from 1634 to 1654. The dates of his birth and death, and his given name, are unknown. E. Schwarzfeld is of the opinion that Coen was a descendant of Eliezer Cohen of Safed, who had settled in Poland, and one of whose sons, Moses, a rabbi and physician, escaped during the Cossack uprising in 1648 (Carmoly, "Hist. des Médecins Juifs," i. 245, Brussels, 1884). He stood high in favor with the Sultan of Turkey, and when Prince Lupu was in danger of being dethroned, through the intrigues of his enemies, Coen protected him. The sultan entrusted to Coen for transmission to Prince Lupu important documents concerning a secret alliance between Sweden and Russia, the object of which was a joint attack upon Turkey. The government of Venice sought his advice in matters of diplomacy, as appears from two letters of Giovanni Battista Ballarius to the Doge of Venice, dated at Constantinople Feb. 28, 1656, and Jan. 3, 1660. It was probably owing to Coen's influence that enactments in favor of the Jews of Moldavia were issued by Lupu.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Schwarzfeld, *Le Rôle des Médecins Juifs dans les Principautés Roumaines*, Hebr. transl. in *Ha-Yeḳeb*, p. 68, St. Petersburg, 1894.

S. H. R.

COEN, ACHILLE: 1. Italian soldier; born at Leghorn in 1851. He studied at the military academy of his native town, and was appointed lieutenant in the engineer corps at the age of twenty. Subsequently assigned to the sharpshooters, he was transferred to the staff and attached to the military section of the Geographical Institute at Florence. On his promotion to a captaincy he was appointed adjutant to General Heusch. In 1895, with the rank of major, he was sent, under General Baldissera, to join the army then operating in Africa. A few days before his arrival, however, the Italian commander, Baratieri, had provoked and lost the battle of Adowa. After the campaign Coen, promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, was appointed director of the military section of the Geographical Institute. He has since been transferred to Cesena as commander of the Second Regiment of the Royal Brigade.

Coen is a knight of the Order of the Crown of Italy, and of the Order of Saint Maurice and Saint Lazarus. He has published numerous essays in technical journals and in the "Nuova Antologia," and also reports of work done at the Geographical Institute, notably "Venticinque Anni di Lavoro all'Istituto Geografico."

2. Italian historian; born at Pisa Jan. 5, 1844. At the age of twenty-three he was appointed professor of history at the Lyceum of Leghorn. In 1879 he was called as professor of ancient history to the Accademia Scientifica e Letteraria at Milan, and in 1887, in the same capacity, to the Istituto di Studi Superiori at Florence, taking charge also of the university library of that city. He is a knight of the Order of the Crown of Italy.

His published works include: "L'Abdicazione di Diocleziano" (Leghorn, 1877); "Di Una Leggenda Relativa alla Nascita e alla Gioventù di Costantino Magno" (Rome, 1882); "Manuale di Storia Orientale" (Milan, 1886); "Manuale di Storia Greca" (Milan, 1887); "Vezzio Agorio Pretestato" (Rome, 1888). He also published Aristophanes' "Clouds," with introduction and critical notes (Prato, 1871).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. de Gubernatis, *Dictionnaire des Ecrivains Contemporains.*

S. I. E.

COEN, BENJAMIN VITALE: Italian rabbi; born at Alessandria della Paglia in the second half of the seventeenth century; died at Reggio nell' Emilia in 1739. Descended from a wealthy and prominent family, Coen was elected rabbi of Casale while still a youth. He soon became known for his ability and erudition, and was chosen rabbi at Reggio nell' Emilia, at that time an important post. Among his disciples were Israel Bassano, his son-in-law, who succeeded him in the rabbinate, and Manasseh Joshua Padova, rabbi of Modena. Abraham Joseph Graziani wrote some verses in his honor.

Coen was the author of the following works: "'Et ha-Zamir" (The Time of Singing), hymns for all the feasts of the year, Venice, 1707; "Alon Bakut" (Oak of Weeping), a commentary on Lamentations, Venice, 1712; "Abot 'Olam" (The Fathers of the Universe), a commentary on the "Sayings of the Fathers," *ib.* 1719; "Gebul Binyamin" (The Border of Benjamin), a collection of sermons, Amsterdam, 1727; "Notes on the Toze'ot Ḥayyim," published together with the text; "Gishme Berakah" and "Pithe She'arim," responsa on the Shulḥan 'Aruk, still extant in manuscript; a number of scientific letters inserted in the "Iggeret Harmag";

and ritual decisions scattered throughout the "Paḥad Yiẓḥaḳ" and "Shete ha-Leḥem."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 791; Mortara, *Indice*, s.v.; Zedner, *Cat. Hebr. Books Brit. Mus.* p. 87; Joua, in *Rev. Et. Juives*, iv. 119.

G. I. Br.

COEN, GIUSEPPE: Italian painter; born in Ferrara 1811; died in Venice Jan. 26, 1856. He was descended from an old and distinguished family. As a boy he evinced a predilection for music and painting, and studied art without having any particular career in view. Orphaned at an early age, he was forced by circumstances to choose a profession. He followed the style of Canaletto, the Venetian landscape and architectural painter. His picture, "The Façade of the Cathedral in Ferrara," was exhibited in 1840 in Venice, and won for him considerable approbation. In 1841 his native city, Ferrara, awarded him a silver medal in appreciation of his labor for art.

To perfect himself in his art he went to Rome in 1843, and won the friendship of Massimo d'Azeglio, the painter, statesman, and author. Returning to Ferrara, he received many important commissions, one being from the Duke of Brunswick. In 1850 he removed to Venice, and was one of the first to practise artistic photography. His views of Venice were awarded a medal at the Paris Exposition of 1855.

In Ferrara, Coen enjoyed extraordinary popularity, his house being a literary and artistic center. He was one of the first Jews in Ferrara to be elected (1849) to the town council.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Pesaro Abramo, *Memorie Storiche Sulla Communità Israelitica Ferrarese*, pp. 95–97.

S. I. E.

COEN, GRAZIADIO VITA ANANIA: Italian rabbi and scholar; born at Reggio nell' Emilia about 1750; died March 28, 1834. He studied under Sansone Naḥmani and Isaiah Vita Carmi. He established in his native city a school that produced several rabbis, among whom D. J. Maroni deserves special mention. Coen preached not only at Reggio nell' Emilia, but also in the neighboring communities. In 1825 he was called as chief rabbi to Florence, where he founded a Hebrew printing-press.

His works include: "Ḥinnuk la-Na'ar" (Instruction for the Boy), 2 vols., Reggio, 1804; Venice, 1805; 6th ed., Leghorn, 1880; "Liḳḳuṭe Messeḳtot"; "Sha'are ha-Talmud" (Doors of the Talmud), Reggio, 1811, a collection of treatises; "Reshit Leḳaḥ" (Beginning of Doctrine), Reggio, 1809, a handbook of elementary instruction in Hebrew and Italian; a Hebrew-Italian dictionary, entitled "Ma'aneh ha-Lashon" (Answer of the Tongue), *ib.* 1812; a Hebrew grammar, "Diḳduḳ Leshon ha-Ḳodesh," Venice, 1808; "Shebile Emunah" (Ways of Faith), another pedagogical work; "Zemirot Yisrael" (Songs of Israel), Leghorn, 1793; "Ruaḥ Ḥadashah" (The New Spirit), Reggio, 1822; "Saggio di Eloquenza Sacra del Dott. Anania Coen Rabbino"; "Della Poesia Rabbinica," 2 vols., Florence, 1828; "Della Poesia Scritturale," Reggio (n.d.), containing some of his own poems.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Nepi-Ghirondi, *Toledot Gedole Yisrael*, p. 104; De Gubernatis, *Matériaux pour Servir à l'Histoire des Études Orientales*, Paris, 1876.

S. U. C.—J. E.

COEN, JACOB: Eldest son of Abraham Coen, and receiver-general ("contador mayor") of Count Maurice of Nassau, Stadtholder of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, 1584–1625. Although the Jews of Holland did not possess rights of citizenship, Maurice, rising above the prejudices of his time, and in grateful remembrance of the great services of Abraham Coen, bestowed upon the latter's son the above-mentioned office.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Publications Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.* iii. 15.

D. S. Man.

COEN, JAN PIETERSZOON: Governor-general of Java, and founder of the Dutch colonial system; born at Hoorn, Holland, Jan. 8, 1587; died in 1629. He gained his early commercial experience with the firm of Piscatori in Rome, went to India on a commercial exploration in 1607, and made a second voyage with two ships in 1612. He was appointed director-general of the Indian trade in 1613. As governor-general of Java, he destroyed (1619) the native town of Jacatra, and founded Batavia, the capital of the Dutch East Indies. He died childless in 1629, and his large possessions went for the benefit of orphans in his native town of Hoorn, subject to a bequest in favor of members of his family, which seems to have been some time later successfully claimed.

Coen is said to have been of Jewish descent. The biographies, while printing voluminous details of his career as governor-general, are singularly reticent in regard to his parentage. The name or occupation of his father is not found, though one would have expected these facts to be recorded of so eminent a man. Perhaps as a convert he endeavored to conceal them. His portrait in Valentyn's "History of Java" and in Müller's "Golden Age" might well be that of a Jew. Abbing's "History of Hoorn" gives chiefly negative evidence on the subject of Coen's Jewish connection. The question of his extraction must be left undecided.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *International Cyclopedia*; A. Winkler Prins, *Geïllustreerde Encyclopedie*; *Jew. Chron.* Oct. 20, 1899, p. 21.

D. A. R.

COEN, JOSEF DI MICHELE: One of the Jewish boys of Rome baptized under Pope Pius IX.; born 1854. In 1864 he was apprenticed to a shoemaker. Sent by his master to deliver a pair of shoes at the house of a priest, the boy was seized and dragged to the Casa dei Neofiti, where he was detained for baptism. The papal authorities refused to surrender him, in spite of the protests of his father and of the Jewish community.

The affair caused a stir throughout Europe, particularly in France, the French ambassador, Count Sartigues, protesting vehemently in the name of his government. To his remonstrances the papal government replied that the child had himself determined to turn Christian, and that it was not the function of the pope to interfere with such a resolution. The pope, in examining into the case, is said to have asked Coen whether he embraced Christianity of his own free will. The boy replied that he preferred a religion which provided him with fine clothes, good food, and plenty of toys, to his poor family and the

shoemaker's shop. This reply convinced the pope of the sincerity of the convert's intentions; and accordingly, on St. Michael's Day, Sept. 29, 1864, the baptism of Coen was celebrated in St. Stanislaus Chapel, Cardinal Caggiano officiating, and Count De Maistre being godfather. The neophyte received the name of Stanislaus Maria Michael Joseph Pius Eugenio.

The sufferings of Coen's family, caused by his capture, were excessive. His eighteen-year-old sister died as a result of the excitement; his mother became insane and was taken to relatives in Leghorn; and his father had to leave Rome in order to escape the persecution of the government. Another Jew was thrown into prison because he said he had seen Coen at the window of the Casa. Moreover, as a result of the affair, a Christian mechanic caused the forcible baptism of an eight-year-old Jewish boy.

It was only on the fall of the papal government in 1870, and after energetic measures had been taken by the Italian government, that Coen was released and restored to his mother in Leghorn, his forcible detention having extended over seven years.

Bibliography: Vogelstein and Rieger, *Gesch. der Juden in Rom*, ii. 386; *Allg. Zeit. des Jud.* 1864, pp. 533, 580, 631, 699, 730; *Ha-Maggid*, 1870, p. 372.

S. A. R.

COEN, MOSES VITA: Banker at Ferrara, Italy, in the eighteenth century. He often transacted business with Pope Clement XIII. and with his successor, Clement XIV. On Feb. 22, 1764, Clement XIII. requested Coen to provide the papal government with as much corn as possible and with 4,000 sacks of Indian wheat, to be shipped either at Ancona or at Civita Vecchia, leaving the price to be settled by him.

Especially intimate were Coen's relations with Pope Clement XIV., whose confidential friend and adviser he became. He consequently shared in the lampoons directed against Clement. During the famine of 1772–73 Coen came to the rescue of the government and furnished it with 5,000 sacks of Indian wheat.

During the French invasion of 1798 Coen was one of the commission of six appointed to sell the property confiscated by the provisional government.

Bibliography: Vogelstein and Rieger, *Gesch. der Juden in Rom*, ii. 247–249, 353; M. Stern, *Urkundliche Beiträge über die Stellung der Päpste zu den Juden*, pp. 184–192.

S. A. R.

COEN, RAFFAELO DEL FU VITALE: Austrian physician; born at Spalato, Dalmatia, Jan. 19, 1839. He was educated at the gymnasium of his native town and at the University of Vienna, whence he was graduated as doctor of medicine in 1872 whereupon he commenced to practise in the Austrian capital as a physician and as a specialist in impediments in speech. In 1882 he opened a private dispensary and hospital for stammerers.

Coen has written essays for the "Medizinisch-Chirurgische Centralblatt in Wien," "Wiener Medizinische Presse," "Medizinisch-Pädagogische Monatsschrift für die Gesammte Sprachheilkunde," and other medical journals. He is the author of several books, among which are "Pathologie und Therapie der Sprachanomalien," Vienna, 1886; "Die Hörstummheit," *ib.* 1887; "Specielle Therapie des Stammelns," Stuttgart, 1889; "Uebungsbuch für Stotternde," Vienna, 1891.

S. F. T. H.

COEN-CANTARINI. See Cantarini.

COFFEE: A decoction of the berry of the *Coffea Arabica*, supposed to be indigenous to Abyssinia, and introduced into Arabia in the fifteenth century. It soon came into common use throughout Islam, and was thence introduced into European civilization. Among the Jews of Egypt it became so popular as to be known as "the Jewish drink" (A. Isaaci, Resp. i. §§ 2, 3). In London, England, it is generally stated to have been introduced from Constantinople in 1652 by a Greek named Pasqua Rossie, who started the first coffee-house in St. Michael's Alley, Cornhill; but according to Anthony A. Wood ("Diary," p. 19), Jacob, a Jew, sold coffee at Oxford two years before. The coffee-plant was introduced by the Dutch into Java about 1690, Surinam about 1718, and Jamaica in 1728. In the last two places Jews were largely instrumental in the development of the trade, with which they have been connected throughout its history, the largest holders of the berry in 1902 being the firm of Lewisohn Brothers of New York.

Many questions of Jewish law have been raised in regard to the use of coffee. Isaac Luria would not drink coffee prepared by Gentiles, and in this was followed by Ḥayyim Benveniste, who, however, permitted others to drink it. It has been decided that coffee may not be drunk before morning prayers, though water may; it had previously been drunk so early, especially in Egypt, as an antidote to influenza. Coffee is permitted on Passover, and even at the Seder service in addition to the four cups of wine that may be drunk. Jacob Marx of Hanover permitted the use of acorn coffee on the Passover, though the use of chicory was forbidden. If coffee is taken after the grace after meals, no benediction is necessary before tasting it, though some authorities demand one after it has been consumed. The drinking of coffee in coffee-houses on Sabbath was generally prohibited.

Bibliography: Lampronti, *Paḥad Yiẓḥaḳ*, s.v. ארבע כוסות, מאן; Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature*, pp. 264–265; *New York Herald*, Nov. 9, 1902; J. Jacobs, in notes to *Howells' Familiar Letters*, p. 662; I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 138; L. Löw, *Ges. Schriften*, ii. 226, 236.

J.

COFFIN: The custom of using coffins is probably borrowed from the Egyptians. It is recorded of Joseph that he was "put in a coffin in Egypt" (Gen. l. 26). Tradition says it was of metal (Soṭah 13a). Both the Ark of the Covenant and the coffin are called, in Hebrew, "aron." The Talmud says that the "aron" (coffin) of Joseph was carried side by side with the "aron" (Ark) containing the Tables of the Law, so as to express the idea that "the one in this observed what is written upon the other" (Soṭah 13a *et seq.*).

From the verse "Adam and his wife hid themselves . . . amongst [literally, "within"] the trees of the garden" is derived the custom of burial in a wooden coffin (Gen. R. xix.).

Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi, in his will, ordered that a hole be made in the bottom of his coffin (Yer. Kil. vi.). Rabbi Jose b. Ḳisma, in his will, requested his disciples to bury his coffin deep in the ground, for fear of desecration, as he said there was not a coffin in Palestine which was not used as a feeding-trough for Persian horses (Sanh. 98a *et seq.*). To prevent such abuse, the Jewish law prohibited any one from deriving plunder from a coffin or burial-clothes. A coffin must not be used for secular purposes. A coffin out of use, if of stone or earthenware, must be broken up; if of wood, it must be burned (Shulḥan 'Aruk, Yoreh De'ah, 363, 5).

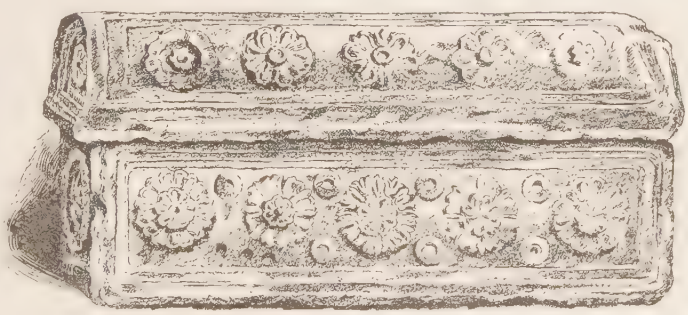
Talmudic Practise.

Stone Coffin Found in an Ancient Tomb at Lydda by M. Clermont-Ganneau.
(In the Louvre.)

It appears, however, that the coffin was originally used for the purpose of transporting a corpse to a distant place of burial; and whenever the cortège passed, the mourning regulations were observed by the multitude (M. Ḳ. 25a). Bar Ḳarya and R. Lazar (=Eleazar b. Pedath), both Palestinian rabbis, had noticed the approach of funeral parties, from the direction of Babylon, bearing corpses in coffins for burial in the Holy Land. Bar Ḳarya asked, "What have they gained [by living away from, and being buried in, Palestine]?" and quoted from Jeremiah (ii. 7), "Ye entered, ye defiled my land and made mine heritage an abomination." "But," answered R. Lazar, "as soon as a clod of earth of the Holy Land is put on the coffin, there is applicable the passage" Deut. xxxii. 43: וכפר אדמתו עמו [="His land will atone for His people]" (Yer. Kil. end; Ket. 35b; compare Bacher, "Ag. Pal. Amor." ii. 3).

It was considered an honor for the deceased to be carried from the death-chamber on a litter ("miṭṭah") to the place of burial, and a greater honor, usually reserved for scholars, to be borne on the death-bed itself. In the case of R. Hunah it was necessary to enlarge the exit from the house to make room for the passage of his bed, his removal to a smaller bed not being permitted (M. Ḳ. 25a). Maimonides says that the body should be buried in a wooden coffin ("Yad," Ebel, vi. 4). On the other hand, Naḥmanides, in order that the words of the passage "Thou art dust, and unto dust shalt thou return" may be literally fulfilled, declares that according to the Talmud the coffin is for the skeleton after the flesh is consumed, and that the bottom of the coffin should be removed, as in the case of Rabbi (quoted by Caro in Bet Joseph to Ṭur Yoreh De'ah, 362). In some countries it is customary to bury the dead in hammocks, and, after the flesh is consumed, to deposit the bones in a coffin (Shulḥan 'Aruk, *ib.* 363, 4). In other countries the dead are buried on simple boards, or placed directly in the ground (see Burial), a distinction being made only in case the dead is an Aaronite or of noble parentage. In modern times the use of coffins at every burial is insisted on.

Method of Burial.



Ornamented Stone Coffin Found in an Ancient Tomb Near Jerusalem.
(In the Louvre.)

Isaac Lampronti, in his Paḥad Yiẓḥaḳ (letter "Mem," p. 229), tells of a decision of 1678, in the case of Bizancia, the wife of Judah Ḥayyim of Corfu, who had requested her granddaughter, Semiralda, to place her (Bizancia's) head-dress in her coffin. Semiralda had, however, forgotten to do so; and a cabalist rabbi permitted the opening of the coffin in order to relieve her distress. The opening of the coffin was accompanied by prayers and ceremonial apologies to the dead for being disturbed. The almost universal former custom of putting the dead in a plain, unpainted wooden coffin covered with black cloth has been abandoned in modern times; and distinction is made, much against Jewish tradition, between rich persons and poor by more or less decorated coffins. Sometimes the bottom of the coffin is removed in order to bring the body into contact with the earth, for reasons stated above. In Jerusalem it is customary to carry the body on a litter to Mount Olivet, building in the grave a coffin of uncemented stone

Customs.

slabs, with sides and a top, but with no bottom, and covering the enclosure with earth (see BURIAL).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Lampronti, *Paḥad Yiẓḥaḳ*.

K. J. D. E.

COHEN, the name (כהן): The most usual surnames of European Jews. It indicates a family claiming descent from Aaron, the high priest. "Cohen" is the usual transliteration and orthography in English-speaking countries; but "Cowen" and "Cowan" also occur in England, while America has developed the forms "Cohan," "Cohane," "Cohne," "Cone," "Coon," "Kan," and "Koon." In Germany and Austria the forms "Cohn," "Conn" "Kahn," "Kohn," and others are met with; while it is probable that "Köhne" and "Kohner" also represent the recurring surname, which also occurs as a part of the names "Cohnheim" and "Cohnfeld." The French forms are represented by "Cahn," "Cahen," "Cahun," "Caen," and "Cain," or "Kahn," while Italy uses "Coen," and Holland "Cohen." The curious form "Coffen," in which the "ff" represents the aspirate, occurs in old Spanish records; and "Kahin" is the usual Arabic representation. The most numerous variants occur in Russia, which supplies "Cahan," "Cahana," "Kahan," "Kahana," and "Kahane," "Kagan," "Kogan," "Kogen," "Kohan" (the last two being Aramaic forms), besides the extended forms "Kohnowski" and "Koganowitch." The name also occurs in duplicated forms, only one of which need be mentioned here; namely, "Kohn-Zedek." This form is often abbreviated to Kaz, "Katz," (קץ) which is thus a variant of "Cohen."

Though claiming to be descended from a single person, the Cohens of to-day form rather a clan than a family. In Jewish religious life they have certain privileges and responsibilities: these are dealt with under PRIEST AND PRIESTHOOD. Not all of those who are, in the religious sense, Kohanim bear the name "Cohen." In a way, the name is not strictly a surname, but an indication of hereditary office.

The number of those who bear the name "Cohen" in its various forms is a considerable proportion of all Jews. Among the English Jews they form about 3 per cent; whereas on the continent of Europe, according to Lippe's "Bibliographisches Lexikon," they are only 2.3 per cent. In the 12,000 names contained in the lists of subscribers to the five chief Jewish charities of New York and Brooklyn, the Cohens, with the variant names, make up about 220, or less than 2 per cent. This relation of the number bearing the name "Cohen" to the total number of Jews in a list may be utilized to ascertain roughly the number in a much greater list. Thus, in the Brooklyn directory for 1900 there were 428 Cohens, which would indicate about 20,000 Jewish names in that directory.

How far this large proportion of Jews can claim a direct descent from Aaron is a matter of dispute. According to Jewish law, a Cohen may not marry a proselyte; accordingly, it would seem impossible that any admixture should occur among the Cohens. But they are allowed to marry the daughters of proselytes; and this would affect the purity of the Cohen descent. On the other hand, it is unlikely that any person would have assumed the name "Cohen" without cause, as several disabilities go with the descent. Thus, Cohens may not approach a dead body; and for this reason persons of that name are not welcomed as ministers in small congregations, and more rarely adopt the medical profession. Isaac ben Sheshet, of the fourteenth century, distinguished between the ancient and modern Cohens, declaring that it was only usage and not law which maintained the rights and responsibilities of the modern Cohens (Responsa, No. 94). Samuel de Medina, of the sixteenth century, agrees with this view, and assumes the impurity of the Cohen descent in discussing the validity of a marriage (Responsa, No. 235). Solomon Luria thinks it impossible for the Cohens to have preserved their purity of descent throughout the wanderings of the Jews. Jacob Emden recommends a Cohen to refund the five shekels given him for the redemption of the first-born, because he can not be sure of his origin and of his claim to the money. It has even been declared that some Cohens must not say the priestly blessing ("Magen Abraham," 201, 4; "Kerethi u-Pelethi," 61, 6).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jacobs, *Studies in Jewish Statistics*, pp. 4, xxvii.; Löw, *Die Lebensalter*, pp. 114–115 and notes.

E. C. J.

COHEN: A Baltimore family, originally from Bavaria, which has occupied an important place in the Jewish community and in municipal life since the early years of the nineteenth century. Its first representative in America was Jacob I. Cohen, who came from Oberdorf, near Nördlingen, Bavaria, in 1773, and settled in Lancaster, Pa. Thence he removed to Charleston, S. C., and, after serving in the Revolutionary war, to Richmond, Va. Here he was joined, in 1787, by his brother, Israel I. Cohen, whose wife and seven children—the oldest son being eighteen years of age—went to Baltimore in 1808. The children were Jacob I. Cohen, Jr., Philip I. Cohen, Mendes I. Cohen, Benjamin I. Cohen, David I. Cohen, Joshua I. Cohen, and Miriam I. Cohen.

The older sons soon participated in public life. In 1812 the name of **Philip,** and in 1822 that of Jacob, Jr., appear in the list of members of the exclusive organization, The Ancient and Honorable Mechanical Company of Baltimore. In the War of 1812–14 Philip and Mendes were members of Captain Nicholson's Company of Fencibles, and served in the defense of Fort McHenry during its bombardment. At his death, in 1852, Philip was postmaster of Norfolk, Va.

With the exception of Philip, all the brothers remained in Baltimore. The oldest, **Jacob, Jr.** (1789–1869), was the founder of the banking house of J. I. Cohen, Jr., & Brothers, and was identified with the struggle for political rights of the Jews in Maryland (1818–26). This struggle terminating favorably to his coreligionists, Jacob was immediately elected (Oct., 1826) as the representative of the sixth ward in the first branch of the city council. He was repeatedly elected to this body; and for several successive years he acted as its president.

For the first nine years (1830–38) of its existence he served the board of public school commissioners as secretary and secretary-treasurer. Jacob was also one of the projectors of the Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Railroad, and for a long time its vice-president, remaining a director until

nis death. He was also a director of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and for twenty years president of the Baltimore Fire Insurance Company, besides being prominent in many public-spirited enterprises.

The third brother, Col. **Mendes** (1796–1879), after his retirement from the firm in 1829, traveled extensively in Europe and the East, and brought back with him the objects that form the Cohen collection of Egyptian antiquities in the Johns Hopkins University. He served a term in the Maryland House of Delegates (1847–48), was vice-president of the Hebrew Benevolent Society for over twenty years, and was prominently identified with the establishment of a Jewish hospital in Baltimore.

The sixth brother, **Joshua** (1801–70), was a physician, and one of the earliest aurists—perhaps the first—in the United States. He occupied the position of professor of geology and mineralogy in the academic department of the University of Maryland, was president (1857–58) of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland, and a member of the American Philosophical Society. Together with a friend, he established an eye and ear institute in Baltimore. He has left one publication, "Post-Mortem Appearances in a Case of Deafness." His library, interesting to Biblical students, is preserved at the family residence.

A son of the fifth brother, David I., is **Mendes** Cohen (b. 1831), a distinguished civil engineer, now (1902) living in Baltimore. His career began in the locomotive works of Ross Winans. From 1851 to 1855 he was one of the engineering corps of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. From 1855 to 1875 he served the following companies either as assistant superintendent, superintendent, comptroller, or president: the Hudson River Railroad, the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company, and the Pittsburg and Connellsville Railroad. During 1892–93 Mendes was president of the American Society of Civil Engineers, and in 1894 President Cleveland appointed him a member of the board to report upon a route for the Chesapeake and Delaware Ship Canal. Since 1884 he has been corresponding secretary to the Maryland Historical Society; since 1892, a member of the Municipal Art Commission of Baltimore; since 1893, a member of the Sewerage Commission of Baltimore; and since 1897, one of the vice-presidents of the American Jewish Historical Society.

Bibliography: Isaac Markens, *The Hebrews in America*, New York, 1888; *Reports of the Commissioners of Public Schools, Baltimore*, 1831-38; G. W. McCreary, *The Ancient and Honorable Mechanical Company of Baltimore*, 1901; Harry Friedenwald, *The Early History of Ophthalmology and Otology in Baltimore*; *The Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin*, Aug.—Sept. 1897.

A. H. S.

COHEN, ABNER: The pioneer of Krugersdorp, Transvaal Colony; born about 1860; emigrated to South Africa in 1881; worked his way north, and fell in with the Boers, learning their language and trading with them. On his way to Johannesburg in 1887, he pitched his tent on a great heap of stones seventeen miles to the west of the town, which became the site of the town of Krugersdorp. He was thus the first English settler in the town, and has done much toward its development. Cohen has also taken a share in the opening up of Bulawayo and Rhodesia.

Though taking no part in the conspiracy against the Boer government in 1895, he was intimate with members of the Reform Committee, and owing to some indiscreet remarks was for some time imprisoned.

As president of the Krugersdorp congregation, Cohen obtained from President Kruger two valuable freehold sites for the Jewish community.

Bibliography: *Jewish Chronicle*, Oct. 14, 1898.

J. G. L.

COHEN, ABRAHAM. See Abraham ben Moses Cohen.

COHEN, ABRAHAM: Assistant rabbi in Tunis; died 1840 at Safed, whither he had made a pilgrimage in his old age. He was a grandson of one of the earliest rabbis in Tunis. His book, "Abraham Yagel" (Abraham Will Rejoice), a work loosely arranged both as to form and contents, was published at Leghorn in 1843. It consists of commentaries on various treatises of the Talmud, together with notes on parts of the Bible, and on Maimonides and other legal codes.

Bibliography: Cazès, *Notes Bibliographiques sur la Littérature Juive-Tunisienne*, pp. 93 *et seq.*; Zedner, *Cat. Hebr. Books Brit. Mus.* p. 14.

G. M. K.

COHEN, ABRAHAM: Chief rabbi of Djerba, an island near Tunis; died in 1870. He was the author of a Hebrew poem, "Shir Ḥadash," published at Leghorn by Israel Costa and dealing with the 613 precepts of the Law; and of a Hebrew commentary on the Psalms, "Ḳan Ẓippor," published at Jerusalem (1870) by Israel Frumkin.

Bibliography: Cazès, *Notes Bibliographiques, sur la Littérature Juive-Tunisienne.*

S. M. Fr.

COHEN, ALFRED J. (better known under the nom de plume of **Alan Dale**): American dramatic critic; born May 14, 1861, at Birmingham, England, where he attended King Edward's School. Then followed three years' study of dramatic art in Paris, after which (1887) Dale went to New York and began his journalistic career on the "Evening World." The independence, brightness, and acerbity of his criticisms soon attracted attention, and made him the most feared dramatic critic in the American metropolis. In 1895 he joined the "Journal," and increased the scope of his work by a broader and more liberal view of things theatrical—a change brought about by experience.

Dale is the author of several novels: "Jonathan's Home," London, 1885; "A Marriage Below Zero," New York, 1889; "An Eerie He and She," *ib.* 1889; "An Old Maid Kindled," *ib.* 1890; "Miss Innocence," *ib.* 1891; "Conscience on Ice," Chicago, 1892; "My Footlight Husband," New York, 1893; "A Moral Busybody," *ib.* 1894; "His Own Image," *ib.* 1899; and "A Girl Who Wrote," *ib.* 1902. He also wrote "Familiar Chats with Queens of the Stage," *ib.* 1890.

Bibliography: *Who's Who in America.*

A. E. Ms.

COHEN, ANNE-JEAN-PHILIPPE-LOUIS, DE VINKENHOEF: French litterateur; born at Amersfort, in the Netherlands, Oct. 17, 1781; died in Paris April 6, 1848. Beginning as a journalist, he contributed to the "Etoile." He went to

Paris in 1809, and was appointed censor for foreign languages in 1811, and librarian of the Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève in 1824. He was the compiler of several catalogues, and also contributed to various papers, including "L'Ami du Roi," "Les Annales de la Littérature et des Arts," and translated works by French, Swedish, English, Russian, and Italian authors, as "La Symbolique Populaire," by Buchmann; "Histoire des Institutions d'Education Ecclésiastique," by Theiner; "Scènes Norvégiennes," by Bremer; and "Histoire de la Conquête de Grenade," by Washington Irving, 1829. He also contributed the "Théâtre Hollandais" to the "Collection des Théâtres Etrangers."

In addition Cohen published a number of works, among which were: "La France telle que M. de Kératry l'a Rêvée," Paris, 1821; "Herminie de Civray," 4 vols., 1823; "Histoire de Pierre Terrail, Dit le Chevalier Bayard," 1821 and 1825; "Jacqueline de Bavière, Dauphine de France," 4 vols., 1821; "Précis Historique sur Pie VII.," 1823; "La Noblesse de France, Histoire, Mœurs, et Institutions," 1845; "Réflexions Historiques et Philosophiques sur les Révolutions," 1846.

Bibliography: *La Grande Encyclopédie*, s.v.; *La France Littéraire*, s.v.

S. J. W.

COHEN, ARISTIDE FÉLIX: French author; born at Marseilles Dec. 31, 1831; died in Paris Feb. 17, 1896; brother of the composer Jules Cohen. He was made auditor of the Conseil d'Etat on May 28, 1855, and held this position until 1865. His works include: "Etudes sur les Impôts et sur les Budgets des Principaux Etats de l'Europe," 1865; "La Flamboyante," a comedy in three acts, written in collaboration with Ferrier and Valabrègue, 1884; "Le Club," 1887; "Frappant!" a story in verse after the Provençal poet Bénédit, 1887; "La Revanche du Mari," a vaudeville, 1890; "Marion," a comedy, 1892; and "Le Duc Jean," 1893.

S. J. W.

COHEN, ARTHUR: English barrister and king's counsel; born in London Nov. 18, 1830. After three years' study at the gymnasium in Frankfort-on-the-Main, he entered as a student at University College, London. Thence he proceeded to Cambridge at a time when it was almost impossible for a Jew to gain admission into the colleges. At length he was received into Magdalen College. In 1852 he was elected president of the Cambridge Union Debating Society. At Cambridge Cohen had a successful career, coming out fifth wrangler in the mathematical tripos; but he was prevented from taking his degree till after the repeal of the Test Act in 1871.

Cohen then read law; and five years after he had been called to the bar, he established for himself a reputation in shipping and insurance cases. Among several important appointments was his selection to represent the interests of England in the famous arbitration case connected with the "Alabama" at Geneva in 1872. Returning to England after the completion of the case, Cohen in 1874 unsuccessfully contested Lewes in the Liberal interest. But in 1880 he was elected for the Southwark division, and shortly afterward was offered a judgeship, which, however, he declined, though later he became a judge of the Cinque Ports. He has been for many years standing counsel for his university. He has often represented foreign governments in disputes before the English law courts, as, for example, the Japanese government in an important case against the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company.

Cohen has held various important positions in the London Jewish community. For many years he was president of the Board of Deputies, succeeding his uncle, Sir Moses Montefiore; but he resigned the position in 1894. He has been a vice-president of Jews' College, and for many years president of the borough Jewish schools.

Bibliography: *Young Israel*, ii., No. 13; *People of the Period*, 1897; *Jewish Year Book*, 1901-2.

J. G. L.

COHEN, BENJAMIN LOUIS: English politician and communal worker; member of Parliament for East Islington since 1892; born in London in 1844; son of Louis Cohen, founder of the firm of Louis Cohen & Sons, which he joined on reaching manhood. Cohen was educated privately, and on reaching maturity began a philanthropic career, both Jewish and general, especially interesting himself in technical education. He is a governor of St. Bartholomew's, Bridewell, and Bethlehem hospitals; life member and former vice-president of the Council of the United Synagogue; was president of the Jewish Board of Guardians from 1887 until June, 1900, and during his presidency arranged the transfer of the institution from its old quarters in Devonshire street to Middlesex street. Cohen has also been a member of the Jewish Board of Deputies, one of the presidents of the Hand-in-Hand and Widows' Home, the London Orphan Asylum, and vice-president of the Orphan Working School.

In 1888 Cohen was elected as a "Moderate" to the London County Council for the city, and in 1892 entered Parliament. Besides discharging these multifarious duties, Cohen was one of the original members of the Russo-Jewish committee, and acted as its treasurer till 1887.

Bibliography: *Jewish Chronicle*, Aug. 5, 1892; *Jewish Year Book*, 1901, p. 253.

J. E. Ms.

COHEN, BENOIT: Philanthropist; born 1798 in Amsterdam; died in Paris July 15, 1856. He went to Paris as a young man, and entered upon a successful business career, devoting a great deal of his time and energy to the affairs of the community. He was president of the Board of Jewish Charities of Paris, honorary president of the Rothschild Hospital in the Rue Picpus, and he addressed himself in behalf of the community, often with success, directly to King Louis Philippe and to the Duke of Orleans. Cohen was also a member of the Jewish consistory, and the founder, as well as the most active worker, of the Société des Amis du Travail, which had for its object the assistance of children toward an honest career as mechanics or artisans.

Bibliography: *Archives Israélites*, 1856, pp. 436-441.

S. A. R.

COHEN, DAVID: Rabbi (1902) of the island of Djerba, near Tunis. He is the author of the following Hebrew works: "Shire David" (Songs of David),

a collection of poems; a treatise on grammar, with notes on the principles underlying the computation of the Jewish calendar; "Dibre David" (Words of David), a commentary on the Pentateuch and certain other books of the Bible.

Bibliography: Cazès, *Notes Bibliographiques*, s.v.

S. M. Fr.

COHEN, DAVID DE LARA. See Lara, David Cohen de.

COHEN, EDWARD: Australian statesman; born in London 1822; died March, 1877. He received his early education in Australia, and entered into business as a partner in his father's firm. Shortly after his arrival in Victoria in 1846, he purchased an auctioneer's business at Melbourne, in which he remained till 1868, and which became one of the leading concerns in the city.

Cohen soon became connected with the charitable institutions of the colony. He was for twenty years treasurer of the Melbourne Hospital, and for seven years president of the Melbourne Hebrew congregation. He was an alderman of the city, and in 1872 served as mayor of Melbourne. His activity in the council soon brought about a financial inquiry which led to drastic reforms in the arrangement of the city accounts.

In 1861 Cohen was elected member of Parliament for East Melbourne, which constituency he represented for many years. A free-lance in politics, his arguments in debate carried weight, and his large mercantile experience lent them additional force. He was a director of the Hudson's Bay Railway Company and of the Colonial Bank, and was an active initiator of colonial industries. Cohen was at one time a member of the Victorian ministry, in which he filled the office of commissioner of customs.

Bibliography: *Jewish Chronicle*, Jan. 14, 1870; April 27, 1877; *Jewish Record*, Jan. 13, 1871; *Australian Illustrated News*, Jan., 1871.

J. G. L.

COHEN, ELIAS (better known as Elias Pasha): Turkish physician; born in 1844. He belongs to a family many members of which have been distinguished in medicine. His early studies were completed at the Jewish communal school founded at Constantinople by the Camondo family. He entered the imperial school of medicine in 1861, graduating six years later as doctor of medicine, and proceeding in 1868 to western Europe to continue his professional studies. He resided at Berlin until 1871, acting while there as assistant to Professor Von Graefe, and attending the clinics of Virchow, Traube, and others. On the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war he continued his studies in Vienna.

Cohen returned to Constantinople in 1873, and was appointed professor at the military school at Haïdar-Pasha. Soon after he was sent to Monastir, the headquarters of the third army corps, as oculist and chief surgeon. On being recalled to Constantinople, he was attached to the central naval hospital, and given the rank of major in the imperial service. His vast knowledge and high reputation in the capital gave rise to jealousies in influential circles, and he was obliged to resign.

It was after Cohen had left the service that he was summoned to attend one of the imperial princesses. The rapid success of his treatment attracted the attention of the sultan, who appointed him court physician with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Two years later he was promoted to the rank of general, being the first Turkish Jew to occupy this high position. It was then that the sultan appointed the new pasha as his private physician. In 1888 he was appointed to the faculty of medicine at Constantinople as professor of dermatology, and became, in 1894, member of the Superior Sanitary Commission, then created.

Elias Pasha is decorated with the grand ribbons of Medjidie and of the Osmanie, the Imtiaz Liakat medals, the Turco-Grecian war medal, etc.

Elias Pasha has always taken the liveliest interest in the welfare of his coreligionists, and has given on several occasions signal proofs of his solicitude. In 1885, owing to an alleged ritual murder, the Greek and Armenian population of Kadikeuy, a thickly populated suburb of Constantinople, threatened the Jews with wholesale massacre. Several Jews, indeed, fell victims to the fury of the fanatics; and the movement was assuming grave proportions, when Elias Pasha, with the authority of the sultan, intervened on behalf of his brethren. Rigorous measures were adopted to repress the émeute, and the guilty persons were sentenced to severe punishment.

Bibliography: *Jewish Chronicle*, Nov. 30, 1900.

S. M. Fr.

COHEN, ELLEN GERTRUDE: English painter; studied at the Slade and Royal Academy schools, London, and in Paris under Constant and Laurens; first exhibited at the Academy in 1891, her work being a portrait medallion of Dr. B. W. Richardson. In Paris she exhibited at the Salon (Champs Elysées) from 1894. The pictures by her, shown at the Royal Academy, were "Tired Out," in 1892; "Dibbling for Chub," in 1897; and "Qualifying for the Coach Club," in 1899. She is also a constant contributor to the exhibitions held by the Royal Institute of Painters in Water and Oil Colors.

As an artist in black and white Miss Cohen has contributed to many magazines and papers, including the "Pall Mall," "Queen," and "Pictorial World." Her Parisian experiences, written as well as sketched by her, appeared in "The Strand Magazine" and "The Studio."

Bibliography: *Jewish World*, Nov. 1899.

J. G. L.

COHEN, EMIL WILHELM: German mineralogist; born at Aakjaer, near Horsens, Jutland, Oct. 12, 1842. He studied at the universities of Heidelberg and Berlin, and from 1867 to 1869 was assistant at the mineralogical institute of the former seat of learning. In 1871 he was appointed privatdocent, but resigned the position early the next year, when he went to South Africa on a tour of geological and mineralogical research. Cohen visited the Vaal River diamond-diggings and the newly discovered mines in that part of Griqualand West now known as Kimberley. Thence he went north to the Lydenburg district, emerging eventually at Delagoa Bay. This trip consumed a year; and on his return to Germany he published "Bemerkungen zur Routenkarte von Lydenburg nach den Goldfel-

dern und nach Delagoa Bai" (1875). In 1878 Cohen was appointed assistant professor of petrography at Strasburg and a member of the geological commission of Alsace-Lorraine. Seven years later he became professor at Greifswald.

Cohen is the author of "Die zur Dyas Gehörigen Gesteine des Südlichen Odenwaldes," 1871; "Geognostische Beschreibung der Umgegend von Heidelberg," 1874–81; "Mikrophotographien," 1880–1884; "Zusammenstellung Petrographischer Untersuchungsmethoden," 3d ed., 1896; "Structur und Zusammensetzung der Meteorcisen," 1886–87; "Meteoreisenkunde," I., 1894. Cohen published in addition over one hundred essays in various scientific magazines of Germany and other countries.

Bibliography: Poggendorff, *Biographisch-Literarisches Handwörterbuch*, iii. 288; *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon*, iii. 246.

S. E. Ms.

COHEN, FRANCIS. See Palgrave, Francis.

COHEN, FRANCIS LYON: English rabbi, author, and expert on Hebrew music; born at Aldershot Nov. 14, 1862, and educated at Jews' College and University College, London. Cohen became minister of the congregation in South Hackney (1883–1885), then of that in Dublin (1885–86), and since 1886 of the Borough New Synagogue, South London. In 1886 he was appointed tutor in Jews' College; in 1892 he became acting chaplain to the Jews in the British army; and in 1896 staff chaplain to the Jewish Lads' Brigade, the formation of which he was the first to advocate. He has also acted as editor to the choir committee of the United Synagogue. Cohen has organized military services on Ḥanukkah at his own and other synagogues, and altogether has done much to promote the patriotic and military ardor of English Israelites. He is the author of "The Handbook of Synagogue Music," 1889, and, with D. M. Davis, of "The Voice of Prayer and Praise," 1899. In addition, he has written numerous articles on Jewish music, among which have been the following: "Synagogue Music; Its History and Character," in "The Jewish Chronicle," 1883; "Synagogue Plain-Song," in "The Organist and Choirmaster," 1897; "La Revue de Chant Grégorien," Marseilles, 1899; and "Song in the Synagogue," in "The Musical Times," London, 1899.

Bibliography: *Jewish World*, Oct. 15, 1897; *Jewish Chronicle*, Dec. 23, 1892; Jacobs, *Jewish Year Book*, 1899–1900.

J. E. Ms.

COHEN, HALIFA: Tunisian rabbi residing (1902) at Djerba. He is the author of two Hebrew works: "Sifte Renanot" (Joyful Lips), a commentary on the Psalms, Jerusalem, 1890; and "Ḳunteris ha-Semikut" (notes on divers subjects).

Bibliography: Cazès, *Notes Bibliographiques*.

S. M. Fr.

COHEN, ḤAYYIM: Tunisian rabbi; lived in the second half of the nineteenth century, on the island of Djerba, near Tunis. He is the author of "Na'awah Ḳodesh" (Becoming Is Holiness), a commentary on the Song of Songs, Leghorn, 1872; "Mille Meḥayye" (The Vivifying Words), a commentary on the "Hosha'anot" of the Feast of Sukkot; "Miẓwot ha-Melek" (The Commandments of the King), a commentary on the "Azharot" of Ibn Gabirol; "Allon Bakut" (Oak of Weeping), a commentary on the elegies for the Ninth of Ab; "Moẓa' Sefateka" (The Outcome of Thy Lips), a commentary on the prayers (seliḥot) for the month of Elul; "Miḳra' Ḳodesh" (Holy Convocation), a commentary on the Song of Songs; "Zokrenu le Ḥayyim" (Remember Us for Life), a commentary on the Haggadah of the first nights of the Passover; and "Leb Shome'a" (Understanding Heart), elementary discussions of various subjects.

Bibliography: Cazès, *Notes Bibliographiques*.

S. M. Fr.

COHEN, HENRI: French composer and numismatist; born at Amsterdam 1805; died at Bry-sur-Marne May 17, 1880. Cohen's parents went to France in 1811, and provided excellent musical instruction for their son. He studied harmony with Reicha, and singing with Lois and Pellegrini. In 1832 and 1838 he was at Rome, and there produced "L'Impegnatrice" and "Aviso ai Maritati." In 1839 he established himself at Paris, devoting his efforts chiefly to teaching, and singing with success at various concerts.

Cohen was appointed director of the Conservatoire at Lille; but after some difficulties with the administration he returned to Paris, and accepted a position as director of the Cabinet des Médailles at the Bibliothèque Nationale. He subsequently published some works on numismatics and bibliography.

His principal musical compositions are: "Marguerite et Faust," a lyric poem, Paris, 1847; "Le Moine," lyric poem, London, 1851; compositions for the piano, fugues, nocturnes, romances, and melodies; a practical treatise on harmony, and eighteen progressive solfeggios for three and four voices, commended by Fétis.

Bibliography: *Nouveau Larousse Illustré*, s.v., Paris, 1900.

S. A. A. G.

COHEN, HENRY: American rabbi; born in London April 7, 1863. He was educated in London, and when only eighteen traveled in Africa as interpreter for a French legation. He was severely wounded during the Zulu war, while assisting in the repulse of an attack by savages. Proceeding to Jamaica, British West Indies, he became rabbi of Kingston (1884–85), and then of Woodville, Miss., in the United States (1885–88). In 1888 he succeeded the Rev. Joseph Silverman as rabbi of Congregation B'nai Israel, Galveston, Texas, which position he still occupies (1902).

He is librarian of the Texas Historical Society and a member of the executive council of the American Jewish Historical Society, to both of which he has made historical contributions. He has made most careful researches into the history of the Jews in Texas. Cohen has published numerous compilations, translations, reviews, poems, lectures, sermons, and pamphlets. In 1894 he issued his "Talmudic Sayings" and "Prayer in Bible and Talmud," the latter from the German of Nahida Remy.

A. L. N. L.

COHEN, HENRY EMANUEL: Judge of the supreme court of New South Wales; born at Port

Macquarie Dec., 1840. After receiving an ordinary education he served as clerk in 1856; then entered business at Bathurst, but went to London in 1868, where he commenced the study of law, and was admitted to the bar in 1871. Returning to New South Wales, he distinguished himself in the practise of the law, and was on several occasions employed as crown prosecutor. At the general election of 1874 he was returned for West Maitland, and reelected in 1877. Following close upon the general election, he received, on the formation of the Farnell government, the appointment of colonial treasurer. With the coming into power of the Stuart administration, he was called to fill the office of minister of justice; but on the retirement of that government and the dissolution of Parliament in 1885, he retired from politics and devoted himself entirely to the practise of his profession. Cohen was appointed judge of the supreme court in 1896, being the first Jew in New South Wales thus honored (with the exception of Sir Julian Solomon, who resigned the position within a few days of his appointment), and the only Jew holding such office throughout the British dominions. Cohen has for years closely identified himself with Jewish religious and charitable institutions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Jewish Chronicle*, Jan. 12, 1883; Jacobs, *Jewish Year Book*, 1900.

J. G. L.

COHEN, HERMANN: German philosopher; born in Coswig, Anhalt, Germany, July 4, 1842. He early began to study philosophy, and soon became known as a profound student of Kant. He was educated at the gymnasium at Dessau, at the Jewish theological seminary at Breslau, and at the universities of Breslau, Berlin, and Halle. In 1873 he became privat-docent in the philosophical faculty of Marburg University, the thesis with which he obtained the "venia legendi" being "Die Systematischen Begriffe in Kant's Vorkritischen Schriften nach Ihrem Verhältniss zum Kritischen Idealismus." In 1875 he was appointed assistant professor, and in the following year professor. He was one of the founders of the Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judenthums, which held its first meeting in Berlin in Nov., 1902.

Cohen is generally acknowledged to be one of the ablest representatives and exponents of the neo-Kantian school. The more important of his works are: "Die Platonische Ideenlehre Psychologisch Entwickelt," in "Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie," 1866, iv.; "Mythologische Vorstellungen von Gott und Seele," *ib.* 1869; "Die Dichterische Phantasie und der Mechanismus des Bewusstseins," *ib.*; "Zur Controverse Zwischen Trendelenburg und Kuno Fischer," *ib.* 1871; "Kant's Theorie der Erfahrung," Berlin, 1871; 2d ed., 1885; "Platon's Ideenlehre und die Mathematik," Marburg, 1878; "Kant's Begründung der Ethik," Berlin, 1877; "Das Prinzip der Infinitesimalmethode und Seine Geschichte: ein Kapitel zur Grundlegung der Erkenntnisskritik," Berlin, 1883; "Von Kant's Einfluss auf die Deutsche Kultur," Berlin, 1883; "Kant's Begründung der Aesthetik," Berlin, 1889; "Zur Orientirung in den Losen Blättern aus Kant's Nachlass," in "Philosophische Monatshefte," 1890, xx.; and "Leopold Schmidt," in "Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik," 1896, cliv.

Cohen edited and published also the last philosophical essays ("Logische Studien," Leipsic, 1894) of F. A. Lange, and his "Geschichte des Materialismus," with a long introduction and critical supplement (2d enlarged edition based on the 7th edition of the original, 1902, I.). His writings relating more especially to Judaism include several pamphlets, among them "Die Kulturgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Sabbat," 1881; "Ein Bekenntniss in der Judenfrage," Berlin, 1880; as well as the following articles: "Das Problem der Jüdischen Sittenlehre," in the "Monatsschrift," xliii. (1899), pp. 385–400, 433–449; "Liebe und Gerechtigkeit in den Begriffen Gott und Mensch." in "Jahrbuch für Jüdische Geschichte und Litteratur," III. (1900), pp. 75–132; "Autonomie und Freiheit," in the "Gedenkbuch für David Kaufmann," 1900. His essay "Die Nächstenliebe im Talmud" was written at the request of the Marburg Königliches Landgericht (3d ed., Marburg, 1888). His latest publication is "Logik der Reinen Erkenntniss," comprising the first part of his "System der Philosophie," ix. 520, Berlin, 1902.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Franz Lindheimer, *Hermann Cohen*, in *Berner Studien zur Philosophie und Ihrer Geschichte*, xxi., Bern, 1900; A. de Gubernatis, *Dictionnaire International des Écrivains du Jour*, i. Florence, 1888; Otto Siebert, *Gesch. der Neueren Deutschen Philosophie Seit Hegel*, pp. 341–342, Göttingen, 1898; Karl Vorländer, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, ii. 461-466, Leipsic, 1902.

S. B. B.

COHEN, ISAAC: English theatrical manager; born about 1835. He is one of the oldest of the London managers, having, first on the Surrey side, and for 34 years in the East End of London, directed theaters for a period altogether of 44 years. His first theatrical engagement was at the Victoria, South London, and he was subsequently engaged at Astley's. He became call-boy and afterward assistant manager, and in 1862 undertook the management of the East London Theater. Thence in 1872 he went to the Pavilion Theater, of which he was manager till 1902. He died Dec. 25, 1907. G. L.

COHEN, JACOB RAPHAEL: American ḥazzan; believed to have been born in the Barbary States; died in Philadelphia, Pa., Sept., 1811. Cohen lived in London, England, during the earlier years of his life. He is known to have been in Quebec, and also in New Orleans, in 1777. He was the minister of the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue, Shearith Israel, of Montreal, Canada, from 1778 to 1782. In the latter year Cohen was elected minister of the Sephardic synagogue of New York. He lived there until 1784, when he accepted the appointment of ḥazzan of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation of Philadelphia, Pa.

Cohen married Rebekah Luria, of a family which had lost more than one of its members through the Spanish Inquisition. He left descendants in Philadelphia. After Cohen's death his son, **Abraham Hyman Cohen,** acted as reader for a time.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hyman P. Rosenbach, *The Jews in Philadelphia Prior to 1800*, Philadelphia, 1883; C. I. de Sola, *History of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, Montreal*, in Borthwick's *History and Biographical Gazetteer of Montreal*, 1892; *idem*, in *The Star*, Montreal, Dec. 30, 1893; Morais, *The Jews of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, 1894.

A. C. I. DE S.

COHEN, JACOB DA SILVA SOLIS: American laryngologist; born in New York city Feb. 28, 1838. He was educated at the Central High School of Philadelphia, the Jefferson Medical College, and the University of Pennsylvania, receiving from the last named in 1860 the degree of doctor of medicine. In the same year he was appointed one of the resident physicians of the Philadelphia Hospital. At the outbreak of the Civil war he joined the United States army as a private. He was soon appointed assistant surgeon of the Twenty-Sixth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers. After having served with his regiment in Hooker's brigade, he resigned from the army to become acting assistant surgeon in the United States navy, which position he held from 1861 to 1864, serving on the U. S. steamers "Florida" and "Stettin," and the U. S. ship "Vermont."

In 1864 he rejoined the army as visiting surgeon to two military hospitals in Philadelphia. At the end of the war he went to New York, and afterward to Philadelphia, where he established himself as a physician (1866), paying special attention to the diseases of the throat and lungs. He is at present (1902) one of the leading laryngologists.

In 1867 Cohen was appointed lecturer on electrotherapeutics at the Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, with which institution he was connected till 1883, when he became honorary professor of laryngology. In the same year he was elected professor in the Philadelphia Polyclinic. He had also been attached, since 1873, to the staffs of the German Hospital, the Home for Consumptives, the Northern Dispensary, and the Jewish Hospital in that city.

Cohen is a prolific writer, and has contributed many monographs to the medical journals. He was for a number of years one of the editors of the "Archives of Laryngology," and is at present in charge of the laryngological department of the "American Journal of the Medical Sciences." He has written "Diseases and Injuries," in the "International Encyclopedia of Surgery," New York, 1884 and 1886; and "The Diseases of the Mouth, Tongue, Pharynx, and Œsophagus," in the "American System of the Practice of Medicine," Philadelphia, 1885. He is also the author of "Inhalation in the Treatment of Disease: Its Therapeutics and Practice," Philadelphia, 1867, 2d ed. 1876; "Diseases of the Throat and Nasal Passages," New York, 1872, 5th ed. 1879; "Croup in Its Relation to Tracheotomy," Philadelphia, 1874 (translated into Spanish, Seville, 1887); "The Throat and Voice," Philadelphia, 1874, and continuously reprinted to date.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Morais, *The Jews of Philadelphia*, s. v., Philadelphia, 1894; *The Jeffersonian*, Philadelphia, Nov., 1901.

A. F. T. H.

COHEN, JOSEPH: French journalist; born at Marseilles Nov. 1, 1817; died in Paris 1899. After finishing his studies at Aix, he was admitted to the bar there in 1836. He founded the "Mémorial d'Aix," of which he was the editor until 1843. At this time he, with Jacques Isaac Altaras, was interested in the Jews of Algeria, publishing some articles on them in the "Archives Israélites." He thereby gained their friendship, and they elected him president of the newly founded Jewish consistory of Algiers. He assisted them in reorganizing their mode of worship, and later (1868) they sent him to Paris as delegate to the central consistory of the Jews of France

On returning to France in 1850, he resumed his journalistic work, writing on politics as well as on matters pertaining to Judaism. From 1860 to 1862 he was one of the editors of the first French Jewish weekly, "La Vérité Israélite," in which he published his famous work, "Les Déicides," an investigation into the life of Jesus, in which he attacks the originality of the moral teaching of the Gospels, and defends the Pharisees. The work appeared in book form in 1864 (a second edition in 1866), and was translated into English in 1874. Cohen subsequently published a supplementary work, "Les Pharisiens," 2 vols., 1877.

His reputation suffered somewhat in consequence of unfortunate financial transactions; but after some years of silence he reengaged in political journalism, and was editor of "La Liberté" to the close of his life.

S. J. W.

COHEN, JOSIAH: American lawyer and judge; born at Plymouth, England, Nov. 29, 1841, of a family long settled in Cornwall. He is a well-known lawyer and public man in the western part of the state of Pennsylvania, having been chairman of the Allegheny county Republican executive committee, and, in 1884, one of the members of the presidential election board for Pennsylvania. In 1901 he was appointed judge of the orphans' court of Allegheny county.

Cohen has been affiliated with most of the local and national Jewish organizations, being a member of the executive committee of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and president of District Lodge No. 3, I. O. B. B., and of its court of appeals. He is also a life-member of the board of trustees of the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburg.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Markens, *The Hebrews in America*, p. 205.

A.

COHEN, JUDAH BEN ISAAC BEN MOSES: Provençal philosopher of the middle of the fourteenth century. He was a disciple of Samuel of Marseilles, and a relative of Shelemiah of Lunel, at whose request he composed a commentary on Averroes' middle commentary on the "Organon." In his treatise Cohen often corrects Averroes, and quotes Levi ben Gerson, whom he defends against the attacks of his (Cohen's) master, Samuel of Marseilles. A portion of this commentary, comprising the "Isagoge" and the "Categories," is still extant in manuscript (Christ Church, Oxford, No. 201).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, *Hebr. Uebers.* pp. 73, 78; Renan-Neubauer, *Les Ecrivains Juifs Français*, pp. 307, 308.

G. I. Br.

COHEN, JULES EMILE DAVID: French composer; born at Marseilles Nov. 2, 1830; died in Paris Jan., 1901; studied at the Paris Conservatoire, under Zimmerman, Marmontel, Benoist, and Halévy, from 1847 to 1854, gaining first prizes in pianoforte, organ, harmony, counterpoint, and fugue. In 1870 he was appointed professor in charge of the choral class of that institution, and in 1877 chorus master at the Grand Opera, Paris.

Cohen's compositions are very numerous, and include: thirty songs without words for the pianoforte; six "études expressives" and twelve preludes for the harmonium; ballads, chamber-music, and orchestral suites. The music composed by him for his sister's wedding at the Jewish Temple, Rue de Notre Dame de Nazareth, Paris, and a mass for men's voices, have often been performed.

For the theater Cohen has written the following operas and comic operas: "Vive l'Empereur" and "L'Annexion," 1860; "Maître Claude," 1861; "José Maria," 1866; "Les Bluets," 1867; "Déa," 1870; and on the occasion of the reproduction of "Athalie" and "Esther" at the Comédie Française he composed new music for the choruses.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *La Grande Encyclopédie*, s.v.; *Nouveau Larousse Illustré*, s.v.; Constant Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National Musique*, Paris, 1900.

S. A. P.

COHEN, J. I. DE LISSA: Mauritius journalist; died May 31, 1879, at Curepipe. He was connected for nearly twenty years with journalism, and was editor and founder of the "Mercantile Record and Commercial Gazette" of Mauritius. He exerted himself greatly to advance the interests of the colony of Mauritius.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Jewish Chronicle*, July 25, 1879.

J. G. L.

COHEN, KATHERINE M.: American sculptor and painter; born in Philadelphia, Pa., March 18, 1859. She early evinced a taste for art, especially for modeling, and pursued her studies in the art schools of Philadelphia and New York, among her instructors being J. Liberty Tadd, John J. Boyle, and Augustus St. Gaudens. In 1887 she went abroad, and after four years' travel studied in Paris under Mercié. She has produced many works, those of special Jewish interest being the group "Rabbi Ben Ezra" and the heroic figure "L'Israélite," which latter was exhibited at the Paris Salon in 1896. Among her portrait busts are those of Mayer Sulzberger and of Lucien Moss.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. S. Morais, *Jews of Philadelphia*, pp. 361–362; *Who's Who in America*, 1902; *Ogontz Mosaic*, Feb., 1897; *Jewish Exponent*, Feb. 21, 1890; Nov. 13, 1896; Sept. 22, 1899.

A.

COHEN, LÉONCE: French musician; born at Paris Feb. 12, 1829; died 1884. He studied at the Conservatory of Paris under Leborne. In 1851 he received the "Prix de Rome," and became soon afterward one of the violinists at the Théâtre Italien at Paris. Cohen wrote some operettas, and a work entitled "Ecole du Musicien."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Riemann, *Musik-Lexikon*, s.v., Leipsic, 1900.

S. F. T. H.

COHEN, LEVI A.: Journalist and champion of the Jews of Tangier; born at Mogador in 1844; died at Tangier Nov. 9, 1888. He went to England at an early age, but subsequently settled at Tangier, where he remained for the rest of his life.

To the Jews of Morocco Cohen stood in the character of a protector. One of the few independent men among the Moorish Jews, he was unsparing in his denunciation of any infringement of their rights; and in order to make his work more effective he founded a journal edited in French, the "Réveil du Maroc." In the capacity of editor, as the accredited representative of the board of delegates of the American Hebrew congregations, and as correspondent of the Anglo-Jewish Association, he exercised considerable influence. On several occasions Cohen undertook perilous missions into the interior of the country, and to the court of the sultan, in order to be of more effectual service to his coreligionists. The poor Arabs, too, found in him a sympathetic advocate of their cause.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Jewish Chronicle*, Nov. 16, 1888.

J. G. L.

COHEN, LEVI ALI: Dutch physician and medical author; born Oct. 6, 1817, at Meppel, province of Drenthe, Holland; died Nov. 22, 1889, at Groningen. He received his education at the Latin school of his native town and the university at Groningen, from which he graduated in 1840 as medical doctor. Establishing himself as general practitioner in Groningen in the same year, he became (1858) chief of the bureau of provincial statistics. In 1865 he gave up his practise to become chief of the board of health ("Inspecteur voor het Geneeskundig Staatstoezicht") of the provinces of Overyssel and Drenthe, and later of the provinces of Friesland and Groningen. During this time he was one of the reorganizers of the new medical laws for the Netherlands. King William III. appointed him in 1876 delegate to the hygiene and sanitation congress which met at Brussels. For fifty years he was a member of the congregational committee of Groningen, one year its president, and for twenty years a member of the committee on Jewish affairs in Holland. He also took great interest in the charity societies. From 1844 till 1877 he was editor of the following periodicals: "Mededeelengen uit het Gebied van Natuur, Wetenschap, en Kunst," "Nieuw Praktisch Tijdschrift van de Geneeskunde in Al Haar Omvang," "Het Repertorium," "Nieuw Statistisch Geneeskundig Jaarboekje," and (with other medical men) "Het Nederlandsch Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde." He was also a contributor to the "Weekblad van het Ned. Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde."

Cohen has written many essays and books, among which are: "Bewerking van Choulant-Richter's Ziektekunde and Geneeskunde," 1858–60; "Het Wezen en de Rationele Behanding van den Zooganaamden Diabetes Mellitus," Groningen, 1845; "Bewerking van Isensées Oude- en Middel-Geschiedenis der Geneeskunde," 1847; and "Handboek der Openbare Gezondheidsregeling en der Geneeskundige Politie," Groningen, 1869–72. Mention should also be made of one of his works on Biblical subjects, viz.: "De Dichter van het Boek Job als Dierkundige Beschouwd," 1843. All these works were published in Groningen.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. E. Daniels, in Hirsch, *Biog. Lex.* s.v., Vienna, 1884.

S. F. T. H.

COHEN, LEVY BARENT: English financier and communal worker; born at Amsterdam 1740; died in England 1808; son of Barent Cohen, a wealthy merchant of Amsterdam. He removed to England with his brother, and by 1778 had developed a large business in London. He was natural-

ized in 1798, and became known eventually as one of the leading merchants of the city.

As a communal worker he labored with much public spirit in Jewish affairs; was one of the founders and the first president of the Bread, Meat, and Coal Charity, and of the Jews' Hospital; and filled successively all the synagogal offices of the Duke's Place congregation.

Cohen was twice married; and his chief claim to remembrance lies in having been the founder of the Cohen family in England. Through the distinguished marriages which his children contracted, nearly all the leading Jewish families in England are connected with him. His daughter Hannah became the wife of Nathan Mayer Rothschild, the founder of the firm in New Court; the second daughter, Judith, married Sir Moses Montefiore; the third daughter, Jessie, married Myer Davidson; and by the alliances of his other children further marriages were made with the families of Goldsmid, Samuel, and Lucas.

Bibliography: *The Leisure Hour*, Aug. 1886; L. Wolf, *Diary of Lady Montefiore*, 1902, reprinted from *Jew. Chron.* June 13, 1902; *Cat. Anglo-Jew. Hist. Exh.* 1888, p. 69.

J. G. L.

COHEN, LIONEL LOUIS: English financier, politician, and communal worker; born in London 1832; died there June 26, 1887; son of Louis Cohen, founder of the house of Louis Cohen & Sons, foreign bankers and members of the Stock Exchange; of this firm Lionel Louis Cohen became the head in 1882, after having been elected a trustee (1870) and later manager of the Stock Exchange. He retired in 1885 on being elected member of Parliament.

Cohen's financial ability was shown by his services in connection with the Turkish debt, which earned for him a nomination to the order of the Medjidie. A prominent worker in the Conservative cause at a time when the great bulk of Jews were unquestioning adherents of the Liberal party, he caused considerable sensation in 1874 by appealing to Jews to exercise their independent judgment in political affairs. In 1885 he was returned to the House of Commons by the borough of North Paddington, and during his short tenure of his position he served with distinction on the royal commissions on the depression in trade, on gold and silver, and on endowed schools.

Cohen from his early years devoted much time to the service of the community. On entering public life he found the three city synagogues and various societies administering charitable relief in a chaotic and unscientific manner, and took a notable part in the efforts made to remedy the evil. In 1859, when the synagogue vestries agreed, on the motion of Ephraim Alex, overseer of the poor, to delegate their powers to a specially constituted board of guardians, Cohen became its honorary secretary.

His "Scheme for the Better Management of All the Jewish Poor," elaborated in 1860, practically formed the constitution of the board of guardians for the relief of the Jewish poor, the chief charitable institution of the Anglo-Jewish community. In 1878 he was elected president of the board, and filled that office till his death. He gave in all 28 years of unremitting service to the institution, which under his inspiration earned recognition as a great and model charity within and beyond the community.

Cohen also took the leading share in the movement which, after many years of labor, culminated in the federation by Act of Parliament in 1870 of the Great, the Hambro', and the New synagogues under the title of "The United Synagogue." He presided over the first meeting of its council, of which he was elected a vice-president, and was the ruling spirit and master mind of the organization, which during his lifetime grew into a corporation of eleven metropolitan congregations and the most influential body of its kind in the British empire.

In 1881 he initiated the movement in favor of the persecuted Russian Jews, and raised the first fund in England for their relief.

Cohen wrote a pamphlet on Indian railways, was a frequent contributor to the Jewish journals, and wrote the masterly series of reports of the board of guardians during his tenure of office as honorary secretary of that institution. The series of statistical tables started by him in these reports has ever since formed a model for similar compilations.

J. M. A. Gr.

COHEN, LOUIS LOUIS: English communal worker; born in London Sept., 1799; died there March 15, 1882. For two generations Cohen was a commanding figure in the Anglo-Jewish community, and took a prominent share in the management of its affairs. In 1837 he was elected warden of the Great Synagogue, which position he filled for many years. On his retirement he became a life-member of the vestry, and subsequently of the council of the United Synagogue. He also served for many years as a member of the committee (Seven Elders). He was a colleague and active supporter of Sir Moses Montefiore in most of his undertakings. On the board of deputies, of which he was a member, Cohen exercised great influence, and was the main author of its existing constitution. He supported most of the leading London charities, and was for several years vice-president of the Jews' Free School, president of the board of shehitah, treasurer of the Initiation Society, and trustee of the bet ha-midrash. In religious matters Cohen was a rigid Conservative, and felt intensely on questions affecting traditional Judaism.

He became a member of the Stock Exchange in 1819, and served on committees for fifteen years. The firm of Louis Cohen & Co. was founded by him. Cohen had a special liking for the science of botany, and was a fellow of the Royal Botanical Society.

Bibliography: *Jewish Chronicle*, March 17, 1882; *Jewish World*, of same date; *Cat. Anglo-Jew. Hist. Exh.*, 1887.

J. G. L.

COHEN, LOUIS S.: Lord mayor of Liverpool in 1899; born at Sydney, New South Wales, in 1846; son of Samuel Cohen, who represented Morpeth in the Parliament of New South Wales. He was educated in London, at Edmonton House (H. N. Solomon's school) and University College, and went to Liverpool in 1864, where he became connected with the firm of Lewis, subsequently becoming its head.

It was not till 1895 that Cohen began to take a prominent part in public affairs. In that year

he was elected member of the city council for the Breckfield ward (Everton). He now (1901) holds several public positions, and has made himself thoroughly acquainted with all the details of municipal government. He is chairman of the Estates Committee and member of the Hospital Sunday Committee. In 1897 he was elected chairman of a subcommittee of the Unsanitary Property Committee. In 1899 Cohen was unanimously chosen lord mayor of Liverpool.

Bibliography: *Jewish Chronicle*, Sept., 1899.

J. G. L.

COHEN, MENAHEM: Chief rabbi of Serres, European Turkey, in 1862; was in office for twenty years; died a nonagenarian in Jerusalem. He was summoned to Constantinople by Fu'ad Pasha, grand vizier of the sultan 'Aziz, as a member of the jury convened to try Jacob Avigdor, chief rabbi of Turkey.

Bibliography: Franco, *Histoire des Israélites de l'Empire Ottoman.*

S. M. Fr.

COHEN, MICHEL: Dutch soldier; born Nov. 27, 1877, in Goes, province of Zeeland, Holland. After a common-school education at his native place, he enlisted in April, 1894, in the Second Regiment of Hussars. Two years later, May, 1896, he resigned, and then enlisted in the Dutch-Indian army for a term of six years, embarking for the Dutch East Indian colonies on June 27 of the same year.

Upon arrival at Sumatra Cohen was appointed to a cavalry regiment. He distinguished himself at the attack on the Achin (Atjeh) camp at Batoe Menek, Sept. 8, 1897, conveying information and messages under fire of the enemy, for which he received honorable mention in a royal decree. Promoted to corporal, in 1900 he was made a knight of the Military William Order of the fourth class for bravery at the storming of Tjot Kala (Achin), Nov. 14, 1899. Under a very heavy fire and a hail of missiles, Cohen rescued a wounded European sergeant-major who had fallen from his horse. Placing him on his own horse and running alongside, he brought the officer safely back to the division.

Bibliography: *The Hebrew Standard*, Aug. 24, 1900; communication from the Dutch secretary of the colonies, dated June 4, 1901.

S. F. T. H.

COHEN, MOSES: Bulgarian journalist; born at Shumla, Bulgaria, in 1864. He published in French "Petite Histoire des Israélites," Philippopolis, 1897, a text-book containing a résumé, chapter for chapter, of Theodore Reinach's "Histoire des Israélites." In 1899 Cohen founded at Philippopolis the journal "Tcheweschki-Prava," as an organ of the Bulgarian Jews. This was the first Jewish periodical in the Bulgarian language founded in the principality; and it waged an active warfare against anti-Semitism. After an existence of six months it was suppressed by the Bulgarian government.

S. M. Fr.

COHEN, MOSES BEN ELIEZER: Moralist; lived in Germany, probably at Coblenz, in the second half of the fourteenth century. He was the author of an ethical work entitled "Sefer Ḥasidim" (Book of the Pious), written in 1473 and published by Schriftsetzer, Warsaw, 1866. This book, known also under the title "Sefer ha-Maskil" (Book of the Wise), gives a brief description of Jewish piety as understood at that time, and contains some valuable contributions to the history of Jewish culture. The author often quotes the "Ḥayye 'Olam" of Isaac Ḥasid and the works of Judah ha-Ḥasid.

Bibliography: Zunz, in *Hebr. Bibl.* ix. 113; Güdemann, *Gesch. des Erziehungswesens . . . der Juden in Deutschland*, pp. 212 *et seq.*

G. I. Br.

COHEN, NAHUM (pseudonym, **Naumov**): Russian journalist; born in 1863; died at Yekaterinoslav Jan. 27, 1893. His ghetto story, "V Glukhom Myestechkye" (In a Dull Townlet), published first in "Vyestnik Yevropy," Nov., 1892, appeared also in book form, Moscow, 1895. He was a contributor to various periodicals of southern Russia, especially to the "Krym" and "Krymski Vyestnik."

Bibliography: *Ha-Asif*, 1894, p. 168.

H. R. P. Wi.

COHEN, NAPHTALI: Russo-German rabbi and cabalist; born in 1649 at Ostrowo in the Ukraine; died at Constantinople Dec. 20, 1718. He belonged to a family of rabbis in Ostrowo, whither his father, Isaac Cohen, had fled during the Cossack war. In 1663 Cohen fell into the hands of the Tatars, who kept him in servitude for several years. Escaping, he returned to Ostrowo, and was chosen to succeed his father as rabbi. In 1690 he was called to Posen, where he officiated as chief rabbi till 1704. There he devoted himself to the Cabala, and collected a large library of cabalistic literature.

Naphtali Cohen.

In 1704 he was called to Frankfort-on-the-Main. On the occasion of a fire which, breaking out in his house on Jan. 14, 1711, spread to and consumed the entire Jewish quarter, it was charged that, relying on the efficacy of his cabalistic charms, he had prevented the extinction of the fire by the ordinary means. He was arrested and thrown into prison, and regained his liberty only upon renouncing his office. He then went to Prague, where many members of his family lived. There another misfortune, which embittered his life more than the loss of his wealth and position, befell him. The Shabbethaian cabalist Nehemiah Ḥayyun appeared in Prague, declaring himself a preacher or an emissary from Palestine, and by his duplicity gained the confidence of the credulous Cohen. Being a believer in practical Cabala, Cohen found no fault with Ḥayyun, even when the latter began to sell amulets. It is not astonishing, therefore, that when Ḥayyun asked for an approbation for his mystical work "Mehemnuta de Kula," Cohen, to whom he had prudently

submitted only the main text, but not the commentaries which accompanied it, and in which the author openly professed the doctrine of the Trinity, readily granted it, and gave him a glowing recommendation. Provided with this and with other recommendations secured in the same way, Ḥayyun traveled throughout Moravia and Silesia, propagating everywhere his Shabbethaian teachings.

Cohen soon discovered his mistake, and endeavored, but without success, to recover his approbation, although he did not as yet realize the full import of the book. It was in 1713, while Cohen was staying at Breslau (where he acted as a rabbi until 1716), that Ḥakam Ẓebi Ashkenazi of Amsterdam informed him of its tenets. Cohen thereupon acted rigorously. He launched a ban against the author and his book, and became one of the most zealous supporters of Ḥakam Ẓebi in his campaign against Ḥayyun.

In 1715 Cohen went to see August II., King of Poland, to secure reinstatement in his former rabbinate of Posen, at that time vacant; but failed because of the opposition of the leaders of the community. He then returned to the Ukraine, and in 1718 started for the Holy Land, but died on the way at Constantinople.

Cohen was the author of the following works: "Birkat Adonai" (Blessing of the Lord), a commentary on Berakot, with an introduction on the corelation of the Mishnaic tractates, having the subtitle "Semikut Ḥakamim" (Connection of the Wise), Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1702 (Cohen was so proud of this work that he ordered it to be buried with him); "Meshek ha-Zera'" (Sowing of the Seed), commentary on the Mishnaic order Zeraim (not published); "Pi Yesharim" (Mouth of the Righteous), a cabalistic introduction to Genesis, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1702; "Sefer Bet Raḥel" (Book of the House of Rachel), quoted in his will, probably identical with "Tefillat Bet Raḥel" (Prayer of the House of Rachel), published at Amsterdam in 1741.

Cohen also edited a number of prayer-books, including "Seliḥot" (Penitential Prayers), with a commentary, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1702; prayers for the Society for Burial, *ib.* n.d.; a prayer for the staying of the plague, Prague, 1713; and an ode on a Sefer Torah donated by Baruch Austerlitz. He also wrote an epistle directed against Nehemiah Ḥayyun. Cohen's ethical will, "Ẓawwa'ah," is replete with lofty moral instructions (Berlin, 1729).

Bibliography: Azulai, *Shem ha-Gedolim*, p. 14; E. Carmoly, *Revue Orientale*, iii. 312 *et seq.*; Grätz, *Gesch.* x. 314, 326; Jost, *Gesch. der Israeliten*, viii. 305 *et seq.*; Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* cols. 2025–2026; Wolf, *Bibl. Hebr.* i., No. 1718; Zunz, *Literaturgesch.* p. 429; Brann, in *Grätz Jubelschrift*, p. 232; Kaufmann, in *Rev. Etudes Juives*, xxxvi. 250 *et seq.*

K. A. R.

COHEN, RAPHAEL. See Raphael ben Jekuthiel ha-Kohen.

COHEN, SHABBETHAI. See Shabbethai ben Meïr ha-Kohen.

COHEN, SAUL: African rabbi; born in Djerba, North Africa, in 1772; died there April, 1848. Although blind and very poor, he was the author of the following publications: "Netib Mizwoteka" (The Path of Thy Commandments), a work containing commentaries on the Book of Ruth and on the "Azharot" of Isaac b. Reuben and Solomon ibn Gabirol, as well as a number of prayers and religious poems for the Feast of Weeks, etc. (Leghorn, 1841); "Sifte Renanot" (Praising Lips), a commentary on the prayers for the Days of Penitence, according to the rite of Tripoli (*ib.* 1837); "Leḥem ha-Bikkurim" (Bread of the First-Fruits), a grammatical work, afterward prepared for publication by David Cohen, a grandson of the author (*ib.* 1870). His teacher, Ẓemaḥ Cohen, was a dayyan and the author of "Ṭure Zahab" (Plates of Gold), a commentary on the Song of Songs, written in 1786, and published by his grandson, Ḥayyim Cohen, in the work entitled "Na'awah Ḳodesh" (see Ps. xciii. 5), Leghorn, 1872.

Bibliography: D. Cazès, *Notes Bibliographiques sur la Littérature Juive-Tunisienne*, pp. 140 *et seq.*

G. M. K.

COHEN, SHALOM BEN JACOB: Polish Hebraist; born at Meseritz (Mezhiryechye), Poland, Dec. 23, 1772; died at Hamburg Feb. 20, 1845. Prompted by a love for learning which he could not satisfy in Poland, he went to Berlin when only seventeen. There he became friendly with the poet Wessely, who inspired him with a great passion for Hebrew poetry, which he cultivated until his death. The publication of the Hebrew literary review "Meassef" having been interrupted, Cohen undertook its continuation, and enriched it for two years with his own contributions.

In 1813 Cohen spent a short time in London, in the endeavor to found there a Hebrew school. Having failed, he returned to Germany and settled in Hamburg, where his friend Wessely resided. In 1820 Cohen was called to Vienna by the printer Anton Schmid, who was opening a Hebrew printing-office, and wanted Cohen to furnish Hebrew material. Cohen then commenced the literary review "Bikkure ha-'Ittim," which counted among its collaborators the most renowned scholars of that time.

Cohen was also the author of the following works: "Mishle Agur" (Fables of Agur), a collection of fables and moral sentences in verse, with a German translation, Berlin, 1803; "Tif'eret Yisrael" (Splendor of Israel), hymns for the centennial of the society Biḳḳur Ḥolim at Berlin, *ib.* 1803; "Maṭṭa'e Ḳedem 'al Admat Ẓafon" (Oriental Plants in Northern Soil), a collection of New-Hebrew poems, with a German translation, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1807; "Sefer Yirmeyah," a German translation of Jeremiah, with a commentary, Fürth, 1810; "'Amal we-Tirzah," an allegorical drama in three acts, adapted from "La-Yesharim Tehillah" of Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto, Rödelheim, 1812; "Masa Baṭawi" (Burden of Batavia), ode in praise of Holland, with a Dutch translation by H. Somerhausen, Amsterdam, 1814; "Shorshe Emunah" (Foundations of Faith), a Hebrew catechism, with an English translation by Joshua van Oven, London, 1815; "Ketab Yosher" (Correct Writing), an aid to letter-writing in Hebrew and German, Vienna, 1820; "Ner Dawid" (Light of David), an epic poem treating of the history of David, and divided into four parts, Vienna, 1834; "Ḳore ha-Dorot" (He Who Calls the Generations), a history of the Jews from Maccabean times to the present, with an introduction by S. L. Rapoport, Wilna, 1837; "'Aṭeret Tif'eret Sebah"

(The Hoary Head is a Crown of Glory), poems in honor of J. Isler, Hamburg, 1843.

Bibliography: Letteris, in *Bikkure ha-'Ittim ha-Ḥadashim*, 1845, pp. 73–77; *Orient, Lit.* 1845, p. 82; Klein, *Jahrbuch*, v. 95; Delitzsch, *Zur Gesch. der Jüdischen Poesie*, p. 106; Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 2512.

H. R. I. Br.

COHEN, SOLOMON BEN ELIEZER LIPMANN OF LISSA: German scholar; lived at Posen at the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth. He was a shoḥeṭ at Posen, and made a careful study of Ibn Ezra's commentary on the Bible, on which he wrote a supercommentary entitled "Abi 'Ezer" (The Father of Help), published at Posen, 1802.

Bibliography: Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 2311; Perles, *Gesch. der Juden in Posen*, reprinted from *Monatsschrift*, xiv. 262.

S. I. Br.

COHEN, SOLOMON DA SILVA SOLIS: American physician; born at Philadelphia, Pa., Sept., 1857. Educated in the public schools, he graduated from the Central High School in 1872. From 1880 he studied medicine under his brother, Dr. J. da Silva Solis Cohen, and at Jefferson Medical College, from which institution he received the degree of M.D. in 1883. Since that time he has been engaged in active hospital and private practise in Philadelphia, where he still resides (1902).

Cohen was demonstrator of pathology and microscopy at the Philadelphia Polyclinic from 1883 to 1885. In 1887 he became lecturer on special therapeutics at his alma mater, and in the same year professor of clinical medicine and therapeutics at the Philadelphia Polyclinic and the College for Graduates in Medicine, a position which he held for fifteen years. In 1889 he became clinical lecturer on medicine at the Jefferson Medical College, and in the same year physician to the Philadelphia Hospital. He is also physician to the Jewish Hospital, and physician to the Rush Hospital for Consumptives. In 1890–92 he gave, by invitation, special courses of lectures on therapeutics in the medical department of Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., and was appointed senior assistant professor of clinical medicine in Jefferson Medical College and physician to Jefferson College Hospital in 1902.

Cohen has been president of the Young Men's Hebrew Association of Philadelphia; was one of the founders of the Jewish Publication Society of America, and a member of its publication committee. He was also one of the founders and a member of the first board of editors of "The American Hebrew"; and a founder and trustee of the Jewish Theological Seminary Association; he is a member of the board of trustees of Gratz College, Philadelphia. He has been president of the Philadelphia County Medical Society (1898–99), and is recorder of the Association of American Physicians.

He was editor of the "Philadelphia Polyclinic" from 1894 to 1899; has been on the editorial staff of "The Medical News," "The American Journal of the Medical Sciences," and "The Universal Annual of the Medical Sciences;" and is one of the editors of "American Medicine." He is author of "Therapeutics of Tuberculosis," Philadelphia, 1890, and joint author (with A. A. Eshner) of "Essentials of Diagnosis," Philadelphia, 1892, 2d ed. 1900. He has also edited "System of Physiologic Therapeutics," 11 vols., *ib.* 1901–1902.

Besides contributing to the medical journals and encyclopedias and to the Jewish journals, Cohen has written poems and belletristic essays for the leading magazines.

Bibliography: Morais, *The Jews of Philadelphia*, passim, Philadelphia, 1894.

A. F. T. H.

COHEN, URI (PHOEBUS, FEIVUS) BEN ELIEZER LIEBERMANN: French Talmudist; died May, 1806, at an advanced age in his native city, Metz. His father was a member of the rabbinical college in that city. Phoebus also became a rabbi, and conducted a Talmudic academy there. At first he was assistant rabbi under Aryeh Löb b. Asher Günzburg. On the death of Günzburg in 1785, Cohen was appointed assistant, and in 1793 chief rabbi. Although an adherent of the old school, he joyfully hailed the success of the French Revolution in 1792, and encouraged the members of his community to participate actively in the movement. He wrote "Halakah Berurah" (Clear Law), casuistic essays on halakic and haggadic passages in the Talmud, as well as homilies, published at Metz, 1793, by his son, David Cohen, rabbi at Verdun.

Bibliography: Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* No. 7333; Fürst, *Bibl. Jud.* i. 139; Abraham Cahen, in *Rev. Etudes Juives*, xiii. 105–114.

L. G. I. Ber.

COHEN-CARLOS, DAVID: A writer resident in Hamburg in the seventeenth century. In 1631 he either translated the Song of Songs into Spanish or transliterated a Ladino translation of it (written in Hebrew letters) into Latin characters. The work is entitled "Cantares de Selomoh Traduzido de Lengua Caldayca en Espagnol," Hamburg, 1631.

Bibliography: Kayserling, *Biblioteca Esp.-Port.-Jud.* p. 38.

G. M. K.

COHEN-LIPSCHÜTZ, EPHRAIM: Italian rabbi and author of the second half of the seventeenth century. He was one of the rabbis at Modena, and was known as a keen Talmudical scholar. His responsa on Talmudical subjects are found in "Paḥad Yiẓḥaḳ," by Isaac Lampronti; in "Dibre Joseph," by Joseph Ergas, relating to the law of ransom; and in "Shemesh Ẓedaḳah," by Samson Morpurgo. According to Nepi, he was the teacher of R. Ishmael Cohen, author of "Zera' Emet," and Samson Ḥayyim Naḥamani, author of "Toledot Shimshon."

Bibliography: Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael*, p. 152; Nepi-Ghirondi, *Toledot Gedole Yisrael*, pp. 5, 324, 325.

L. G. N. T. L.

COHEN-TANUGI, JUDAH B. ABRAHAM (called **Hadria**): Rabbi and writer; died at Tunis about 1835, at an advanced age. He is the author of two Hebrew works, both of which contain notes on the Talmud: "Ereẓ Yehudah" (Land of Judah), Leghorn, 1797; and "Admat Yehudah (Soil of Judah)," *ib.* 1828.

Bibliography: D. Cazès, *Notes Bibliographiques.*

S. M. Fr.

COHEN-YIẒḤAḲI, ABRAHAM: Tunisian rabbi and writer; born at Tunis; died there in 1864. He is the author of the following Hebrew works, printed at Leghorn by a pious and generous Judæo-Tunisian family, the Shamamas: "Mishmerot Kehunnah," containing novellæ on the Talmud, 1862; "Shulḥano shel Abraham" (Abraham's Table), a commentary on the Shulḥan 'Aruk, 1865; "Miẓwot Kehunnah," a collection of rabbinical consultations, 1865; "Kaf ha-Kohen," cabalistic interpretations of every chapter of the Bible; "Ḥasde Kehunnah," a collection of funeral sermons, 1865; "'Ene Kohen," a study of the laws concerning the slaughtering of animals and birds for food, 1865.

Bibliography: D. Cazès, *Notes Bibliographiques.*

L. G. M. Fr.

COHN, ADOLPHE: American philologist; born at Paris May 29, 1851. He was graduated "bachelier ès lettres" from the University of Paris in 1868, and studied law, historical criticism, and philology at various institutions of higher learning in Paris, receiving the degrees of LL.B. in 1873, and "archiviste paléographe" (A.M.) in 1874. At the commencement of the Franco-Prussian war in 1870, he enlisted and served in the French army throughout the struggle.

Cohn went to New York May 13, 1875, and from 1876 to 1884 was the American correspondent of "La République Française," edited by Gambetta, whom he had known in France, and whose political views he had adopted. In March, 1882, Cohn was appointed tutor in French at Columbia College, and soon afterward made an instructor. By a popular vote of the French residents of New York he was chosen to deliver the funeral oration on Gambetta in 1883 at Tammany Hall, and in 1885 was called from Cambridge, Mass., for a similar purpose, upon the death of Victor Hugo.

In 1884 Cohn was made instructor in French at Harvard University. From 1885 to 1891 he was assistant professor of French at the same institution, and during this time wrote much in French and English, especially for the "Atlantic Monthly." He became American correspondent of "Le Temps" in 1884, and continued to act as such until 1895. While at Harvard he was temporary head of the French department in Wellesley College, and in 1888 and 1889 conducted a summer school of languages at Oswego, N. Y.

In 1891 Cohn was appointed professor of the romance languages and literatures at Columbia University, which position he has since occupied. He was president of the New York committee of L'Alliance Française from 1888 to 1902, and is now its honorary president. In 1897 he was made a knight of the Crown of Italy, and in 1900 a knight of the Legion of Honor of France. He has edited many French classics for educational purposes.

Bibliography: *Who's Who in America*, 1901-1902, p. 224.

A. A. M. F.

COHN, ALBERT: French philanthropist and scholar; born in Presburg, Hungary, Sept. 14, 1814; died at Paris March 15, 1877. He belonged to an Alsatian family which had settled in Hungary during the eighteenth century. From 1824 to 1836 he lived in Vienna, studying first in the gymnasium and afterward at the university, and receiving in 1834 the degree of doctor of philosophy. He was then chiefly interested in Oriental languages, and, through the influence of Professor Wenrich, was engaged as teacher of Hebrew in the Protestant seminary. He was introduced at the same time to the Orientalist, Baron von Hammer-Purgstall, who employed him as one of his secretaries.

Albert Cohn.

Baron von Hammer-Purgstall was instrumental in forming Cohn's decision to leave Vienna, where at that time there was no hope of preferment for a Jew, and to settle in Paris, which he did in 1836. Then began his lifelong connection with the Rothschild family. Three of the children of Baron James de Rothschild received successively from him their instruction in Hebrew and in Jewish history; and in 1839, after a year spent with his pupils in the Holy Land and in Austria, he was placed by the baron and baroness in charge of their extensive charities, a position which he held for the remainder of his life.

Almoner of the Rothschild Family.

Cohn did much for the charity commission of the Paris community, of which he was successively treasurer and president, making it a model for similar institutions throughout Europe.

His next field of activity was among the Jews of Algeria, who suffered much through the prejudice of the French conquerors, including those in command. In 1845, and again in 1847, he visited the country, often traveling through districts where war was raging, and where the life of a European was insecure. His reports, presented by him personally to King Louis Philippe and to his son, the Duke d'Aumale, led to an organization of the Jewish communities of Algeria which was destined to bring about their gradual assimilation with the Jewish communities of France.

In Algeria.

Cohn was again in Algeria in 1860, after visiting Morocco, where matters pertaining to the Jews, which required his attention, arose from the Spanish expedition of that year. Owing to his influence with the celebrated Don Juan Prim and others, these matters were solved in a manner that was favorable to the Jewish population.

His activity in the East was equally important. He visited Jerusalem no less than five times between 1854 and 1869. His first voyage was undertaken at the request of the Consistoire Central des Israélites de France, which had been requested by Jews in every part of Europe to investigate the

condition of their coreligionists of the Ottoman empire, and to secure, through the influence of the great European powers, some alleviation of their condition. His first visit to Jerusalem (1854) was the first visible sign to the Jews of the Holy Land that an interest in their condition was being taken by their brothers of France, Italy, England, and Germany. Sums of money had already been sent by Sir Moses Montefiore; but Cohn was the first to see how matters really stood, and to apply the needed remedies. He was greatly helped in the performance of his task by his exceptional linguistic gifts and his deep knowledge of the idioms of the East. On this preliminary trip to the East, in the course of which he first passed through Vienna, he delivered addresses in German, Italian, Hebrew, and Arabic.

In the East.

The result of Cohn's observations in Alexandria, Smyrna, Jaffa, and Jerusalem was the establishment in those places of Jewish hospitals and schools, as well as institutions for the assistance of young mothers, these organizations being supported mostly by the Rothschild family, but also by other benefactors. But Cohn's chief service to the Jewish race was performed at Constantinople on his return journey from Jerusalem. He was received in private audience by Sultan 'Abd al-Majid, from whom he asked and received a promise that no improvements should be introduced in the legal conditions of the Christian subjects of Turkey which would not also apply to the Jews. Since that time Jews and Christians have enjoyed equal privileges throughout the whole of the Ottoman empire.

Interview with the Sultan.

Cohn's energies were not, however, exhausted by the labors of charity. For years he delivered lectures on Jewish history before popular audiences; and he taught without remuneration in the Séminaire Israélite from the time of its transfer from Metz to Paris until a few months before his death. His large collection of philological works and rabbinical literature now forms a part of the library of that institution.

His coreligionists rewarded him with a seat in the Consistoire Central des Israélites de France; and the French government bestowed upon him the Cross of the Legion of Honor. He also received the Grande Medaille of the Société Française pour l'Encouragement au Bien.

Bibliography: Isidore Loeb, *Albert Cohn*, Paris, 1877.

S.

COHN, BERNARD: German physician; born March 30, 1827, at Breslau; died there June 16, 1864. He was educated at the gymnasium and at the university of his native town, and was graduated as doctor of medicine Aug. 20, 1855. Establishing himself as a physician in Breslau in that year, he became assistant at the University Hospital under Frerichs from 1854 to 1861, and privat-docent at the university in 1856. In 1861 he was appointed chief physician at the Allerheiligen Hospital.

Cohen was the author of "Klinik der Embolischen Gefässkrankheiten," Breslau, 1862, which received a Montyon prize from the Académie des Sciences, Paris.

Bibliography: Pagel, *Biographisches Lexikon*, s.v., Vienna, 1901.

S. F. T. H.

COHN, EMIL: German physicist; born at Neu-Strelitz Sept. 28, 1854; studied at the University of Strasburg, whence he was graduated as Ph.D. in 1878. From 1881 to 1884 he was assistant in the Physical Institute of the university, and in the latter year was admitted as privat-docent (Feb. 5) and assistant professor (Sept. 27). Cohn is the author of "Elektrische Ströme," Leipsic, 1897, and "Das Elektromagnetische Feld," Leipsic, 1900.

Bibliography: Poggendorff, *Biographisch-Literarisches Handwörterbuch*, iii., iv.

S. E. Ms.

COHN, FALK: German rabbi; born at Dessau Sept. 18, 1833; died at Bonn March 6, 1901. The son of a rabbi and teacher at the Herzogliche Franzschule at Dessau, he began the study of the Talmud in his early youth. After his matriculation he studied philology and philosophy at Berlin, where he also continued his Talmudic studies. In 1860 he received the degree of Ph.D. from the University of Leipsic, his thesis being "Philosophisch-kritische Abhandlung über den Schlussvers des Zweiten Buchs der Psalmen."

After officiating for five years as preacher and religious teacher at Waren, Mecklenburg, he went in 1867 to Bielitz, Austrian Silesia, as director of the Jewish communal school there. Five years later he became preacher at Oels, where he officiated until 1882. In that year he was appointed rabbi at Bonn, where he remained until his death.

Cohn contributed several essays to periodicals; and many of his sermons have been printed. His chief works are "Jüdische Religionsschulen Neben Höheren Lehranstalten," Breslau, 1878; "Zur Frage über die Arbeitsüberbürdung der Schüler und Schülerinnen Höherer Lehranstalten," 1881; "Die Disciplin in den Jüdischen Religionsschulen," Oels, 1881.

Bibliography: *Jewish Chronicle*, March 23, 1901.

S. A. F.

COHN, FERDINAND JULIUS: German botanist and zoologist; born in Breslau Jan. 24, 1828; died there June 25, 1898; eldest son of Isaac Cohn, an oil manufacturer, who for some time held the post of Austro-Hungarian consul, and brother of Oscar Cohn, a popular humorist and playwright whose pen-name was "Oscar Justinus," and of Max Conrad Cohn, a distinguished jurist.

Cohn studied at the gymnasium and University of Breslau, and obtained his Ph.D. degree in 1847 at Berlin. His dissertation was a study of the physiology of seeds. In it he advocated the establishment of botanical gardens for the study of the physiology of plants—a wish that he was destined to see realized largely through his own efforts. He returned to Breslau in 1848, and remained there till his death. On a dissertation, "De Cuticula," he was admitted as privat-docent in Oct., 1850; but, being a Jew, a year elapsed before he was allowed to take the oath and to teach. He received the title of professor in 1857, and two years later (1859) was

appointed assistant professor. In 1872 he became professor, and was called to fill the chair vacant through the death of his old teacher, friend, and collaborator, Goeppert.

In 1888, upon the opening of the Botanical Institute, which was built mainly through his untiring endeavors, he received the title of "Geheimer Regierungsrath." On the occasion of his seventieth birthday he was presented with the honorary freedom of the city of Breslau.

Ferdinand Julius Cohn.

Cohn's work gained universal appreciation during his lifetime. He was elected a member of the following institutions and societies: Leopold-Carolinische Akademie, Royal Academy of Sciences of Berlin, Société de Biologie de France, the Royal Microscopic Society of Great Britain, the Natural History Society of Boston, U. S. A., etc. Cohn was buried in the row of honor in the Jewish cemetery of Breslau. Though not an observing Jew, he and his wife belonged to several Jewish societies.

Cohn was a prolific writer; leaving behind him over 150 papers, essays, and books, of which the following may be mentioned: "Zur Naturgeschichte des Protococcus Pluvialis," Bonn, 1851; "Die Menschheit und die Pflanzenwelt," Breslau, 1851; "Der Haushalt der Pflanzen," Leipsic, 1854; "Untersuchungen über die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Mikroskopischen Algen und Pilze," Bonn, 1854; "Neue Untersuchungen über Bakterien," *ib.* 1872–75; "Die Pflanze," Leipsic, 1882. Cohn was also the founder and (from 1875 to his death) the editor of the "Beiträge zur Biologie der Pflanzen."

Bibliography: Obituary notices in the publications of the *Schlesische Gesellschaft für Vaterländische Cultur*, and (by Felix Rosen) in the proceedings of the *Deutsche Botanische Gesellschaft*; Pauline Cohn, *Ferdinand Cohn, Blätter der Erinnerung*, Breslau, 1901; *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon*, s.v.

S. M. Ha.

COHN, GEORG LUDWIG: German jurist; born Sept. 19, 1845, at Breslau, Germany. He was honorary professor in German civil and commercial law at the Heidelberg University (1888). He collaborated with other scholars in compiling Endemann's "Handbuch des Handels-See-und-Wechselrechts" (1881–85), and founded the "Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft," of which he has been editor since 1877. At present Cohn holds a professorship at the University of Zurich; lecturing on German civil and commercial law and the law of exchange and on the history of German and Swiss law.

Cohn has published "Quid Intersit Inter Civitatem Confœderatam et Confœderationem Civitatum ex Constitutionibus Germaniæ, Helvetiæ, Americæ Septentrionalis Exponitur," a prize essay, Greifswald, 1868; "Die Justizverweigerung im Altdeutschen Rechte," Carlsruhe, 1876; "Beiträge zum Einheitlichen Wechselrecht," in "Festgabe für Bluntschli," Heidelberg, 1880; "Zur Gesch. der Checks," in "Zeit. für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft," 1878, 1879; "Zur Lehre vom Check," *ib.* 1878, 1880; "Ueber International Gleiches Recht," in "Wiener Juristische Blätter" (has been translated into Italian by Vita Levi in vol. ii. of "Rassegna di Diritto Commerciale Italiano e Straniero"); "Der Entwurf eines Deutschen Checkgesetzes," in Hildebrand's "Jahrbuch für Nationalökonomie," 1879; "Der Entwurf einer Wechselordnung für das Russische Reich und die Neueren Wechselgesetze Belgiens, Italiens, Ungarns, Grossbritanniens, Skandinaviens, und der Schweiz," in "Zeitschr. für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft," 1883, iv. 1, 226; "Der Internationale Kongress für das Sogenannte Industrielle Eigenthum zu Paris," *ib.* 1880, ii. 105–130; "Das Neue Deutsche Recht in Sprüchen," 1896; 2d ed. 1899; and "Gemeindeschaft und Hausgenossenschaft," 1898.

Bibliography: Gubernatis, *Dict. International des Ecrivains du Jour*, i., Florence, 1888.

S. B. B.

COHN, GUSTAV: German economist; born Sept. 12, 1840, at Marienwerder, West Prussia. He studied at the universities of Berlin and Jena. During 1867 and 1868 he was the holder of a fellowship at the Royal Statistical Bureau of Berlin, and in 1869 became privat-docent at the University of Heidelberg, but in the same year accepted an invitation from the Polytechnikum at Riga. Cohn paid a visit to England in 1873, and the fruits of his observation and research were embodied in the masterly production "Untersuchungen über die Englische Eisenbahnpolitik," 2 vols., Leipsic, 1874–75. In 1875 he was invited to fill the chair of economics at the Eidgenössisches Polytechnikum at Zurich, which he held until 1884, when he became professor in the University of Göttingen, where he has since remained.

While at Zurich he prepared for publication his "Volkswirtschaftliche Aufsätze" (Stuttgart, 1882), and contributed to the "Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen" (1880, i. 97–135) an exhaustive critical review of the first volume of Wagner's "Allgemeine Volkswirtschaftlehre." The names of Wagner and Cohn have often been coupled, not only because both were classed among the Katheder-Socialisten, but also because they have much in common in their attitude toward the various so-called schools of economic science. In continuation of his study of the English railroad policy, and as the third volume of his earlier work on that subject, appeared his "Die Englische Eisenbahnpolitik der Letzten Zehn Jahre," Leipsic, 1883.

After his establishment at Göttingen a period of ardent literary activity set in. The first volume of the greatest work which he has yet produced, his "System der Nationalökonomie," was published in 1885, the very next year after his arrival. It is significant of the importance and character of this work that two such great leaders of the respective opposing "schools" as Wagner and Schmoller should unite in praising it.

In 1886 he contributed to the "Jahrbuch für Na-

tionalökonomie" (vol. xiii., No. 6), "Zur Fabrikgesetzgebung," a review of government reports on factory legislation in Switzerland and Saxony, and to the "Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung" (x. 3), "Erörterungen über die Fiskalische Behandlung der Verkehrsanstalten." In that year, too, appeared his "Nationalökonomische Studien," Stuttgart, 1886.

The year 1889 witnessed the publication of the second volume of his "System der Nationalökonomie," and his "Finanzwissenschaft."

Cohn was elected a regular member of the Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften at Göttingen in 1894; and in 1896 the Prussian Order of the Red Eagle of the fourth class was conferred upon him. After an interval of nearly ten years he completed the third volume of the "System der Nationalökonomie," which was also issued under the title "Nationalökonomie des Handels- und Verkehrswesens: Ein Lesebuch für Studierende," Stuttgart, 1898. To the "Jahrbuch für Nationalökonomie" (vi., Jan., 1901) he contributed "Ueber die Vereinigung der Staatswissenschaften mit den Juristenfacultäten."

Bibliography: Bliss, *Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, p. 305, New York, 1897; Luigi Cossa, *Introduction to the Study of Political Economy*, English transl., p. 421, and Index, London, 1893; G. Hanssen, *Cohn's Engl. Eisenbahnpolitik*, in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1879, i. 289–342, 765–734; A. Wagner, *Cohn's System der Nationalökonomie*, in *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie*, xlvi. (vol. xii., new series), No. 3.

S. M. Co.

COHN, HERMANN L.: German ophthalmologist; born at Breslau June 4, 1838. After graduating from the gymnasium of his native town he studied chemistry and physics at the University of Heidelberg under Bunsen, Kirchhoff, and Helmholtz, and at the University of Breslau, receiving the degree of doctor of philosophy in 1860. In the same year he commenced the study of medicine at the University of Breslau, obtaining his M.D. degree from the University of Berlin in 1863.

From 1863 to 1866 Cohn was assistant to Förster, settling in Breslau in the latter year as an ophthalmologist. In 1868 he was admitted to the university as privat-docent with the inaugural essay "Ueber Xerosis Conjunctivæ," and was elected assistant professor in 1874. In 1883 he received the state's gold medal in hygiene.

Cohn noticed that many pupils in the schools of Germany were obliged to wear glasses at an early age. As an oculist he became interested in the matter, and tracing the source of the evil back to the schools, gave special attention to their hygienic conditions in relation to ophthalmology. Most of Cohn's writings treat of this branch of medicine, in which he achieved great results. The following list of works affords an insight into his labors: "Untersuchungen der Augen von 10,060 Schulkindern Nebst Vorschlägen zur Verbesserung der den Augen Nachteiligen Schuleinrichtungen," Leipsic, 1867; "Schussverletzungen des Auges," Erlangen, 1872; "Die Schulhäuser und Schultische auf der Wiener Weltausstellung," Breslau, 1873; "Die Schul Hygiene auf der Pariser Weltaustellung," *ib.* 1879; "Studien über Angeborene Farbenblindheit," *ib.* 1879; "Die Hygiene des Auges in den Schulen," Vienna, 1883 (translated into English by Turnbull, London, 1886, and into Russian by Medem, Pultawa, 1887); "Ueber den Einfluss Hygienischer Massregeln der Schulmyopie," Breslau, 1890; "Lehrbuch der Hygiene des Auges," Vienna, 1892 (his greatest work); "Dreissig Jahre Augenärztlicher und Akademischer Lehrthätigkeit," Breslau, 1897; "Schleistungen von 50,000 Breslauer Schulkindern," *ib.* 1899; "Wie Müssen Bücher und Zeitungen Gedrückt Worden?" *ib.* 1902. He died Sept. 12, 1906.

Cohn was a very prolific writer, and contributed nearly 250 essays on ophthalmology and hygiene to medical and other journals.

Bibliography: Pagel, *Biog. Lex.*; Hirsch, *Biog. Lex.*; *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon.*

S. F. T. H.

COHN, LASSAR (known also as **Lassar-Cohn**): German chemist; born at Hamburg Sept. 6, 1858. After attending the gymnasium at Königsberg, he studied chemistry at different universities, taking his doctor's degree in 1880. He worked for a number of years in various chemical establishments; delivered public lectures in Munich; became privat-docent at Königsberg in 1888; and was appointed professor in 1894.

His works, published under the name "Lassar-Cohn," include: "Arbeitsmethoden für Organisch-chemische Laboratorien," 3d ed., 1902; "Moderne Chemie," twelve lectures to physicians, 1891; "Die Chemie im Täglichen Leben," 5th ed., 1903 (also translated into many European languages, and into Hebrew); "Einführung in die Chemie in Leichtfasslicher Form," 2d ed., 1903; "Praxis der Harnanalyse," 2d ed., 1898; "Die Säuren der Rinder- und Menschengalle," 1898; "Die Chemische Industrie," being vol. vii. of "Das Buch der Erfindungen, Gewerbe, und Industrien"; and a revised edition of Stöckhardt's "Schule der Chemie." He has also contributed to the "Berichte der Deutschen Chemischen Gesellschaft," "Annalen der Chemie," and the "Zeitschrift für Physiologische Chemie." S.

COHN, LÉON: French statesman; born in Paris March 11, 1849; second son of Albert Cohn. His early training was received at the Lycée Bonaparte in Paris. In 1866 he took the degree of "bachelier ès lettres," and three years later that of "licencié en droit." Though admitted to the bar, he soon abandoned the legal profession for a political career. In 1870 he was chosen as private secretary by Jules Simon, then minister of public instruction. On Jules Simon's retirement from public life Cohn became the editor of the "Correspondance Républicaine."

In 1876, when the cabinet of Jules Simon was reconstructed, Cohn returned to office as his "chef de cabinet," a position which he held until the dismissal of the Republican ministry by President MacMahon, May 16, 1877.

On the return of the Republicans to power, in Dec., 1877, Cohn was appointed prefect of the department of Loire-et-Cher, and afterward occupied a similar position in the departments of Somme, Haute-Garonne, and Loire. In 1896 he became paymaster-general of the department of Ardennes, from which he was transferred a few years later to the department of Eure. S.

COHN, LEOPOLD: German author and philologist; born Jan. 14, 1856, at Zempelburg, province of West Prussia. He received his education at the gymnasium at Culm, West Prussia, and at the University of Breslau, whence he was graduated as doctor of philosophy in 1878. In 1884 he became privat-docent at the Breslau University, in 1889 was appointed librarian, and in 1897 received the title of professor.

On Greek literature Cohn has written: "De Aristophane Byzantio et Suetonio Tranquillo Eustathi Auctoribus," Leipsic, 1881; "Untersuchungen über die Quellen der Plato-Scholien," Leipsic, 1884; "De Heraclide Milesio Grammatico," Berlin, 1884; "Zu den Paroemiographen," Breslau, 1887; and "Zur Handschriftlichen Ueberlieferung, Kritik und Quellenkunde der Paroemiographen," Leipsic, 1892.

To Jewish literature he has contributed the following: "Philonis Alexandrini Libellus de Opificio Mundi," Breslau, 1889; "Philonis Alexandrini Opera quæ Supersunt" (with Paul Wendland), vol. i., Berlin, 1896; vol. ii., *ib.* 1897; vol. iii., *ib.* 1898; vol. iv., *ib.* 1902.

He has contributed to the "Jewish Quarterly Review" (Oct., 1892) "The Latest Researches on Philo of Alexandria," and (*ib.* 1898) "An Apocryphal Work Ascribed to Philo of Alexandria"; to the "Neue Jahrbücher für Classisches Altertum" (1898, pp. 514–540) "Philo von Alexandria"; and to "Philologus" (1899, Supplement vii., pp. 387–436) "Einteilung und Chronologie der Schriften Philos." Cohn is the author of the essay on "Griechische Lexikographie," in "Handbuch der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft," 3d ed., ii., part i., Munich, 1900. He has also contributed articles on Greek grammarians to Pauly-Wissowa's "Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft."

S. F. T. H.

COHN, LUDWIG ADOLF: German historian; born in Breslau May 22, 1834; died in Göttingen Jan. 13, 1871. He belonged to a prominent family of merchants. Physically deformed as the result of an illness in childhood, he was taught by his mother till he was over eight years of age, when he went to the Magdalen Gymnasium. He entered Breslau University in 1851, and Berlin University in 1853. About this time he was stricken with a serious illness. During his slow recovery at Breslau he attended lectures by Mommsen and Junckmann, and he took his degree at the university of that city in 1856. Cohn embraced Christianity, and in 1857 became a privat-docent at Göttingen University, where he taught till his death.

His principal works, which are characterized by wide reading, keenness of criticism, and fairness of spirit, are: "Die Pegauer Annalen aus dem 12. und 13. Jahrhundert," Altenburg, 1858; "Der 30jährige Krieg," Halle, 1861; "Ein Deutscher Kaufmann aus dem 16. Jahrhundert," Göttingen, 1862; "Stammtafeln zur Geschichte der Deutschen Staaten und der Niederlande," 1864–65 (his principal work); "Geschichte Kaiser Heinrich II.," Halle, 1867; besides which he contributed many historical articles to periodicals.

Bibliography: *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, 1896, iv. 394; Le Roi, *Gesch. der Evangel. Jud.-Mission*, i. 213.

S. N. D.

COHN, MARTIN. See Mels, A.

COHN (KOHN), MESHULLAM SOLOMON: German rabbi; born about 1739; died at Fürth Dec. 17, 1819. After having spent a few years in the yeshibot of Posen and Zülz, Cohn went to the yeshibah of Jonathan Eybeschütz in Altona, from whom he received his rabbinical diploma. His first rabbinate was in Rawitsch, where he opened a small Talmudical college. He was then rabbi successively in Krotoschin, Zülz, Kempten, and Fürth, following at the last-named place R. Hirsch Janow on the death of the latter in 1785.

In 1800 Cohn was one of the signers of an act of accusation against the Frankists of Offenbach (see "Monatsschrift," xxvi. 239); and in 1811 he put under the ban the rabbi of Cassel, Löw Berlin, because the latter permitted the eating of "Hülsenfrüchte" (podded vegetables, etc.) on the Passover (compare "Monatsschrift," xxii. 192).

Of Cohn's works may be mentioned: "Sefer Bigde Kehunnah" (Garments of Priesthood), responsa, Fürth, 1807, the second part of which contains novellæ to Baba Meẓi'a and Giṭṭin; "Sefer Mish'an ha-Ḥayyim" (Prop of the Waters; see Isa. iii.), haggadic treatises, *ib.* 1811; "Naḥlat Abot" (Portion of the Fathers), homilies, *ib.* A special edition of the sermon preached by Cohn on his completing the study of the treatise Giṭṭin, was published at Fürth in 1791; and is now one of the rarities of the Frankfort Stadtbibliothek (Anct. Hebr. No. 2297).

Cohn's son Solomon was rabbi in Schnaittach, Mergentheim (1801–11), and in Zülz, where he died April 1, 1824.

Bibliography: *Blätter für Jüdische Gesch. und Literatur*, ed. L. Löwenstein, No. 4, pp. 44–46; *Revue Orientale*, ed. E. Carmoly, iii. 306.

S. L. L.

COHN, MORITZ (pseudonym, **Conimor**): Austrian writer; born at Kreuzburg, Silesia, Jan. 8, 1844. Educated at the high school of Brieg, he began life as a clerk in a merchant's office, devoting his spare time to writing. After some of his plays had met with success, he abandoned commerce and settled down at Vienna (1875) as an author, and has written the following: "Der Improvisator," drama, 1874; "Vor der Ehe," drama, 1876; "Ein Ritt Durch Wien," a satirical poem, 1876; "Eine Visitenkarte," drama, 1877; "Der Goldene Reif," drama, 1878; "In Eigener Falle," drama, 1881; "Im Lichte der Wahrheit," drama, 1882; "Wie Gefällt Ihnen Meine Frau," a novel, 1886; "Der Beste Gegner," drama, 1892. Cohn is a prolific contributor to the press.

Bibliography: *Das Geistige Wien*, i. 72.

S. M. B.

COHN, OSKAR JUSTINUS (also known as **Oskar Justinus**): German writer; born at Breslau Feb. 21, 1839; died at Bad Nauheim Aug. 6, 1893. Educated for a mercantile career, he succeeded his father as head of the Breslau firm founded by the elder Cohn. He was not successful as a merchant, and went into bankruptcy in 1880. Like his father and brothers, he had scientific and literary inclinations. Taking up his residence in Berlin, he turned his attention to literature. In 1861 his first dramatic effort, "Der Vereins-Held," was produced

in Breslau. Cohn wrote the following comedies: "Die Getreidespekulanten," 1876; "Eine Episode aus den Pickwickiern," 1876; "Zu Spät," 1877; "Oel und Petroleum," 1877; "Der Letzte Termin," 1877; "Die Gründung aus Liebe," "Unser Ziegeuner," and "Eine Stille Familie," 1878; "Das Vierte R!," 1879; "Drei Trotzköpfe," 1880; "Gesellschaftliche Pflichten" (with H. Wilken), 1881; "Apfelröschen," 1883; "Penelope" and "Kommerzienrat Königsberger," 1883; "Ein Photographiealbum," 1885; "Kyritz-Pyritz" (with H. Wilken) and "Griechisches Feuer," 1887; "Die Liebesprobe" and "Humoristisches Kleeblatt," 1888; "In der Kinderstube," 1889. He also wrote "Der Bauherr," a tragedy, 1877, and the following novels: "Amor auf Reisen," 1888; "Berliner Humor, Auf Rollendem Rade," 1889; "In der Zehnmillionen Stadt," 1890; "Italienischer Salat," 1892; "Ein Proletarierkind," 1893; "Häuslicher Bilderbogen" (published after his death), 1894.

Bibliography: Brümner, *Lexikon der Deutschen Dichter und Prosaisten des Neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, s.v.

S. F. T. H.

COHN, RUDOLF: German physiologist; born at Schneidemühl, Posen, Germany, April 23, 1862. He received his education at the Kneiphöf'sche Gymnasium and at the University of Königsberg, graduating as doctor of medicine in 1886. In the same year he became assistant at the laboratory of medical chemistry and pharmacology at Königsberg. In 1892 he was admitted to the medical faculty of his alma mater as privat-docent, and in 1898 received the title of professor.

Cohn has published several essays on chemical physiology in "Zeitschrift für Physiologische Chemie," "Archiv für Experimentelle Pathologie," and "Berichte der Berliner Chemischen Gesellschaft." Since 1893 he has been the editor of the chemical department of Hermann's "Jahresberichte für Physiologie."

S. F. T. H.

COHN, SAMUEL: German political economist; born at Bromberg 1862; died in Berlin July 30, 1900. He attended the Joachimsthal-Gymnasium, and studied philology and history at Berlin University, where he took the degree of Ph.D. After graduating he turned his attention to economics. His introduction to journalism took place when he joined the staff of the Oldenburg "Korrespondenz," and from about 1889 he contributed frequently to Berlin newspapers and periodicals. For a number of years he acted as secretary to Friedrich Goldschmidt in his economic researches and studies. Toward the close of his life Cohn was editor of the "Oekonomist." His work, "Die Finanzen des Deutschen Reiches seit Seiner Begründung" (Berlin, 1899), is the result of a number of years of labor, and is marked by the clear arrangement and the abundance of its material.

Bibliography: *Allg. Zeit. des Jud.* Aug. 3, 1900.

S. N. D.

COHN, SOLOMON: German rabbi; born at Zülz, Prussian Silesia, March 24, 1822; died in Breslau Sept. 22, 1902. He was a grandson of Rabbi Meshullam Solomon Cohn of Fürth. Solomon Cohn attended the yeshibah at Presburg for a short time, and then the gymnasium and university at Breslau. At the latter institution he studied Oriental languages and philosophy, and received the degree of Ph.D.

In 1847 Cohn was called as rabbi to Oppeln, then to Maestricht, Schwerin, and in 1876 to Berlin; he retired in 1894 to Breslau. Cohn married the eldest daughter of the chief rabbi Ettlinger of Altona, who often mentions him in his responsa, "Binyan Ẓion." From 1878 to 1894 he lectured on homiletics at the Orthodox rabbinical seminary of Berlin.

Bibliography: Löwenstein, *Blätter für Jüd. Gesch. und Literatur*, 1902, p. 46.

S. A. F.

COHN, TOBIAS: Polish physician; born at Metz, Germany, 1652; died at Jerusalem 1729. His grandfather was the physician Eleazar Kohn, who emigrated from Palestine to Poland, and settled

Tobias Cohn.
(From the frontispiece of his "Marusen Tobiyah," 1707.)

in Kamenetz-Podolsk, where he practised medicine until his death. His father was the Polish physician Moses Kohn of Narol, in the district of Bielsk, who moved to Metz in 1648 to escape persecution during the Cossack revolution. Tobias and his elder brother returned to Poland after the death of their father in 1673. He received his education at Cracow and the universities of Frankfort-on-the-Oder (at the expense of the great elector of Brandenburg) and Padua, graduating from the latter as doctor of medicine. He practised for some time in Poland, and removed later to Adrianople, where he became physician to five successive sultans—Mohammed IV., Sulaiman II., Aḥmad II., Mustapha II., and Aḥmad III., moving with the court to Constantinople. In 1724 he went to Jerusalem, where he lived until his death.

Cohn was familiar with nine languages—Hebrew, German, Italian, French, Spanish, Turkish, Latin, Greek, and Arabic. This great linguistic knowledge made it possible for him to write his "Ma'aseh Tobiyyah" (Work of Tobias), published in Venice in 1707, and reprinted there in 1715, 1728, 1769, and 1850. The work is encyclopedic, and is divided into eight parts: (1) theology; (2) astronomy; (3) medicine; (4) hygiene; (5) syphilitic maladies; (6) botany; (7) cosmography; and (8) an essay on the four elements.

The most important is the third part, which contains an illustration showing a human body and a house side by side and comparing the members of the former to the parts of the latter (see illustration).

In part 2 are found an astrolabe (see JEW. ENCYC. ii. 244) and illustrations of astronomical and mathematical instruments. Inserted between parts 6 and 7 is a Turkish-Latin-Spanish dictionary; and prefixed to the work is a poem by Solomon Conegliano.

THE HOUSE OF THE BODY.
An allegorical design comparing the organs of the body to the divisions of a house.
(From Tobias Cohn, "Ma'aseh Tobiyyah," 1707.)

Cohn's medical knowledge and experiences seem to have been of considerable importance. He gave, from his own observations, the first description of the "plica polonica," as well as many local symptoms and newly discovered medicinal herbs. He also published in three languages a list of remedies.

He criticized the anti-Jewish professors of Frankfort-on-the-Oder as well as his coreligionists who were devoted to Cabala and committed to a blind belief in miracles.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hirsch, *Biog. Lex.* s.v.; *Rev. Et. Juives*, xvii. 293; xxi. 140, 318; M. Bersohn, *Tobiasz Kohn*, Warsaw, 1872.

H. R. F. T. H.

COHN, TOBIAS: German rabbi and writer; born at Hammerstein, West Prussia, Feb. 2, 1826. After graduating from the normal school, he conducted the Jewish elementary school of his native city until 1846. He then continued his studies at Berlin, where he received his doctor's degree in 1857. During this time he was living in the house of Sarah Levy (née Itzig), then the gathering-place for the Jewish and Christian celebrities of Berlin. From 1857 to 1896 he officiated as preacher and rabbi of the community of Potsdam. With his wife, the daughter of Ludwig Philippson, he then took up his residence in Berlin.

Cohn is an honorary member of the Literarische Gesellschaft, a society composed of the intellectual leaders of Potsdam, and has been decorated with the Order of the Red Eagle. His larger works include: "Der Talmud" (1866); "Die Mosesgruppe von Rauch"; "Die Humanitätsperiode"; "Die Aufklärungsperiode"; "Die Araber im Chalifat"; "Israels Gemeinschaftsleben mit den Vorchristlichen Völkern" (1893). He also contributed many scientific essays to the "Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums," Geiger's "Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben" (iv.), "Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Juden und des Judenthums" (iv.), "Aus Alten Zeiten und Landen," "Im Deutschen Reich," etc.

S. P. R.

COHN, TOBY: German physician and medical author; born at Breslau Dec. 26, 1866. Cohn was educated at the Elisabeth gymnasium of his native city and at the universities of Breslau and Freiburg. From Sept., 1891, to Jan., 1893, he was an assistant at Wernicke's university clinic for neuropathy, and

has since been assistant to Mendel at Berlin. Cohn is the author of "Klinischer Beitrag zur Kenntniss des Wasserverlaufs im Verlängerten Mark," 1894; "Infantile Hemiplegie mit Intentionstremor," 1895; "Posthemiplegische Bewegungsstörung," 1896; "Zur Symptomatologie der Gesichtslähmung," 1897; "Facialistik als Beschäftigungsneurose," 1897; "Die Mechanische Behandlung der Beschäftigungsneurosen," 1898; and "Leitfaden der Electrodiagnostik und Electrotherapie für Praktiker und Studirende," 1899.

Bibliography: Pagel, *Biographisches Lexikon Hervorragender Aerzte*, 1901, p. 338; *Das Geistige Berlin*, iii. 31.

S. E. Ms.

COHNFELD, ADALBERT DOROTHEUS SOLOMON: German author; born in Pyritz, Pomerania, Aug. 3, 1809; died in Berlin Jan. 20, 1868. He lived in Breslau during the earlier part of his life, and became a physician, but was best known as the editor of the "Norddeutsche Zeitschrift für das Theater" and of the "Erinnerungsblätter." He published: "Phantasmagorien," Berlin and Züllichau, 1837, and "Die Hospitalitäten," Berlin, 1838, both novels; "Ausführliche Gesch. des Preussischen Staates," 2 vols., *ib.* 1840; "Ausführliche Lebens- und Regierungsgesch. Friedrich Wilhelm III." *ib.* 1840–41; "Die Rückkehr des Landwehrmanns," a comedy.

Bibliography: Fürst, *Bibliotheca Judaica*, i. 183.

S. N. D.

COHNHEIM, JULIUS: German pathologist; born at Demmin, Pomerania, July 20, 1839; died in Leipsic Aug. 15, 1884. He studied at the universities of Würzburg, Marburg, Greifswald, and Berlin, receiving his doctor's degree at Berlin in 1861. After taking a postgraduate course in Prague, he returned to Berlin in 1862, where he practised until 1864, when he took service as surgeon in the war against Denmark. In the fall of the same year he became assistant at the pathological institute of Berlin University under Virchow, remaining there until 1868. During this time he published several articles relating to physiological chemistry and histology, but finally turned his especial attention to pathological anatomy. In 1867 there appeared in Virchow's "Archiv für Pathologische Anatomie und Physiologie und für Klinische Medizin" (xli.) Cohnheim's essay, "Ueber Entzündung und Eiterung," which made his reputation as a pathologist. In it he proved that the emigration of the white blood-corpuscles is the origin of pus, a statement which produced a great revolution in pathology. In 1868 Cohnheim was appointed professor of pathological anatomy and general pathology in the University of Kiel; and four years later (1872) he went to the University of Breslau to fill a similar position. His work there was interrupted in the winter of 1873–74 by illness. In 1876 he accepted an invitation to become professor of pathology in the University of Leipsic, which chair he occupied until his death.

Cohnheim was the first to use the now universal method of freezing fresh pathological objects for examination; he also first demonstrated nerve-termination in "Cohnheim's areas" (polygonal areas indicating the cut ends of muscle-columns, seen in the cross-sections of striated muscle-fiber); he was the pioneer in the theory of inflammation, which is now universally accepted; and his researches in the field of pathological circulation and the causes of embolism marked a new departure in the methods of medical treatment.

Aside from his literary and experimental activity, Cohnheim was both popular and successful as a teacher.

Among his many works may be mentioned: "Ueber die Entzündung Seröser Häute," in Virchow's "Archiv für Pathologische Anatomie und Physiologie und für Klinische Medizin," xxvii.; "Zur Kenntniss der Zuckerbildenden Fermente," *ib.* xxviii.; "Ein Fall von Abscessen in Amyloid Entarteten Organen," *ib.* xxxiii.; "Ueber die Endigung der Muskelnerven," *ib.* xxxiv., and in the "Centralblatt der Medizinischen Wissenschaften," 1863; "Ueber den Feineren Bau der Quergestreiften Muskelfasern," *ib.* xxxiv. (demonstration of the "Cohnheimsche Muskelfelder" by freezing fresh muscles); "Zur Pathologischen Anatomie der Trichinen-Krankheiten," *ib.* xxxvi.; "Ueber die Endigung der Sensiblen Nerven in der Hornhaut," *ib.* xxxviii. (demonstration of the termination of the nerves in the cornea through treatment with chlorid of gold); "Ueber Entzündung und Eiterung," *ib.* xli. (mentioned above); "Ueber Venöse Stauung," *ib.* xli.; with Bernhard Fränkel, "Experimentelle Untersuchungen über die Uebertragbarkeit der Tuberkulose auf Thiere," *ib.* xlv.; "Untersuchungen über die Embolischen Processe," Berlin, 1872; "Neue Untersuchungen über die Entzündung," *ib.* 1873; "Vorlesungen über Allgemeine Pathologie," *ib.* 1877–80, 2d ed. 1882; "Die Tuberkulose vom Standpunkt der Infectionslehre," Leipsic, 2d ed., 1881. His collected works ("Gesammelte Abhandlungen," Berlin, 1885) were edited by E. Wagner, with a biography by Kühne.

Bibliography: Ponfick, *Gedächtnisrede auf Cohnheim*, Breslau, 1884; Hirsch, *Biographisches Lexicon*, s.v., Vienna, 1885; Pagel, *Biographisches Lexikon*, s.v., Vienna, 1901.

S. F. T. H.

COHNHEIM, PAUL: German physician; born at Labes, in Pomerania, Dec. 2, 1867. He was educated at the gymnasium at Stettin and the universities of Berlin, Freiburg in Baden, Tübingen, and Würzburg, being graduated from the last-named as doctor of medicine in 1891. He settled in Berlin as a physician the same year, and till 1899 was assistant physician at the Boas private hospital. Since 1899 he has continued in practise as a physician, treating mainly diseases of the digestive organs.

Cohnheim is the editor of the yearly literary reports in "Archiv für Verdauungs-Krankheiten."

Bibliography: Pagel, *Biographisches Lexikon*, s.v., Vienna, 1901.

S. F. T. H.

COHNSTEIN, ISIDOR: German gynecologist; born at Gnesen, province of Posen, Prussia, Aug. 1, 1841; died at Charlottenburg, near Berlin, July 25, 1894. He received his education at the gymnasium of his native town and at the universities of Berlin, Prague, and Heidelberg, being graduated as doctor of medicine in 1864. In 1866 he engaged in practise as a physician in Berlin, where he was admitted to the university as privat-docent in 1868. Three years later he gave up general practise, and became a

specialist in gynecology. Resigning his position in the university, he in 1877 removed to Heidelberg, where he established himself as a gynecologist.

Cohnstein has written several essays and books, especially on gynecology. Among these the following may be mentioned: "Ueber den Muskeltonus" (awarded a prize by the Brussels Academy); "Ueber Alte Erstgebärende"; "Ueber ein Neues Perforationsverfahren"; "Ueber Vaginitis Exfoliativa"; "Lehrbuch der Geburtshilfe"; "Grundriss der Gynäkologie."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Pagel, *Biographisches Lexikon*, s.v., Vienna, 1901.

S. F. T. H.

COIMBRA: City of Portugal, capital of the province of Beira, in which there was formerly a "Juderia," or Jewish quarter, now called "Corpo de Deus." In April, 1395, the prior of the church in Coimbra and several of the clergy broke into the Jewry in order to obtain eggs (for Easter) from the Jews. The local rabbi, Solomon Catalan, the elder Isaac Passacom, and other Jews intimated to the priests that they had no right to demand eggs of the Jews, who were living in the street set apart for them. Upon this the clericals resorted to force, and broke into the house of a Jew named Jacob Alfayate. The Jews resisted and drove the importunate clericals out of the ghetto. The king protected them from further annoyances at the hands of the clergy.

Coimbra, the seat of the only Portuguese university, at which many Maranos studied, had a tribunal of the Inquisition, which, during several centuries, instituted numerous autos da fé and sentenced many secret Jews to life imprisonment or to be burned alive. Coimbra was the birthplace of Moses ibn Danon, who in 1510 wrote a Talmudic work at Fez.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kayserling, *Gesch. der Juden in Portugal*, pp. 24, 345 *et seq.*; Mendes dos Remedios, *Os Judeus em Portugal*, p. 158. Compare AUTO DA FÉ.

G. M. K.

COIN-MAKERS. See MINTERS.

COINS, COINAGE. See NUMISMATICS.

COLCHESTER: County town of Essex, England. Jews are first mentioned as living in Colchester in 1185, and it is probable that they were involved in the massacre of 1190. The community was evidently of some importance, as it was ninth in the amount of its contribution toward the ransom of Richard I. in 1194. The community had in 1220 a special bailiff, probably for the purpose of collecting the taxes imposed upon it. In 1220 this officer was one Benedict. An agreement dated 1258, relative to the Colchester Jewry in Stockwell street, was transcribed by W. Bedwell in Roman letters, from which it was retransliterated into Hebrew by Neubauer ("Rev. Et. Juives," v. 247). In 1267 a curious incident occurred when several Jews and Christians were involved in an infringement of the forest laws. They had started and chased a doe in the woods in the neighborhood of Colchester. They were severely fined, the Jews more heavily than the others. One of the Jewish offenders escaped to Lincoln, but returned ten years later, when a portrait of him was drawn upon the Forest Roll by the scribe who had described his offense (see AARON, SON OF THE DEVIL). The king claimed sole jurisdiction over the Jewry of Colchester, and when he granted the castle to Guy of Rochfort, he reserved the right to enter the town and hundred of Colchester to search for Jews' debts. When the Jews were expelled in 1290, nine houses and a "schola" of the Jewry escheated to the king, from which it may be assumed that the community of Colchester stood about seventh in order of importance at that time.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. L. Cutts, *Colchester*, xiii. 118-125; Jacobs, *Jewish Ideals*, pp. 225-233.

J.

COLENSO, JOHN WILLIAM: Bishop of Natal and English Biblical critic; born at St. Austell, Cornwall, Jan. 24, 1814; died Jan. 20, 1883. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. After obtaining his degree Colenso passed some time as a teacher at Harrow, where he produced his well-known school-books on arithmetic and algebra. He became Bishop of Natal in 1853. For the purposes of his mission to the Zulus he mastered their language. He wrote and published a Zulu grammar, and translated into that language the books of Genesis, Exodus, and Samuel.

During the course of his translation he was much troubled by inquiries from the intelligent Zulus whom he used as interpreters as to the discrepancies in the different narratives contained in Genesis and Exodus. This led him to write his "Pentateuch and Book of Joshua Critically Examined," of which the first part appeared in 1862, and created great excitement in the theological world. Colenso drew attention to the arithmetical difficulties attached to the acceptance of the Biblical estimate of the number of fighting men (600,000) who left Egypt at the time of the Exodus, since this number assumes a population of over two millions. Colenso's early studies enabled him to realize the difficulties of commissariat involved in the movement of such large numbers. He was ultimately led to deny the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and to declare that Jeremiah was the author of the Book of Deuteronomy. He was deposed by the Bishop of Cape Town for heresy in 1863, but the act of deposition was not confirmed by the Privy Council, and Colenso remained Bishop of Natal to his death.

His work, the later parts of which show considerable advance on the somewhat crude views expressed in the earlier portions, was concluded by the publication of part seven in 1879. He was for a long time the solitary English representative of the higher criticism, and was thereby exposed to much obloquy. The well-known "Speaker's Commentary" was projected mainly in order to combat his views. These created great interest in Jewish quarters, and were answered by Dr. H. Adler and Dr. A. Benisch.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v.

J.

COLLAR: 1. A rendering in Judges viii. 26 of the Hebrew word נטיפות. In the other passage (Isa iii. 19) in which it occurs it is translated "chains." In both cases the word is used in the enumeration of ornaments: in Isaiah of the Jewish women, and in Judges of the Midianite kings. The root (נטף)

means "to drop," and the word may therefore mean "drops," "pendants from the ears," etc. Targum to Judges renders it by כלילא, which Jastrow, *s.v.*, translates "wreaths," "crowns." Rashi, as is his wont, agrees with the Targum; understanding by it, however, pendants falling upon the breast, as a string of pearls (see Rashi on Isa. iii. 19, where he interchanges עינקיא and כלילא). Ḳimḥi, starting from the root "drop," finds in "naṭifah" the idea "dropper," which he interprets to mean a bottle in which perfume was carried, and from which it was dropped as occasion required. Gersonides agrees with Ḳimḥi.

2. A rendering, in Job xxx. 18, of the Hebrew word פה (כפי) where, however, the translation is scarcely warranted. The reference is merely to an opening for the head in a garment, and does not imply the elaborate idea conveyed by the word "collar" (Ex. xxviii. 32). The same word is found in Ps. cxxxiii. 2, where it indicates the top edge of the garment.

E. G. H. G. B. L.

COLLEGES, RABBINICAL. See Academies; Education.

COLLINS, CHARLOTTE (Lottie): Anglo-American actress; born in London, England, about 1865. She began her stage career at the age of five, when she made her début as a rope-dancer. Having lost both her parents while still a child, she joined her sisters, Marie and Lizzie Collins, singing and dancing with them at various music-halls. In 1890 she became famous for the song entitled "Ta-ra-ra-boom-de-ay," which she introduced at the Tivoli Music Hall in London. This song had enormous success. It was originally a boating-chant, used by sailors on the lower Mississippi. In 1892 she was engaged by Charles Frohman to sing in America.

J. V. E.

COLMAR (German, **Kolmar**): Chief town of Upper Alsace, Germany, on the Lauch and the Fecht. At the beginning of the thirteenth century Colmar had a large community of Jews, who enjoyed the favor of the municipal authorities. They occupied a special quarter, where they had a synagogue. The building was destroyed by fire in 1279.

In 1285 the emperor Rudolph I. besieged Colmar, for which the Jews were held responsible by its citizens, who declared they had induced Rudolph to attack the city; the Jews were accordingly expelled. That this charge was groundless can be seen from Rudolph's subsequent treatment of them. Meïr of Rothenburg, rabbi of Colmar, passing through Rudolph's camp, was held for a ransom of 1,500 marks. He, however, forbade his flock to pay such a heavy sum, and spent the remainder of his life in prison.

The period of banishment must have been brief, for several years later, when Adolph of Nassau, Rudolph's successor, besieged Colmar, Jews were among the defenders of the city. In 1292 the Jews of Colmar were accused of a ritual murder, and a riot ensued, in which many Jews lost their lives.

More fortunate than many other Alsatian communities, Colmar escaped the persecutions of the hordes of Armleder, who, on hearing of the approach of the army of Louis of Bavaria, raised the siege. But this relief was dearly paid for. Louis of Bavaria handed over the Jews of Colmar, with their possessions, to the city for the sum of 200 marks. The year 1348 was fatal to the community of Colmar, as to all Alsatian communities. The accusation of having caused the Black Death found credence with the anti-Jewish council of Colmar. In fact, on Dec. 29, 1348, the city council announced to their fellows of Strasburg that one Hegman had, under torture, accused Jacob, the cantor of the synagogue of Strasburg, of having sent him the poison which he had put into the wells of Colmar. Thereupon the Jews, without being permitted a hearing, were burned outside the gates of the city. The place where the auto da fé occurred is still known as the "Judenloch" (Hole of the Jews). In the following year, Charles IV. of Germany absolved the inhabitants of Colmar from all responsibility for the burning of his "servi cameræ."

Persecutions.

Jews were again admitted to Colmar, at the request of King Wenceslaus, about 1375. Nevertheless, when the latter took the part of the nobles in their quarrels with the Alsatian towns, the Jews of Colmar helped to defend the city, and refused to pay taxes for three years (1385-88). They were, therefore, together with their Christian fellow citizens, put under the ban of the empire. Later an arrangement was made between the city and the emperor, relinquishing to the former the Jewish taxes for a period of ten years; whereupon the ban was removed. Wenceslaus, however, did not forget their recalcitrance, and in 1392 annulled all the claims of the Jews against their Christian debtors.

During the reign of Robert of Bavaria the condition of the community improved. On Sept. 28, 1401, he granted the Jews of Colmar a renewal of their old privileges. But the hostility of the council of Colmar continued to manifest itself in many ways; and in 1437 the council secured from King Sigismund an edict prohibiting the citizens of Colmar from renting or selling houses to Jews without special permission from the mayor. In 1468, the council made changes in the statutes affecting Jews, and added the following clauses:

"In addition to the yearly taxes, the Jews shall contribute to the tax for the maintenance of the fortress, and give New-Year gifts to the mayor. In case of war they shall pay supplementary taxes. They shall remain in their houses during Holy Week, Easter and the feasts of Corpus Christi and Assumption. Only unmarried children may reside with their parents, and no Jew shall harbor without special permission any foreign coreligionist. Foreign Jews shall pay, on entering the city, a 'blappert' at the gate, and a pfennig to the gatekeeper. If they wish to pass a night in the city, they shall pay one shilling. The city protects the Jews only from persons amenable to its tribunal."

At the end of 1476 the community suffered greatly at the hands of the Swiss Confederates, who, on their way to France, plundered the Jews and committed many acts of violence. Moreover, the council, fearing that the Christian inhabitants would get into trouble with the Confederates on account of the Jews, prohibited the latter from entering the

city. Thus in 1478 only two Jewish families were tolerated there. At length the council requested from Maximilian I., in Dec. 1507, permission to banish the Jews from Colmar, which request was granted in 1510 (Jan. 22). In vain the community exerted every effort to secure the repeal of the decree of banishment. All that it obtained, through the help of Josel of Rosheim, the leader of the Alsatian Jews, was the postponement of enforcement until St. George's Day, 1512. Thenceforth all Jews who came to Colmar for purposes of trade were compelled to pay a toll and to wear the yellow badge. The synagogue and the Jewish cemetery of Colmar were presented by Maximilian to his secretary, Jean Spiegel of Schlettstadt. The cemetery, however, was also used by the Jews in the seigniory of Ribeaupierre. The council was therefore constrained to take over both the cemetery and the buildings formerly belonging to the Jews, paying an indemnity to both Jean Spiegel and William of Ribeaupierre.

Their Banishment of 1512.

The council was not yet satisfied. The banished Jews settled in the neighboring villages, and came daily to Colmar to transact business with its citizens. The council therefore passed a law prohibiting Jews from depositing their merchandise with Christians. On Feb. 2, 1534, the council passed another law forbidding the inhabitants, under penalty of loss of citizenship, to harbor Jews. These laws remaining without effect, the council solicited and obtained from Charles V. (April 25, 1541) permission to forbid them from entering Colmar. Through the intervention again of Josel of Rosheim the imperial chancelry, a month later (May 24, 1541), renewed all the privileges previously enjoyed by the Jews of Colmar. These contradictory enactments became the occasion of litigation between the city and the Jews, lasting eight years, the Jews being ultimately defeated.

Until 1691 no Jew set foot into Colmar. A community, however, began to form in 1789; and its history, from that time on, differs little from that of other communities in France and Germany. With the introduction of the system of consistories (1808) Colmar became the seat of one, with twenty-five dependent communities. At present (1903) Isidore Weill is grand rabbi of the consistory. The district of Colmar includes about 11,000 Jews. There are several benevolent societies, the most noteworthy of which are the Société de Patronage des Jeunes Israélites and the Société des Dames. See Alsace.

Recent History.

Bibliography: Mossmann, *Etude sur l'Histoire des Juifs à Colmar*, Colmar, 1866; Scheid, *Histoire de Juifs d'Alsace*, Paris, 1873; idem, *Josel et la Ville de Colmar*, in *Rev. Et. Juives*, xiii. 70–74; J. Kracauer, *Procès de R. Joselmann Contre la Ville de Colmar*, ib. xix. 282–293; Reuss, *L'Alsace au XVIIe Siècle*.

G. I. Br.

COLOGNA, ABRAHAM. See Abraham de Cologna.

COLOGNE (German, **Köln** or **Cöln**; Latin, **Colonia Agrippina**): Chief city of Rhenish Prussia. There are indications that a Jewish community existed here long before Christianity had become dominant. The first official document, however, concerning the Jews of Cologne dates from the time of Constantine, who issued a decree (Dec. 11, 321) abolishing their privilege of exemption from onerous municipal offices ("Codex Theodosianus," iii. 16, 8). His successors, especially Theodosius II., did not content themselves with the withdrawal of old privileges, but curtailed the civic rights of the Jews. Happily for the Jews of Cologne, it fell, in 462, into the hands of the Franks; and a long period of freedom and prosperity for the Jews of that city followed, though many attempts were made by the fanatical clergy to disturb the harmony and interrupt the friendship existing between the Jews and the Christians.

In 881 the Jewish community of Cologne ceased to exist, the city having been reduced to ashes by the Norman invaders. It was, however, soon rebuilt, and under the wise rule of the archbishops, which made the city a great industrial and commercial center, a prosperous and numerous Jewish community came into existence during the tenth century, accumulating material wealth and learning in an eminent degree. As in the old city, the Jews occupied a special quarter, situated between the city hall and the Church of St. Laurentius, although they were allowed to reside wherever they chose. They had a synagogue and a Talmudical school, the origin of which is ascribed to Amram of Mayence.

First Beginnings.

In 1010 a new and richly decorated synagogue was erected, and about the same time a hospital (הקדש) was built by a philanthropist named Eliakim ben Mordecai. The community was administered by a chief rabbi, officially called "episcopus Judæorum," who was elected annually. He was assisted by a council of twelve dayyanim, whose decisions had legal force. Disputes between Christians and Jews had to be decided by the Jewish council; and in grave criminal cases, in which the Jewish council was incompetent to decide, a Jew could be convicted only on evidence corroborated by a Jewish witness.

The Jews were engaged in all branches of commerce, trading especially in wool, leather, fur, and jewelry. They were also allowed to hold public offices; and many a Jew was entrusted by his Christian fellow citizens with the direction of public affairs. Thus, in the middle of the eleventh century, a Jew named Egeberth exercised the functions of burgomaster of the parish of St. Laurentius.

This golden period in the life of the Jews of Cologne was terminated by the Crusades. On May 29, 1096, the Jews of Cologne were informed of the approach of the Crusaders. Being well aware that they could expect no mercy from the pilgrims, who delighted in the spilling of Jewish blood, they sought refuge in the houses of their Christian fellow citizens, who, touched with pity, did all they could to shield them. The following day the Crusaders, on entering the city, had to content themselves with pillaging the Jewish quarter, and tearing up and defiling the scrolls of the Law. Only two Jews, Mar Isaac and Rebekah, fell victims to

The First Crusade.

their rage. Both had refused to escape, and willingly accepted martyrdom. Mar Isaac was dragged to a church, and, spitting on the crucifix held up before him, was there killed.

Meanwhile the situation of the refugees became untenable, and detection was feared at every moment. The archbishop, Hermann III., who himself sheltered many Jews in his palace, decided to send them secretly away, to be housed in the neighboring towns and villages of his diocese. For three weeks the unfortunate Jews remained safely in their new hiding-places, but were finally discovered, and shared the fate of their brethren in other towns. Many ended their lives in lakes and bogs, following the example of a pious man named Samuel ben Yehiel. Standing in the water, and pronouncing a blessing, he killed his son; and his assembled coreligionists, while intoning the "Shema'" ("Hear, O Israel!") threw themselves into the Rhine. Various "Memorbücher" preserve the names of a great number of these martyrs, among whom were several proselytes; and a prayer of commemoration is recited every year at Cologne on the Sabbath preceding Pentecost.

As soon as the horrors of the Crusade had ceased the community was reestablished by the remaining old settlers who had escaped massacre, and it was augmented by newcomers, who anticipated greater security at Cologne, as the Christian citizens of the city had shown themselves compassionate toward the Jews. Scarcely had fifty years passed in relative tranquillity when a new calamity overtook the community. The monk Rudolph arrived at Cologne (Aug. 1, 1146); and his anti-Jewish speeches soon bore fruit. Meanwhile pilgrims for the Second Crusade commenced to gather; and a renewal of the scenes of 1096 was to be apprehended. In their distress the Jews addressed themselves to Archbishop Arnold, who gave them the castle of Valkenburg and permission to defend themselves with arms. As long as they remained in this place of refuge they were safe; but as soon as they ventured forth the pilgrims, who lay in ambush, dragged them away to be baptized, torturing and killing those that resisted. In commemoration of their sufferings during the Second Crusade, the community of Cologne made the twenty-third of Nisan a fast-day.

The Second Crusade.

After the departure of Rudolph the Jews of Cologne reoccupied their dwellings, and those who had under compulsion nominally embraced Christianity resumed their status and places as Jews. But other disastrous effects of the Crusades soon followed. Besides the great loss of life sustained by many communities, the traffic between Europe and the East, hitherto almost wholly controlled by Jewish merchants, passed rapidly into the hands of Christian competitors, and Jews were soon forbidden to engage in any commercial pursuit. Nor were they able to practise handicrafts, owing to the development of the gilds, which excluded Jews from membership. The only means of livelihood left to them, that of money-lending, entailed the ill will of the inhabitants. Thus the characteristic features of the history of the Jews of Cologne from the Second Crusade to their banishment were, as everywhere else, perpetual renewals of privileges—dearly paid for and almost immediately revoked—and periodical outbursts of persecution on the part of the populace.

Under Archbishop Reinald (1157–67) the Jews of Cologne were regarded as "servi cameræ," under the protection of the emperor; and the so-called protection, as it was elsewhere, was here an excuse for extortion. At the beginning of the twelfth century the archbishops of Cologne acquired temporal power over the diocese; and the protection of the Jews—in other words, the levying of taxes—was transferred by the emperor to the prelates. The Jews had now to pay, on the Feast of St. Martin, 10 marks and 6 pounds of pepper. But the archbishops understood how to extract additional taxes. Thus, the false accusation that a rich Jewish merchant and a rabbi, called Abrahams, had tendered to a saleswoman base coin in payment for their purchases, compelled the community, in order to save their lives, to pay to Archbishop Philip von Heinsberg 180 marks. Philip, however, carried extortion so far that he was subsequently called to account by the emperor Frederick Barbarossa.

An exception to the general conduct of the archbishops of the thirteenth century was that of Engelbert von Berg (1216–22). As provost of the Dom he had shown his kindly feeling toward the Jews by presenting them in 1212 with five acres of land for the enlargement of their cemetery. Under his rule the Jews were really protected, and this without the payment of special taxes. A noble who had robbed and killed a Jew was condemned to death by Engelbert. During the struggles between the municipality of Cologne and Archbishop Conrad von Hochstaden (1232–61), the Jews distinguished themselves by their courage in defending the city against the archiepiscopal troops. The municipality showed its gratitude by including them in the treaty of peace of March, 1252. A month later (April 27) Conrad granted the Jews a special privilege for two years.

Bishop Engelbert.

Meanwhile the state of the Jews in Germany generally grew worse from year to year; and the community of Cologne was largely increased by refugees from neighboring towns. The consequence was renewed trouble and violence. Thus in 1266 (June 15), on a charge of having furnished arms to the invading Mongols and Tatars, the community had to mourn twelve additional martyrs, including Rabbi Isaac ben Simson. Whenever possible, the archbishops, for whom the Jews were an inexhaustible source of revenue, quelled the popular outbreaks, and the Jews were safer at Cologne than elsewhere in Germany. In the same year a new privilege was granted, modeled on that of 1252, but with several additional clauses, and with the following stipulations: that no execution should take place in or near the Jews' cemetery; that a foreign Jew might be buried therein; that Jews, whencesoever they might come, should not pay, in the territory of the archbishop, higher taxes than Christians; the archbishop should not tolerate in the city of Cologne any Cauwercini or Christian usurers.

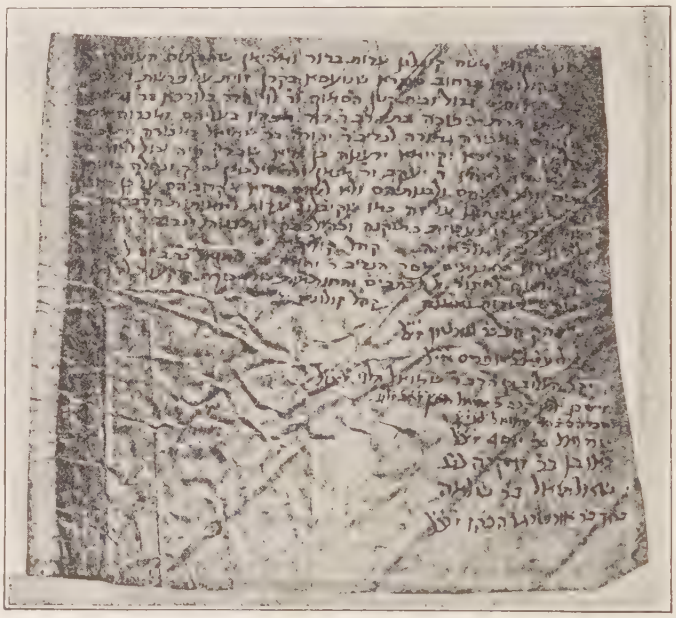
Thirteenth Century.

These clauses were engraved on stone tablets in the wall of the treasury of the Dom.

Archbishop Wicbold (1297–1304) renewed the privilege in 1302 for the sum of 1,200 marks and a yearly payment of 60 marks, in addition to an existing payment of 1,600 shillings to the municipality.

The Black Death.

In 1349 the sweeping accusation that the Jews had caused the Black Death by poisoning the wells and the rivers, stirred the ever-ready populace to violence. The municipality, be it said to its honor, did all in its power to prevent the impending catastrophe, assuring the inhabitants that the plague was a punishment from God. It even encouraged the municipality of Strasburg, in a letter addressed to the burgomaster of that city, to stand by the Jews. But all these exhortations were of no avail: the executioners would not let slip their prey. Seeing that escape was hopeless, the elders of the community, in a council held on the eve of St. Bartholomew's Day, decided that, in case of an attack, instead of being dragged to church for compulsory baptism, they would set fire to their houses and die with their wives and children in the flames. They had not long to wait. On St. Bartholomew's Day (Aug. 24, 1349) the Jewish quarter was attacked; fire broke out simultaneously in different parts of it, and the whole community perished. It remained only for the authorities to dispose of the spoils; an agreement was made, in 1350, between the archbishop and the municipality by which the former secured the possessions of the victims.



Hebrew Deed of Conveyance by Cologne Jews.
(From the "Judenschreinbuch" of the thirteenth century.)

For more than twenty years there were no Jews in Cologne. The first new settlers were one Schaaf and his son-in-law, who had to pay 1,000 gulden for admission to the city. It was agreed that each family admitted should pay 100 gulden for protection. Fourteen families settled in the year 1372, paying together 2,000 gulden for admission and 1,150 gulden annually for protection. In 1372 Archbishop Frederick III., in return for a yearly payment of 70 marks, granted privileges similar to those of his predecessors. The old cemetery near Severinsgate was restored to the community; and on St. Thomas' Day, in the following year, the municipality issued a letter of protection, in which it acknowledged the benefits derived from the Jews.

About this time the Jews began to acquire houses in the Judengasse, Botengasse, and Burgerstrasse. A part of their old synagogue was restored to them; and in 1372 they acquired the remainder. But this relatively happy state of affairs did not last. The increasing influence of the Dominicans, who had established their headquarters at Cologne—a center of the Hussite movement—showed itself in the enactment, in 1404, of laws prescribing special garments for Jews.

Expulsion Through the Dominicans in 1426.

On the other hand, the municipality, weary of the struggle against the archbishops, who illegally arrested Jews whenever they needed money, eagerly embraced the opportunity to remove the cause of the discord, and therefore refused, in 1426, to renew the Jewish privileges. The Jews had to leave the city, and thenceforth were not allowed even to pass a night in Cologne. Their synagogue was converted into a chapel, which still exists under the name of Rathauscapelle.

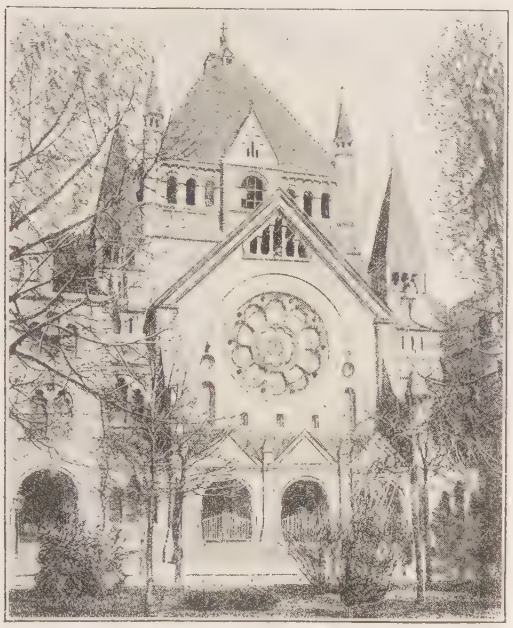
Though Cologne had ceased to be a home for Jews, it remained during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the center of an anti-Jewish movement. Thence arose the crusades against Jewish books; and baptized Jews like Victor of Carben and John Pfefferkorn found it a fertile field for their anti-Jewish propaganda. Reuchlin encountered there his bitterest enemies, the Dominicans, who converted the inhabitants of the once liberal city into a bigoted mob. Even after the Protestant reform movement had triumphed, Cologne remained the citadel of the reactionary spirit. Jews of neighboring towns had the greatest difficulty in obtaining permission to stay in the city even for twenty-four hours. Not until 1798, when Cologne became a part of the French republic, were its gates opened to Jews.

In 1798 Joseph Isaac Stern of Mühlheim and his family, availing themselves of the declaration of the new government that each one was responsible to his own conscience for his religious belief, settled in Cologne as French citizens. Four years later seventeen other families, including that of Solomon

Oppenheim, selected Cologne for their abode. A community was then formed and the statutes were drafted; but it increased very slowly, especially when Cologne in 1815 was annexed to Prussia. At that time there were only thirty families; and this number increased but little in the following twenty years.

Re-admission.

In 1820 the government charged the leaders of the community, Solomon Oppenheim and Solomon Marcus Cohen, with the supervision of the Jewish primary school, in which Joshua Schloss, Elkan Levi, Joseph Gottschalk, and Marcus Mannheimer were successively the teachers. The school was then attended by thirty pupils. In 1843 the community consisted of forty-six families, and was included in



Synagogue at Cologne.
(After a photograph.)

the rabbinate of Bonn, to which it contributed a yearly payment of 130 to 140 thalers. It took the leadership in the struggle for Jewish emancipation in Germany. In 1847 it summoned the Rhenish communities to a general assembly; and its leader, the municipal councilor Abraham Oppenheim, was sent to Berlin in order to prevent the passage of several impending anti-Jewish laws.

With the emancipation of the Jews in Germany the community increased, and in 1854 Dr. Israel Schwarz was nominated rabbi. In 1861 a beautiful synagogue, erected in the Glockengasse at the expense of Abraham von Oppenheim, was consecrated. In 1876 the seminary for teachers, which had been founded at Düsseldorf in 1867, was transferred to Cologne and placed under the direction of Dr. Plato, rabbi of the Orthodox congregation 'Adat Yeshurun. A new synagogue was dedicated in 1899, in the presence of many representatives of both the state and the municipality. The liberal congregation has two rabbis, Dr. S. Frank, who, in 1876, succeeded Rabbi Israel Schwarz, and the recently nominated Dr. Ludwig Rosenthal.

At present (1902) the community numbers about 10,000 Jews. They are engaged in all branches of commerce and industry, and many of them follow the liberal professions.

Institutions and Societies.

The community maintains numerous benevolent societies, of which the most important are: an asylum for sick and old; Die Philanthropie, an institution for the promotion of arts and handicrafts; Quelle des Heiles, for the relief of needy tradesmen; Gemilut Ḥasadim, for lending without interest; Semikut Dallim, founded in 1849; Kotnot Or, for furnishing clothing to children of the poor; Armenverein, for the relief of the poor; Frauenverein, founded in 1820; and Waisenstiftung, founded in 1878.

Among the recently erected institutions are: B'nai B'rith Rheinlandloge; an institute for training Jewish female nurses; a society for the study of Jewish history and literature; a children's settlement; and Das Jüdische Lehrlingsheim, a home for Jewish apprentices. The Central-Komitee der Zionist-Vereinigung für Deutschland has its seat in Cologne.

In the Middle Ages, Cologne was a center of Jewish learning, and the "wise of Cologne" are frequently mentioned in rabbinical literature. A characteristic of the Talmudical authorities of that city was their liberality. Many a liturgical poem which still has a place in the Ashkenazic ritual was composed by poets of Cologne. The names of many rabbis and scholars have been preserved: the legendary Amram, traditional founder of the Talmudic school in the tenth century; R. Jacob ben Yaḳḳar, disciple of Gerson Meor ha-Golah (1050); the liturgist Eliakim ben Joseph; Eliezer ben Nathan (1070–1152), the chronicler of the First Crusade; the poet Eliezer ben Simson, who, together with the last named, took part in the famous assembly of French and German rabbis about the middle of the twelfth century; the Tosafist Samuel ben Natronai and his son Mordecai; the liturgist Joel ben Isaac ha-Levi (d. 1200); Uri ben Eliakim (middle of the twelfth century); R. Eliakim ben Judah; Ephraim ben Jacob of Bonn (b. 1132), the chronicler of the Second Crusade. The last lost at Cologne, in 1171, his son Eliakim, a promising youth, who was murdered in the street. His tombstone is still to be seen in the cemetery of Cologne.

Distinguished Cologne Jews.

Among the rabbis and scholars of the thirteenth century were: Eliezer ben Joel ha-Levi; Uri ben Joel ha-Levi; Jehiel ben Uri, father of R. Asher; Isaac ben Simson (martyred in 1266); Isaac ben Abraham, brother of the Tosafist Simson ben Abraham of Sens (martyred in 1266 at Sinzig); R. Isaiah ben Nehemiah (also martyred in 1266 at Sinzig); the liturgist Eliezer ben Ḥayyim; Ḥayyim ben Jehiel (d. 1314) and Asher ben Jehiel (b. *c.* 1250; d. 1327); Yaḳḳar ben Samuel ha-Levi; Reuben ben Hezekiah of Boppard; Abraham ben Samuel; Judah ben Meïr; Samuel ben Joseph; Ḥayyim ben Shaltiel; Nathan ben Joel ha-Levi; Jacob Azriel ben Asher ha-Levi; Meïr ben Moses; Eliezer ben Judah ha-Kohen, most of whom are known as commentators on the Bible.

The rabbis and scholars of the fourteenth century include: Samuel ben Menahem, Talmudist and liturgist; Jedidiah ben Israel, disciple of Meïr of Rothenburg; and Mordecai ben Samuel. These three are called in the municipal sources "Gottschalk," "Moyter," and "Süsskind." The rabbi who officiated at the time of the banishment was Jekuthiel ben Moses Möln ha-Levi (Pruno Süsskind).

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E. C. I. Br.

COLOMBIA. See United States of Colombia.

COLON. See Panama.

COLON, JOSEPH B. SOLOMON: The foremost Talmudist of Italy in the second half of the fifteenth century; born probably at Chambéry, Savoy, about 1420; died at Padua 1480. Colon (whose name is probably identical with the French "colombe," dove) belonged to the scholarly family of the Trabots, who emigrated from France to Italy in the fifteenth century. The teachers of the boy were his father—himself an eminent Talmudist—and a certain Mordecai b. Nathan. Colon left his home at an early age—not, however, as Grätz says ("Gesch." 3d ed., viii. 253), in consequence of the expulsion of the Jews from Savoy, which took place in 1471. For a time he led a wandering life, and was forced to gain his living by teaching children.

About 1469 he officiated as rabbi in Pieve de Sacco, in Venetian territory, whence he went to Mestre, near Venice. There he became acquainted with a pupil of Israel Isserlein, and was influenced by him in favor of the German Talmudists. Subsequently Colon was rabbi at Bologna and Mantua, and he became involved in a quarrel with Messer Leon, both being banished by the authorities. Thereupon he was made a rabbi at Pavia, and there he became the center of Talmudic learning in Italy. At the same time Colon's decisions in civil as well as religious questions were sought from far and wide—from German cities, such as Ulm and Nuremberg, as well as from Constantinople. He wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch, and novellæ on the Talmud and on the legal codex (סמ"ג) of Moses of Coucy; but the responsa, collected after his death by his son-in-law Gershon and by one of his pupils, Ḥayya Meïr b. David, are all that have been printed of Colon's works (ed. princeps, Venice, 1519; several later editions).

His Responsa.

Colon's responsa, which are among the classical productions in this field of rabbinical literature, exercised a great influence on the development of rabbinical law. One of the most important was his responsum No. 1, in which he decided that no one could be forced to take a case to an outside court when there was a court in the place where the defendant (נתבע) was living; for it often happened that rich people took their cases to foreign rabbis in order to make the poor surrender. His responsum No. 4, addressed to the congregation of Regensburg, is also highly important. A number of Jews of that community having been falsely accused, and a sum of money having to be raised for their ransom, the surrounding places and neighboring communities refused to contribute, at least in so far as it was a question of paying a fixed tax instead of making voluntary contributions. Colon decided that the communities in question could not refuse to pay their share, since the same false accusation (בלבול) might be made against them also, and if the accused in this case were proved innocent and ransomed, they would then be safe from danger.

In his responsa Colon endeavored not only to decide the case in hand, but to establish general principles according to which similar or related cases might be decided. In addition to an astonishing range of reading in the entire rabbinical literature, Colon displays a critical insight into the treatment of the Talmud that is remarkable for his time. This is all the more noteworthy since he was entirely under the influence of the German Talmudists, which preponderated in northern Italy. Colon's great self-confidence is remarkable; he paid little attention to Jacob ben Asher's "Ṭurim," even then considered the most authoritative law codices; and he cared as little for mere custom (Responsa, No. 161, end). He had, besides, an inflexible regard for right and justice, and never stopped to consider persons. This becomes especially evident in the sharp yet duly respectful manner in which he reproved Israel Bruna, the foremost Talmudist of Germany of his time, when the latter presumed to act as judge in a certain dispute, though he was himself one of the contending parties.

His Dispute with Capsali.

It was natural that a man of Colon's stamp should sometimes be carried too far in his zeal for truth and justice; and this happened in his dispute with Capsali, the ḥakam-bashi of Turkey. Having been falsely informed by an emissary ("meshullaḥ") in behalf of the people of Jerusalem that Capsali was very lax in divorce decisions, that he had declared that the betrothed (ארוסה) of a man who had become converted to Christianity should be considered as single, and that he had declared an engagement (קדושין) void because it had not been entered into according to the laws of the community, Colon, in order to establish the sanctity and inviolability of marriage beyond the power of any individual rabbi, wrote three letters (Resp. Nos. 83, 84, 85) to the president and leaders of the community of Constantinople, threatening to place Capsali under the ban if he did not recall his decisions and do public penance; and at the same time making it understood that in no case would Capsali ever again be allowed to fill the office of rabbi (Resp. No. 83). This decree of an Italian rabbi pronounced against a Turkish colleague was an unprecedented attack on the rights of the community, and provoked the righteous indignation of the Constantinople community—all the more as it proved to rest upon a groundless and vulgar calumny. Capsali, conscious of having been maligned, did not mince matters in answering Colon's letters; and a bitter discussion arose between the two men, in which the leading rabbis of Germany, Italy,

and the Orient took part. It is characteristic of Colon that as soon as he became convinced that he had been the victim of an intrigue, and so had done injustice to the ḥakam bashi, he did not hesitate to make amends. On his death-bed he commissioned his son Perez to go to Constantinople and ask, in his father's name, the forgiveness of Capsali.

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L. G.

COLONIAL JEWISH MONTHLY. See Periodicals.

COLONNE, JULES EDOUARD: French musician; born at Bordeaux July 23, 1838. He studied at the Paris Conservatory, where he was awarded the first prize for harmony and for the violin. He gave up a position as first violinist at the Grand Opera in order to found the Association Artistique des Concerts du Châtelet in 1874. By these concerts Colonne popularized the works of Berlioz, whose "L'Enfance du Christ," "Les Troyens," and especially "La Damnation de Faust," the one hundredth performance of which was given in 1898, were frequently rendered. He also gave prominence to the works of the younger French composers, such as Massenet, Dubois, Lalo, Vincent d'Yūdy, as well as to the masterpieces of foreign composers.

The Association Artistique des Concerts du Châtelet, well known at Paris under the name of "Concerts Colonne," won signal success. Colonne was appointed leader of the official concerts of the Exposition of 1878. In 1891 he was appointed leader of the orchestra at the Opéra, his initial performance being in "Lohengrin." At the Exposition of 1900 he conducted the concerts in "Old Paris." Colonne has given many successful concerts in foreign countries, and has also introduced to France, through the medium of his association, the most prominent of contemporary German conductors, like Siegfried Wagner, Mottl, etc. Colonne is an officer of the Legion of Honor.

S. M. Bl.

COLOPHON: An inscription or device placed at the end of books, generally with the intention of showing the title, the writer's or the printer's name, the date, and the place of printing. Originally the certificate of the illuminator, it was used by the early printers to attest that the work had been done by a reputable man and in a reputable manner. Early prints attempted only to reproduce faithfully the manuscripts. As these at times had neither title-page nor colophon, some of the earliest prints are wanting in both. This is true of such early Hebrew prints as the *editio princeps* of Maimonides' "Mishneh Torah" and Jacob b. Asher's "Ṭurim" (Soncino, *c.* 1490). In the "Dikduk" of Elijah Levita (Isny, 1542) a poem takes the place of the usual colophon. In other works the colophon is extremely short, containing simply the word תם ("It is ended"); or אמן אמן סלה ועד, as in Naḥmanides' "Perush ha-Torah" (before 1480); or (תם ונשלם שבח לאלהי עולם = תהלה לאלהי עולם) ("Finished and ended! Praise be to the Lord of the world!"), as at the end of the *editio princeps* of the Hebrew version of Avicenna's "Canon" (Naples, 1491).

Substitutes for, or Supplements to, Title-Page.

In the course of time colophons grew in length, practically taking the place of the modern title-page. But even when the Hebrew title-page grew in size and completeness the colophon was still used, and either duplicated or supplemented the information given in the title-page. The colophons were used to extol the merits of the book as well as the excellence of its typography. Characteristic of the Hebrew colophons is the religious character imparted to them by an expression of thanks to God that the work had been happily completed, or a prayer that those who had assisted might be spared to do similar work for many years to come. The hope of the restoration of Palestine, and of the rebuilding of the Temple, often finds expression also. In the Soncino (1485) edition of the "'Iḳḳarim" Isaiah ii. 3 is curiously changed into "From Zion goes forth the Law, and the word of the Lord from Soncino," eulogistic of the printer's profession. These colophons, which often mention the "printer" (מדפיס or מחוקק), the "superintendent of the printing-office" (נצב על הדפוס), the "typesetter" (מצרף, מסדר, פועל, or מסדר ומפזר), give us valuable information which can not otherwise be obtained. The colophon to Ḳimḥi's commentary on the Psalms (1477) states that 300 copies of the book were printed. The word דפוס is first used for "print" in the colophon of the Ferrara (1477) edition of Gersonides on Job. Steinschneider states that the oldest book containing such a notice is the "Leshon Limmudim" (Constantinople, 1542); but the Constantinople Alfasi (1509) contains one also.

Additions to Colophons.

The Constantinople prints are noted for their long colophons. Those in the early Venice prints are shorter, probably because most of the printers were Christians. Many of the early Italian prints, however, do contain lengthy colophons. Thus the "Maḥzor" of Castel-Maggiore (1486) contains, after the usual ending, "Ended and finished. Praise be to the Lord of the world," a very long account of the book itself, stating where the printing was commenced and where it was finished, with verses interspersed. This is followed by an invocation. The "Seder Tefillot" (Mantua, 1558) has a long colophon giving the date and place, and the name of the ruler ("Our Lord, Duke William Gonzago") of the country in which the city was situated, the names of all those who took part in the work, and ends with "For the sake of His mercy may He make us worthy to produce very many books and to exalt the Law. Amen." The date was often given in a Chronogram. The first edition of the "Yosippon" contains a long colophon, in which the editor, Abraham Conti, gives an account of himself; this is followed by the real epilogue of the work, and this in turn by a distich giving his name and the date, the initial letters of the last line being the numerical equivalent of the printer's name. Where a work was printed in several volumes, each volume is apt to have a colophon of its own. Thus in the Bologna "Maḥzor" (1540)

the colophon at the end of the first volume is in verse, commencing "Finished is the first part; Praise be to the Lord of the world"; it is then followed by the wish that the printer may be enabled to commence the second volume. Volume two contains the main colophon, with the date and an expression of thanks to God that the printer has been able to finish the work.

At times the printer uses the colophon to implore the pardon of the reader for any mistakes which may have crept into the text, as in the Bologna (1538) edition of the "Sefer ha-Ḥasidim," or in the colophon attached by Meïr b. Jacob Parenẓ to "Kaftor wa-Feraḥ" (Venice, 1546). The value of the Hebrew colophon is enhanced at times by the addition of historical notes. The Fano (1506) edition of the "Cuzari" contains an account of the Yaḥya family of Lisbon. Simon Ashenburg's "Debeḳ Ṭob" (Venice, 1588) has in the colophon a long note by the corrector, in which an account is given of the author's journey to Jerusalem. In Elijah b. Ḥayyim's "Imre Shefer" (Frankfort, 1713) Judah Löb b. Joseph tells us that he did not put his name on the title-page because he was daily waiting to receive a privilege from the emperor to print the Talmud. The Constantinople (1562) edition of the "Emunot" contains a long note by the editor, Solomon Ya'beẓ, about the author, and the translation of his work from the Arabic. Colophons were also at times used to call special attention to some one person who had assisted in the work. Thus, the Amsterdam edition (1711) of the "Seder 'Olam" contains, after a very simple formula, and on a separate page, a eulogistic notice of R. Hirsch of Szebrszescyn for the assistance which he had given to the printers.

Historical Notes in Colophons.

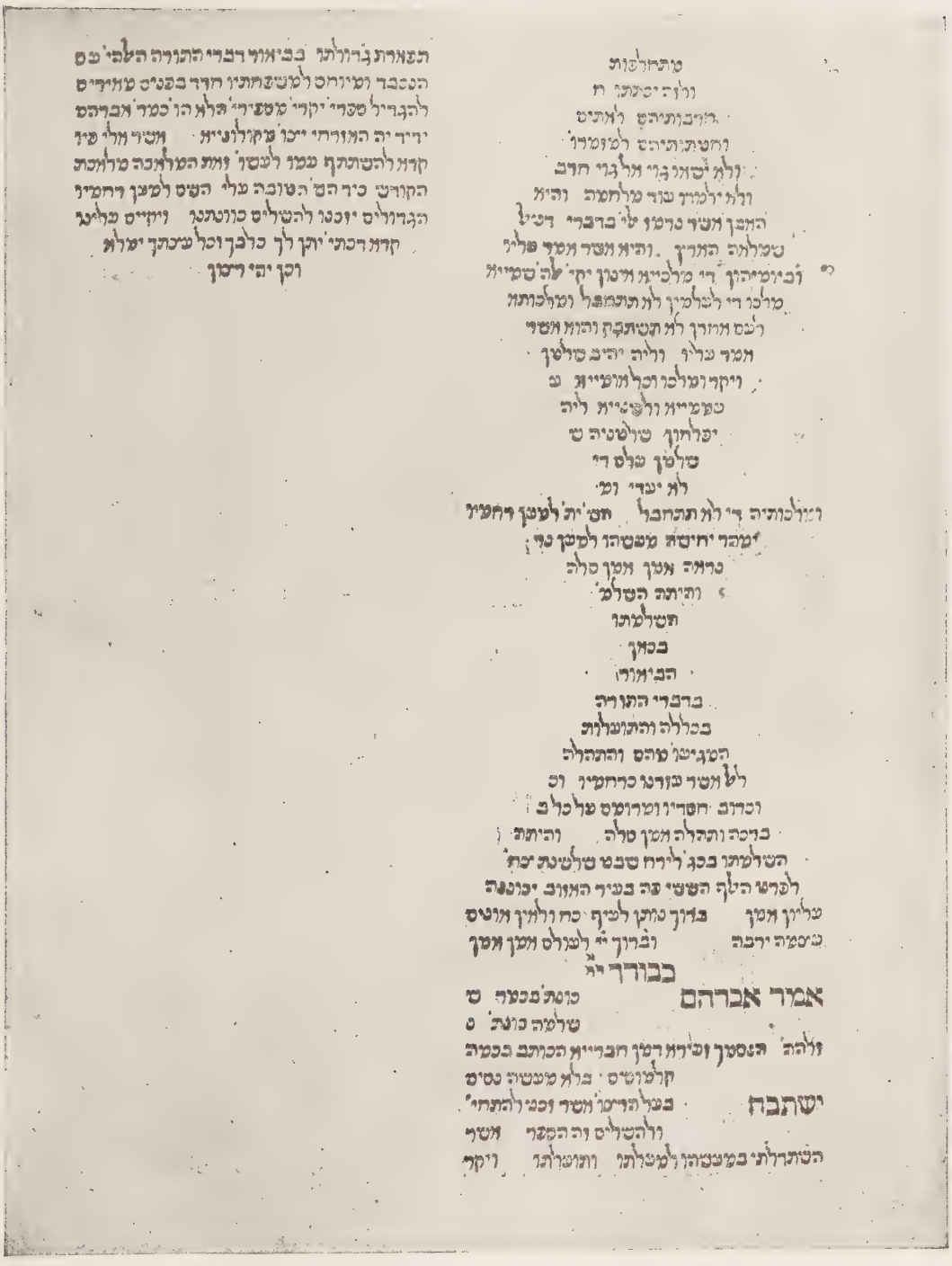
Hebrew colophons were occasionally written in meter, as were those in some of the early Latin prints of Franz Rinner, the Speyers of Venice, and Ulric Hahn of Rome. Usually the verses are merely complimentary to the author. These colophons at times attain a surprising length. In the Rimini edition (1525) of Rashi's Pentateuch commentary, Moses Soncino takes one whole page to explain how he came to reprint the work. Solomon Alḳabiẓ's "Shoresh Yishai" (Constantinople, 1561) contains on a separate page a series of verses by Samuel Shullam in praise of the commentary. Some of these additions to the colophon are headed by a title, as חתימת המדפים ("Last word of the printer"), attached to the Amsterdam (1765) edition of Jos. b. David's "Mebin Ḥidot." In the Amsterdam (1651) edition of Manasseh b. Israel's "Nishmat Ḥayyim," after the real colophon containing the date of printing and the printer's name, Jacob Sasportas has added five pages of corrections and a long account of how he came in contact with Manasseh, and headed by the title התנצלות המגיה ("Apology of the corrector"). A remarkable exaggeration of the colophon may be seen in the Karaite Pentateuch (Constantinople, 1833), which contains not only notes on the correctors and poems in honor of the work, but also an account of the men who contributed money to make the printing possible. Such notes are not unusual in Karaite books.

Colophon and Printer's Mark on the Last Page of "Tefillot Vulgar" (Mantua, 1561).

(In the Columbia University Library, New York.)

At times several colophons are to be found; for instance, in Menaḥem Ẓiyyuni's cabalistic commentary to the Pentateuch (Cremona, 1560). The principal colophon, giving the date and place, is found on page 104. This is followed by two and a half pages of verse, and these in turn by a short colophon בנ"ך וא"עי (compare Isa. xl. 29). Dei Rossi's "Me'or 'Enayim" (Mantua, 1574) contains on page 184 the words תם . ברוך ה' לעולם . אמן אמן, "Stampato in Mantova con licenza dei superiori"; then follow several pages of additions, with a colophon; an index, with the note "Et questo con la detta licenza"; and a השגה (critique), followed by the words "Con la detta licenza."

Compound Colophons.



COLOPHON OF ABRAHAM CONAT ON THE LAST PAGE OF LEVI BEN GERSHON'S COMMENTARY ON THE BIBLE (MANTUA, BEFORE 1480).

(In the Columbia University Library, New York.)

Colophons are almost invariably in Hebrew, though occasionally, especially in Italy, some Latin or Italian words are added; thus in the Venice edition (1582) of "Shalshelet ha-Ḳabbalah," after the words "It is finished," are found the words "In Venetia apresso Gio. de Garra. Con licentia de Superiori." Eliezer Ashkenazi's "Yosef Leḳaḥ" (Cremona, 1576) has the addition "In Cremona. Appresso Christoforo Draconi 1576. Con licenza de Superiori." The Venice (1625) edition of the "Sefer ha-Yashar" has as colophon an Italian permit, given by the ecclesiastical authorities, dated 1615, and countersigned by Georgio Domini (1625), secretary of the "Magistr. Ecclest. contra la Biastema."

Copyright. Such colophons are somewhat rare. Still more rare was the custom of adding, after the expression "Finished and ended," a warning against any editor reprinting the book within a specified time. Thus in the "Sefer ha-Miḳḳaḥ u-Mimkar" of Hai Gaon, edited by Moses Mintz (Venice, 1602), such a prohibition, covering a period of ten years, is printed in the colophon. To this the editor adds a note in regard to the translation of the work from the Arabic, and a long colophon giving the dates of the commencement and the conclusion of the work, to which is attached the Aramaic formula בריך רחמנא דסייען מריש ועד כען ("Blessed be the Merciful One, who has helped us from the beginning to the end"). A similar copyright privilege is found in the colophon to Ibn Baruk's commentary to Ecclesiastes (Venice, 1598); though where such copyrights are published they were generally found following the title-page, and were known technically as "haskamot" (see APPROBATION).

Side by side with these long colophons shorter ones were in use. In the Augsburg edition of the "Arba' Ṭurim" (1540) we have simply the names of the three publishers, Ḥayyim bar David, Joseph bar Yaḳar, and Isaac bar Ḥayyim, in large letters. These names, however, are preceded by a long poem by Joseph bar Yaḳar, addressed to Jacob b. Baruch. Such small colophons became more general as the title-page was enlarged. They usually read: תם ונשלם . שבח לאלהים בורא עלום, "Finished and complete. Praise be to the Lord, Creator of the World" (very often abbreviated to תושלבע), and were followed by the names of the printers; or ברוך השם דסייען עד כען, as in Heidenheim's "Mishpeṭe ha-Ṭe'amim" (Rödelheim, 1808). Such abbreviated formulas appear quite early. Albo's "Iḳḳarim" (Soncino, 1485) has the letters תלו"לה; it is signed by המחוקק השונצינו. The benediction is sometimes omitted in the short colophon, the date being retained. Abraham Bibago's "Derek Emunah" (Constantinople, 1521) has simply תם ונשלם . זה הספר להדפים בחשון שנת ר"פ"ב. The colophon was still further shortened into either the simple תם (or its Aramaic equivalent סליק; or סליק הספר), or חזק ונתחזק (compare II Sam. x. 12); or both combined, as in the "Piske Ḥallah" of Rashba' (Constantinople, 1516).

In Hebrew books the colophon was usually printed in the same type as that used in the body of the work, or even in smaller rabbinical type. Only occasionally were larger characters used, to bring prominently before the reader the names of the printers; *e.g.*, in the Augsburg "Ṭurim" mentioned above, and in Abraham Ẓahalon's "Yesha' Elohim" (Venice, 1595), which bears in large letters, covering an entire page, the abbreviations תושלבע בנלך לקי ואעי (= Isa. xl. 29 + Gen. xlix. 18). Occasionally the printer's mark was added after the colophon, though already given on the title-page. Such marks are found at the end of the "Arba' Ṭurim" (Ixar, 1485), of Baḥya's "Kad ha-Ḳemaḥ" (Constantinople, 1515), of the Constantinople edition (1514) of "Pirḳe R. Eliezer," and of Cresca's "Or Adonai" (Ferrara, 1556), printed by Abraham Usque.

Typography.

The eccentric arrangement of the type, in the form of funnel, diamond, wine-cup, wedge, or pyramid, as found in early Latin prints, is only occasionally met with in Hebrew books. The most common form is that of the inverted cone, where the lines taper either to a very short line or to a single word. This custom is found in many Hebrew manuscripts; it being an old idea that nothing should be left blank upon the last page of a copy of the Torah ("Soferim," ed. Müller, p. 20). For colophons in manuscripts see MANUSCRIPTS.

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J. G.

COLOR: It is noteworthy that Biblical Hebrew contains no term to express that property of light known as color. When a Hebrew writer wishes to compare an object with another in respect to color, he employs the word עין ("eye") or מראה ("appearance"). The former term is thus used in speaking of the appearance of the plague (Lev. xiii. 55), of bdellium (Num. xi. 7), of wine (Prov. xxiii. 31), of amber (Ezek. i. 4, 27; viii. 2), of burnished or polished brass (*ib.* i. 7; Dan. x. 6), of beryl (Ezek. i. 16, x. 9), and of crystal (*ib.* i. 22). The latter term is used of brass (*ib.* xl. 3).

In rabbinical literature are found the Aramaic "ḥazuta" (appearance, Ḥul. 47b), "guf" (body, Men. 44a), "ḳeren" (ray, Niddah ii. 6), "or" (light, Num. R. ii. 7; compare Luria, note 10 *ad loc.*), "ẓeba'" (dye, paint, *ib.* = the Aramaic "ẓib'a") (Shab. 75a), the Persian loan-word "gawwan" ('Er. 53b = Aramaic "gawna"; compare Targ. Yer. to Lev. xv. 19: "color of saffron"), and אברום, כרום, the Greek *χρῶμα* (compare Krauss, "Lehnwörter," ii., *s.v.*; see, however, Jastrow, "Dict." *s.v.*).

Intensity of Color.

Intensity of color is expressed by the terms "'amoḳ" (deep, Tosef., Niddah, iii. 11), "'az" (strong, Neg. i. 1), "'ad me'od" (to a high degree, Num. R. ii. 7), or syntactically by such expressions as "adamdam she-ba'adummim" (deep red, Neg. xi. 4), "yeraḳraḳ sheba-yeroḳim" (deep green, *ib.*). Faintness or paleness of color is expressed by "kehah" (dim, faint, Lev. xiii. 39; Neg. ii. 2) or by "deheh" (Neg. i. 2). The same idea is expressed by reduplication, as "adamdam" (reddish), "yeraḳraḳ" (greenish, Lev. xiii. 49), and "sheḥarḥar"

(blackish, swarthy, Cant. i. 6). Dark colors are expressed by "mashḥir" (Niddah 19a) or "maḳdir" (Yer. Niddah ii. 50b); bright, vivid, is "meẓahẓeaḥ" (*ib.*); dingy, dirty, is "ka'ur" (ugly, B. Ḳ. ix. 4), "meko'ar," "meko'ar," the same (Baraita Niddah; Horowitz, "Uralte Tosephtas," V. ii., § 1); and clear (of liquids), "ẓalul" = Aramaic "ẓil" (Num. R. ii. 7; Ḥul. 55b).

There are but few real color-terms found in Biblical or traditional literature. Only white, and two of the elementary colors, red and green, are distinguished by name; while for blue and yellow distinct terms are entirely wanting. The other elementary colors are expressed by words denoting degrees of lightness and darkness; while non-elementary colors are indicated by the names of the objects from which they are derived. Moreover, one and the same word is used to denote not only several shades of one color, but even what are now known as different colors; the context, or the object to which the color was applied, affording the clue as to the particular color intended.

Scarcity of Color-Names.

The scarcity of color-names found in the Bible and other ancient literatures has been differently accounted for by various scholars. All that can with certainty be said of the ancients in this respect is that their color vocabulary was undeveloped.

To the psychological reasons for such an undeveloped state among all nations of antiquity (compare Wundt, "Völkerpsychologie: Die Sprache," ii. 513, 514) was added, in the case of the Israelites, the religious prohibition of idolatry at a period of history when painting, like other arts, was largely, if not altogether, in the service of idolatry. Needlework in colors, as well as dyed stuffs, was indeed known in Israel in very early times (compare Dyeing; Embroidery), but the coloring was in all probability of a simple kind.

In the determination of the various color-terms, notwithstanding the aid which the context and etymology offer, it is at times impossible to arrive at very definite conclusions. In the following lists the Biblical data are given under *a*; the data from traditional literature, inclusive of the Targumim, under *b*.

(*a*) "Zak" (literally, "clear," "pure") is applied in the Bible to the whiteness of the complexion (Lam. iv. 7); "ẓahob" (glistening like gold), to the golden tint of hair (Lev. xiii. 30, 32, 36); the hof'al participle "muẓhab," to brass (Ezra viii. 27); "ẓaḥ" (glowing, glistening), to the glow of a healthy complexion (Cant. v. 10); similarly, with the additional idea of whiteness, in Lam. iv. 7; to the clearness of a dry, hot atmosphere (Isa. xviii. 4); and to a dry, hot wind (Jer. iv. 11); "ẓaḥor" (light reddish; A. V. "white"), to the color of the ass (Judges v. 10).

Degrees of Lightness.

(*b*) "Baḥaḳ" (be glistening white) is used in the later Hebrew to denote the color of the human skin in a diseased condition (Bek. 45b; compare Lev. xiii. 39); "hibhiḳ" (to glisten), is used of jewels (Gen. R. xxxi. 11); *idem* (be bright), of the countenance (Pesiḳ. R. xiv. [ed. Friedmann, p. 62b]); "hizhib" (become golden-hued), of a dove's plumage (Ḥul. 22b); "hiẓhib" (to become glistening), of the metallic color of the dove's plumage (Ḥul. *ib.*), an earlier stage of coloration of plumage than the preceding hizhib; "ẓihub," of the getting of such color (*ib.*); "hiẓhil" (become bright), of the countenance (Gen. R. xcvii. 1); "hiẓhir" (make bright), of the skin (Lev. R. v. 3).

Aramaic: "barir" (pure) = "zak" (Targ. to Lam. iv. 7); "ẓehal" = Hebr. "hiẓhil" (Pesiḳ. R. *l.c.*); "ẓehir" (bright) and "ẓihara" (brightness), used of the surface of peeled grain, and of a clear, translucent liquid (Beẓah 14b; Ḳid. 48b); "faẓiaḥ" (clear) = Hebr. "ẓaḥ" (Targ. to Isa. xviii. 4), and (speckled) = Hebr. "bared" (Targ. to Zech. vi. 3).

(*a*) The usual term in the Bible to express the idea of darkness is "shaḥor" (black) It is used of the dark hair in a leprous scall (Lev. xiii. 31, 37), of a sunburnt skin (Job xxx. 30; Cant. i. 5) and of dark horses (Zech. vi. 2). The diminutive form "sheḥarḥor" is applied to swarthy complexion (Cant. i. 6). When it is desired to express a particular shade of dark, another substantive is added for a closer definition, as "oven-black" (Lam. v. 10), and "raven-black," of hair (Cant. v. 11). "Ḥum" (literally, "hot," then "dark," "brown") is used of the wool of sheep (Gen. xxx. 32 and *passim*). "Ḳadar," meaning primarily "to overpower," then "to be sad, gloomy, dirty, or dark" (compare the explanation of "shaḥuf," below), is applied to the turbid state of water (Job vi. 16), to a sad countenance (Jer. viii. 21), to mourning garments, to the gates of a mourning city (Jer. xiv. 2), and to the sky (*ib.* iv. 28). The hif'il of the same verb is used in a causative sense; *e.g.*, "make dark" the heavens (Ezek. xxxii. 7, 8), "cause sadness" (*ib.* xxxi. 15). The hitpa'el of this verb means "to become dark" with clouds of the sky (I Kings xviii. 45).

Degrees of Darkness.

The noun "ḳadrut" signifies "blackness" (Isa. l. 3); and the adverb "ḳedorannit," "wrapped in mourning" (Mal. iii. 14).

"Ḥashak" (to be dark), a word generally employed to signify the darkness of approaching night (Isa. v. 30; Job xviii. 6), is also used of the eyes becoming dim (Lam. v. 17) or blind (Ps. lxix. 24), and of a black complexion (Lam. iv. 8). Hence the terms "ḥoshek" (darkness), "ḥaklili" (Gen. xlix. 12), and "ḥaklilut" (Prov. xxiii. 29) refer to the darkly lustrous or inflamed appearance of the eyes. The second, as used in Gen. xlix. 12, refers to the sparkling luster of dark-red wine, comparing the beauty of Judah's eyes therewith; the third (Prov. xxiii. 29) is descriptive of the inflamed eyes due to protracted night sessions over the wine-cup at the wine-shops (see Jastrow, "Proc. Soc. of Biblical Exegesis," xi. 128). "Kimrir" (Job iii. 5), originally "casting down," "oppression," seems to mean "blackness" (compare "shaḥuf," below).

(*b*) In the later Hebrew "shaḥor" is frequently more nearly defined as "ink-black" (Niddah ii. 7), or "black as the sediment of ink" (*ib.*), like black wax, pitch, grapes, olives (*ib.*), "mouse-gray" (Pes. 10b), or as black as a negro (Suk. iii. 6). In Num. R. ii. 7, the term "shaḥor" is applied to "bareḳet," probably taken here as sardonyx, and described as consisting of one-third white, one-third black, and

one-third red; to "sappir," black like stibium (*i.e.*, metallic grayish-blue [?]; to "leshem" and to "shebo," probably gray amethyst, said to be mixed black and white. The "shoham"—here the deep sea-green beryl—is said to be "shaḥor 'ad meod" (very dark). Hence, "shaḥrurit" = the Aramaic "shaḥrurita" (blackness, darkness, Ta'anit 23b; B. Ḳ. 20b; B. M. 117b) and the by-form "sheḥarḥarut" (Cant. R. i. 6). "Sheḥamtit" (brownish), of the color of grain (B. B. v. 6), is sometimes contracted to "shamtit" (Yer. Ma'as. Sh. iv. 54d).

Aramaic: "sheḥum," "sheḥim," literally "warm," "hot," = the Hebrew "ḥum" (brown, Targ. O. to Gen. xxx. 32).

"Shaḥuf" or "ṭaḥuf" (gray, dark), a term which is used of sheep's wool (Ḥul. xi. 2, 136b), goes back to "saḥaf" (cast down). The variation in the first consonant points to a differentiation of an original "thakhaf." (On the development of meaning from the idea of overpowering, casting down, oppressing, to that of darkness, compare "ḳadar," above, and Levias, "Babyl. Aram. Gram." p. 210, note 6). "Piḥem (to blacken, soil), denominative of "peḥam" (coal, is used of soot, the sun, and other things. The passive of this may be used in the pu'al and nitpa'el (compare Jastrow, "Dict." *s.v.*). The verb "shetak" is used to designate "rust-colored" or "bronze" (Ta'an. 8a).

Aramaic: "ukkam," originally signifies "oppressed," then "black" (compare Levias, *l.c.*); "leḥush," literally "glowing," then "brown" (Targ. Yer. to Gen. xxx. 32, 33, 35); "ḥalid" (rust-colored [?]); compare Targ. Job xi. 17 Ms.; Jastrow, "Dict." *s.v.*). "Ḳewaḥ" or "ḳaḥaḥ" (deep black) is applied to horses (Targ. to Zech. i. 8).

(*a*) White is usually expressed in the Bible by the word "laban," which is used of the color of goats (Gen. xxx. 35, 37), of teeth (*ib.* xlix. 12), of manna (Ex. xvi. 31), of leprous hair (Lev. xiii.), of garments (Eccl. ix. 8), and of horses (Zech. i. 8; vi. 3, 6). Shades of white are: milk-white (Gen. xlix. 12), coriander-seed-white (Ex. xvi. 31), snow-white (Num. xii. 10; II Kings v. 27; Ps. lxviii. 15 [A. V. 14]; Isa. i. 18), and dull white (Lev. xiii. 39). Hence the noun "loben" (whiteness, Ecclus. [Sirach] xliii. 18). The moon, on account of its pale light, is called "lebanah."

Degrees of White.

The Aramaic terms corresponding to "laban" are "ḥawar," used of the face becoming pale with shame (Isa. xxix. 22), and "ḥiwwar" (white), applied to a snow-white garment (Dan. vii. 9).

(*b*) The white color may be as white as snow, as the calcimining in the Temple, as wool, as the cuticle of the egg (Neg. i., referring to the color of leprous spots), as pearl (Yoma 75a), or as the wood below the bark (Ḥul. 47b). The color of the stone "yahalom," probably milky opal, is white (Num. R. ii. 7). "Libbun" (whitening) is used of wool (B. Ḳ. 93b). "Libben" means "to bleach cloth" (Yer. Ber. ix. 1, 13c), "to glaze tiles" (Beẓah iv. 7), "to heat to a white heat iron instruments" ('Ab. Zarah v. 12). "Hilbin" signifies "to grow white," used of hair (Neg. i. 6); "to whiten the wing of a raven" (Cant. R. v. 11); "to cause paleness of face through shame" (Ab. iii. 11). Hence, "labnunit" (whiteness, Neg. iv. 4), and the by-form "labnut" (Lev. R. xiv.). The verb "kasaf," in various forms, is used to indicate paleness of countenance caused by shame or fright (compare Jastrow, "Dict." *s.v.*). The word is perhaps connected with "kesef" (silver). Notice also "lawḳan," "labḳan" = the Greek λευκόν (albino, or white-spotted in the face, Ber. 58b). To express the idea of the hair becoming grayish-white through old age, the root "sib" is used (I Sam. xii. 2; Job xv. 10), whence the derivative "sebaḥ," meaning "gray hair" (Gen. xlii. 38; xliv. 29, 31; Deut. xxxii. 25; Hos. vii. 9; Prov. xx. 29), or the "hoary hair" of old age (Isa. xlvi. 4).

In Aramaic the roots "ḥawar," "kesaf," and "sib" are used in the same senses as in Hebrew; add to which "ḳiṭman" (ash-gray, Targ. to Zech. vi. 3, 7).

(*a*) Red is expressed by "adom," a term probably connected with "dam" (blood). It is applied to blood (II Kings iii. 22), to blood-stained apparel (Isa. lxiii. 3), to a heifer (Num. xix. 2), to a horse (Zech. i. 8), and to brownish yellow lentils (Gen. xxv. 30). The adjective "admoni" describes a reddish-brown complexion (Gen. xxv. 25; I Sam. xvi. 12). Verbal forms are used of becoming as red as crimson (Isa. i. 18), of skins dyed red (Ex. xxv. 5), and of a blood-besmeared shield (Nahum ii. 4 [A. V. 3]). The diminutive form of the adjective "adamdam" expresses "reddish," applied to the color of the leprous spot (Lev. xiii. 19, 24) or a sore (*ib.* xiii. 42).

Red.

Other terms occasionally occur which denote some shade of red, as "saroḳ" (reddish-brown, sorrel), applied to horses (Zech. i. 8); and "ḥamuẓ," some shade of red not more closely defined (Isa. lxiii. 3). "Amoz" (Zech. vi. 7), translated by the Targum "ash-gray," stands, in the opinion of modern scholars, for "hameẓ" (red; compare Gesenius-Buhl, "Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch," *s.v.*). Some trace the root "ḥamar" (to be red) in Ps. lxxv. 9 and Job xvi. 16.

(*b*) Redness is applied in Talmudic literature to the scarlet lily (Cant. R. vii. 3), to collyrium (Lam. R. iv. 15), to wine (Num. R. ii. 7), to the ruby (*ib.*), and in the hif'il form is used also of "putting to the blush" (Num. R. iv. 20). Deep red is "adamdam she-ba'adummim" (Neg. xi. 4). Hence are formed the nouns "odem" (Niddah 32b), "admut" (Num. R. ii. 7, where אדמתו, ed. Wilna, is to be corrected to אדמותו), and "admumit" (redness, Ḥul. 87b). Compare also "giḥor" (red of complexion, Ber. 58b; Bek. vii. 6, 45b).

The usual term for red in Aramaic is "summaḳa" (reddish) or "simmuḳa" (compare Jastrow, "Dict." *s.v.*). Occasionally are found "giḥora," and "giḥya," "gihya" (Bek. 45b). The latter properly means "flame-colored."

(*a*) The term "yaraḳ," originally "pale," is used to describe those uncertain colors which waver between green, yellow, and blue. It is applied to the color of vegetation (Job xxxix. 8; II Kings xix. 26; Isa. xxxvii. 27), the fading color of decaying vegetation (Deut. xxviii. 22; Amos iv. 9; Hag. ii. 17), or of a panic-stricken countenance (Jer. xxx. 6). "Yeraḳraḳ" (greenish or yellowish) is used of the appearance of plague-spots (Lev. xiii. 49, xiv.

Green, Blue, and Yellow.

37) and of gold (Ps. lxviii. 13). The term "ḥaraẓ," applied to gold, probably means "yellow."

(*b*) The same root ירק is used in later Hebrew and Aramaic for green, yellow, and blue (compare Yoreh De'ah, 188, 1). Green is given as the color of leek (Ber. i. 2; Suk. iii. 6), and of myrtle (Meg. 13a). Yellow is the color of crocus (Niddah ii. 6; Ḥul. 47b), of cuscuta (Ḥul. *l.c.*), and of the yolk of an egg (*ib.*). The color of the "tarshish" (probably chrysolite or olivin) is like that of clear olive-oil (Num. R. ii. 7). Hence, "moriḳa" (crocus) and "yeraḳon" (jaundice). The verb "ḥoriḳ" (Gen. R. xiii.; Ber. 44b) is used to denote "making pallid," "pale," especially the pale yellowish color of a frightened countenance (Soṭah iii. 4). The same idea is conveyed by the verb "kirkem," a denominative of the noun "karkom" (crocus). Compare, further, "moriḳa" (saffron-colored), from מרק, a by-form of ירק (Levias, "Am. Jour. Semitic Lang." xvi. 250); "ḥardali" (mustard-colored), used of the color of wine (Shab. 63a), "ḳela'illan," an adaptation of *κελαῖνον* (sea-green, blue; compare Krauss, *l.c.* s.v.).

Variegated Surfaces: (*a*) A party-colored appearance of one kind or another is denoted by the following terms: "barod" (grizzled, used of goats, Gen. xxxi. 10, 12; and piebald, of horses, Zech. vi. 3, 6); "ṭalu" (literally, "patched," hence "besprinkled," "flecked"), used of goats (Gen. xxx. 32 *et seq.*) and of dyed stuffs of many colors (Ezek. xvi. 16); "naḳod" (literally, "dotted," hence "speckled," having light spots on a dark skin), used of goats (Gen. xxx. 32; xxxi. 8, 10, 12); "'aḳod" (ring-streaked; literally, "tied"), referring to light stripes on a dark skin (Gen. xxx. 35, 39; xxxi. 8, 10, 12), the stripes resembling ropes.

(*b*) From "namer" (leopard) the verb "nimmer" is derived, having the meaning of giving a checkered or striped appearance to something, and is used of the appearance of a field in which the fruits have been gathered in some places and left standing in others (Peah iii. 2), or of a checkered web (B. Ḳ. 119b), or of writing, in which a number of words are stricken out (Giṭ. 54b). "Patuk" (mixed) is applied to the color of plague-spots, and is described as looking like wine mixed with snow, or wine mixed with water, or milk before being mixed (Neg. i. 2).

In Aramaic the following terms are used: "nemor" (speckled; compare "nimmer," above); "regol" (ring-streaked; literally, "having some spots on the feet"); "reḳoa'" (literally, "patched"), the same as the Biblical "ṭalu" (compare above); "ḳeruaḥ" (literally, "bald"; having light-colored spots on a dark skin); and "ḥuṭrana" (striped like a staff), used of swine (Shab. 110b).

Pigments: (*a*) Of pigments known and used in Biblical times, four are mentioned. Three were derived from animals and one from a metal. Scarlet or crimson was obtained from an insect (coccus), which gave its name to a species of oak (*Ilex coccifera*). By infusing the insect in boiling water a beautiful red dye was produced, superior in effect and durability to cochineal. To designate this color the word "tola'" (worm) is used (Isa. i. 18; Lam. iv. 5). More often, however, the form "tola'at" is found preceded or followed by "shani," a word supposed to mean "to glitter." In this form it is mentioned as a costly possession (Ex. xxxv. 23), and as being, therefore, suitable for an offering (Ex. xxv. 4, xxxv. 6; Lev. xiv.; Num. xix. 6), for the Tabernacle hangings (Ex. xxvi. 36, xxvii. 16, xxxvi. 37, xxxviii. 18), for the ephod (Ex. xxviii. 56, xxxix. 28), etc. A thread of this color was commonly used in early times as a sign to aid recognition (Gen. xxxviii. 28, 30; Josh. ii. 21). In these passages, as well as in II Sam. i. 24 and Cant. iv. 3, "shani" alone is used. The plural "shanim" (scarlet stuffs) occurs in Prov. xxxi. 21 and Isa. i. 18. In later times the Persian loan-word "karmil" came into use (II Chron. ii. 6, 13; iii. 14). The verbal form "metulla'im" (clothed in scarlet) occurs in Nahum ii. 4. A similar shade of color was derived from "shashar" (minium, red oxid of lead), used for painting ceilings (Jer. xxii. 14) and images (Ezek. xxiii. 14).

Scarlet.

(*b*) The Targumim and Mishnah use for scarlet the expression "zehorit," on the etymology of which compare Jensen, in Brockelmann, "Lexicon Syriacum," 93b. The Aramaic has also the adjective "tol'ana," or "tolana" ('Ab. Zarah 28b). In later times crimson was also obtained from "puah" (madder; see Rieger, "Versuch einer Technologie und Terminologie der Handwerke in der Mischnah," i. 23, note 38). From seaweeds were obtained a cosmetic rouge, "piḳas" (fucus; Rieger, *ib.*), and the mineral pigment "siḳra" (according to Löw, "Graphische Requisiten," etc., i. 165, vermilion; according to Rieger, *l.c.* p. 24, note 43, minium). A kind of scarlet was "sasgona," or "sasgewana," etymology unknown (Targ. to Cant. vii. 2).

(*a*) The purple dyes were obtained from the "ḥallazon," a species of shell-fish called *Murex brandaris* and *Murex trunculis*, on which see Rieger (*l.c.* p. 21). It yielded purple-red (Hebrew "argaman" = Aramaic "argewan") and purple-blue or violet (Hebrew "tekelet" = Aramaic "tikla"). Both colors figure largely in the decoration of the Tabernacle and the priestly robes. In Jer. x. 9 both are mentioned as contributing to the splendor of heathen worship. In Judges viii. 26 the Midianitish chiefs are said to have worn robes of purple-red. Ezekiel (xxiii. 6) relates how the robes of purple-blue worn by the Assyrians impressed the women of Israel; and he knows also of purple-red and purple-blue from Elishah (*ib.* xxvii. 7). In Ecclus. (Sirach) xlv. 10 both dyes are mentioned as occupying a prominent place in the raiment of Moses; and ribbons of purple-blue are said to form part of the adornment of wisdom (*ib.* vi. 30). On the defeat of Gorgias, dyed stuffs of both colors were among the spoil taken by Judas Maccabeus (I Macc. iv. 23). Purple robes of office were common. Judas was struck by the fact that the Romans, notwithstanding their power and riches, were not clothed in purple (*ib.* viii. 14). When, however, Alexander appointed Jonathan high priest he sent him a purple-red robe (*ib.* x. 20); so likewise did Antiochus when he confirmed him in the office (*ib.* xi. 58). On the other hand, when the treachery of Andronicus was discovered he was at once deprived of the purple robe (II Macc. iv. 38).

Purples.

(*b*) In Talmudic times purple-red was obtained also from "lakka" (lac-dye; compare Rieger, *l.c.*

i. 22). The Greek loan-word "porpira" (πορφύρα, "purple stuff") is very common in traditional literature (compare Krauss, *l.c.* ii., *s.v.*).

Other pigments known in Mishnaic times were "isatis" = ἰσάτις ("woad," *Isatis tinctoria*), "kozah" (madder or safflower); "ḳelife eguzim" (the fresh shells of the walnut); "ḳelife rimmonim" (pomegranate peel); "rikpah," a kind of onion-plant; and "ḥeret" (vitriol). With the latter a black color was obtained (Rieger, *l.c.* i. 23, 24).

Symbolism of Colors: (*a*) It has been generally assumed that at times colors are used in the Bible symbolically, either in the ritual, as in the construction of the Tabernacle and in the priestly raiments; or apocalyptically, as in the visions of Zechariah and of Daniel; or, as a literary device, in poetical diction. Philo ("De Vita Mosis," iii. 6) and Josephus ("Ant." iii. 7, § 7) attempted to explain the ritual symbolism of colors, but without convincing force (see, also, Baehr, "Symbolik des Mosaischen Kultus," Heidelberg, 1874). The apocalyptic symbolism is admitted more generally; yet it fails when tested in detail. Literary symbolism, however, based on a psychological connection between the various color-sensations and moods of feeling, is found among most nations. Yet the relations between a given color and the symbolized objects or moods are not fixed; and they leave room for difference of explanation.

Black or dark color points to mourning or affliction (II Sam. xix. 24; Zech. vi. 6, 8); such was probably also the color of sackcloth used in mourning. On the other hand, white suggests purity (Isa. i. 18; Ps. li. 9) and joy (Mishnah Mid. v. 4). Scarlet or red is symbolical of bloodshed, of sin in general (Isa. i. 15, 18; lxiii. 1), and, in the opinion of some commentators, of vigorous life (Lev. xiv.; Num. xix.). Purple-red denotes royalty and royal splendor (Judges viii. 26; Esth. viii. 15; Dan. v. 7). Purple-blue, used for fringes in the garment of every Israelite (Num. xv. 38), is thought, on the one hand, to symbolize the high dignity of every member of the people of the covenant (compare Ex. xix. 6); and, on the other, to suggest the God of heaven (Gen. xxiv. 7; Ps. xi. 4), because of the same color as the sky.

(*b*) Color-symbolism plays a great part in the Cabala, where to each Sefirah are attributed one or more colors; and one who wishes to energize the influence of a certain Sefirah has to contemplate, or clothe himself in, the particular color attributed to that Sefirah. White signifies peace, mercy, and pity; black, latency of qualities; red, bloodshed, cruelty, and justice; azure, attributed to the Sefirah of wisdom, is said to denote the first step from black (latency) to the development of color—that is, active energy in general; saffron-color or yolk-yellow is considered a combination of red and white; green is said to be a combination of red, white, and azure; purple-red, a compound of all colors; golden yellow symbolizes cheering, justice, etc.

Bibliography: A. M. Canney, *Colors*, in Cheyne and Black, *Encyc. Bibl.* and the literature there quoted; Schwab, *Répertoire*, ii., s.v. *Couleurs*; Cordovero, *Pardes Rimmonim*, x.; Grant Allen, *The Colour Sense*. On the theory of color in the Middle Ages, compare D. Kaufmann, *Die Sinne*, pp. 115-117.

E. G. H. C. L.

COLORADO: One of the United States of North America; bounded on the north by Wyoming and Nebraska; east by Nebraska and Kansas; south by Oklahoma and New Mexico; and west by Utah. It was admitted into the Union in 1876. The excitement consequent on the discovery of gold at Pike's Peak in 1858, following the panic of 1857, which clogged the wheels of industry in the Eastern States, brought the first settlers to Colorado. There were no railroads; and the pioneers crossed the plains and mountains in wagons drawn by oxen or horses. Among the Jews who survived the hardships of the long journey, the perils from wild animals, and the attacks of savage Indians, were Isidor Deitsch, Leopold Mayer, A. Jacobs, A. Goldsmith, F. Z. Salomon, D. Kline, and others.

Denver, the capital of Colorado and the most important city of the Rocky Mountain region, was

Temple Emanuel, Denver, Col.
(From a photograph.)

settled in 1858–59, and gradually became the center of Colorado Jewish life. In 1861 the United States government deeded to Denver a plot of ground ted for burial purposes; of this the Jews were allotten acres. A Cemetery Association was the first Jewish organization. In 1873 the Jews of Denver organized for worship, and in 1874 built Temple Emanuel, a small synagogue at 19th and Curtis streets. The members were for the most part energetic merchants of German birth. By 1882 Congregation Emanuel had outgrown the little synagogue, and a larger one was constructed at 24th and Curtis streets. This building was destroyed by fire Nov. 5, 1897, and a beautiful structure on 16th avenue and Pearl street was erected, and dedicated Jan. 29, 1899. Rabbis Block, Elkan, Schreiber, J. Mendes de Solla, and William S. Friedman have successively occupied the pulpit. A Ladies' Auxiliary, a Jewish Relief Society, mainly for indigent consumptives, and a

burial society, Hesed Shel Emeth, have also been established; and four Orthodox congregations are in existence. Denver also has lodges of the orders B'nai B'rith, Kesher Shel Barzel, Sons of Benjamin, and B'rith Abraham.

The most important philanthropic institution in Denver is the National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives, founded by Rabbi William S. Friedman Sept. 10, 1890. This hospital became an imperative necessity by reason of the hundreds of penniless Jewish victims of tuberculosis who came to Colorado. In 1898 Denver Lodge of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith appointed Alfred Muller chairman of a committee to urge the district Grand Lodge No. 2 of the order to espouse the cause of the consumptives by taking charge of this institution; and through his tireless energy, together with that of Rabbi W. S. Friedman, the National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives was dedicated Dec. 10, 1899.

National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives.

The Constitution Grand Lodge of the order, at a meeting held in Chicago April 28, 1900, decided to tax all its members twenty-five cents yearly for the support of the hospital, and to make of it an independent corporation governed by thirty-five trustees, seven of whom should be elected by the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith—one from each district—the remainder to be chosen by the contributors. The trustees immediately added several buildings.

In 1902 M. Guggenheim's Sons donated $30,000 for a "Guggenheim Pavilion." The National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives has accommodation for ninety patients. None but indigent consumptives in the curable stages of the disease are admitted; and these come from all parts of the United States.

Denver has about 4,000 Jews, most of whom are merchants. There are, however, miners, smelter-owners, day-laborers, and many lawyers and physicians. Twelve Jewish students attend the State University at Boulder, which has a chair of Hebrew occupied by Rabbi William S. Friedman.

Colorado Springs formed a Benevolent Association Oct., 1898, and a B'nai B'rith lodge in Oct., 1901. A congregation is now being organized. Colorado Springs is a health resort, and contains 250 Jews.

Cripple Creek and the adjoining town of **Victor** have 150 Jews. There is no congregation in the district; but services are held on the holy days. The two towns have a B'nai B'rith lodge. Cripple Creek and Victor are the chief gold-mining sections in America.

Leadville in 1864 established Congregation Israel, which has 25 members. The Orthodox congregation, Keneseth Israel, has a smaller following. There are also a Jewish cemetery and a relief society. The Jewish population is 175. Leadville is a noted silver-mining camp.

Pueblo, the second city of the state, founded Congregation Emanuel, Oct. 3, 1899, with 50 members; it has a temple, and Rabbi Harry Weiss is in charge. The other Jewish organizations of Pueblo are: Ladies' Temple Association, Auxiliary Society, Jewish Woman's Council, and B'nai B'rith lodge. The Jewish population is 500. Pueblo is a growing manufacturing town.

Trinidad founded Congregation Aaron in 1883, and has a temple, with a membership of 35. L. Freudenthal, the rabbi, has officiated since 1888. The Jews number 150, and have an Auxiliary Society, a Hebrew Ladies' Aid Society, and a B'nai B'rith lodge.

There are also several hundred Jews scattered throughout the smaller towns of the state. Altogether Colorado numbers about 5,800 Jews.

A. W. S. F.

COLORNI (COLORNO), ABRAHAM: Italian engineer; born at Mantua about 1530. His great skill in his profession caused him to be much sought after, and in 1578 he held the position of engineer at the court of Alfonso d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, who, in 1588 sent him to Prague. Soon after Colorni, with his son Simon, went to Mantua, looking after Alfonso's private affairs; and then returned to the court of Alfonso d'Este, who, at the request of the duke Frederick, sent him to his court at Württemberg in 1597.

Colorni was famous not only as an engineer and mechanician, but also as one of the greatest mathematicians and archeologists of his age, and above all as a man of charming manners and many accomplishments, including dueling, his skill in which he once had occasion to exercise against a slanderer. Tommaso Garzoni, in his work "La Piazza Universale," dedicates a sonnet to Colorni, and in a subsequent letter speaks in very high terms of him. He enumerates his achievements in the field of mechanics and his inventions, and expresses the wish that the man who possesses such high qualities should also become a Christian. Among Colorni's inventions was a kind of ten-chambered revolver, of which, it is said, he made 2,000 at the request of Alfonso.

Colorni was the author of the following works: "Entimetria," rules for the measurement of straight lines (mentioned by Garzoni); "Tavole," mathematical tables (also mentioned by Garzoni); "Clavicula Solomonis," translated into Italian, at the request of the Duke of Mantua, from the Hebrew work on magic, "Mafteah Shelomoh" (Mantua, 1580 ?). This translation served as a model for the French version (still extant in several manuscripts) entitled "La Clavicule du Très Savant Solomon, dans Laquelle les Secrets des Secrets Sont Ouverts et Découverts." It was probably against this work that Colorni, according to Garzoni, wrote a book in which he derided physiognomy and chiromancy. Colorni was also the author of a treatise upon the art of writing in cipher, entitled "Scotographia o Vere Scienza di Scrivere Oscuro Facilissima et Securissima per Qualsi Voglia Lingua" (Prague, 1593), and dedicated to Rodolph II.

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J. I. Br.

COLORNI, MALACHI: Italian author; lived at Modena in the eighteenth century. He wrote a guide to letter-writing, "Megillat Sefer," still extant in manuscript, containing thirty-one letters (Steinschneider, "Cat. Bodl." No. 1379). He also copied a large work of the same nature, the "Sofer Mahir" by Ishmael Ḥazak of the seventeenth century (Steinschneider, *ib.*). These letters contain valuable notices of the lives of famous contemporaries, as well as of events of the Italian-Jewish world of that time.

Bibliography: *Ozrot-Hayyim*, pp. 338, 340; Neubauer, *Cat. Bodl. Hebr. MSS.* No. 493; Steinschneider, in *Monatsschrift*, 1899, pp. 105, 186.

L. G. I. Ber.

COLUMBUS, CHRISTOPHER, AND THE JEWS: According to his own statement, Columbus had constant intercourse with Jews and Moors, with priests and laymen. He had personal relations with the mathematician Joseph Vecinho, physician-in-ordinary to King João II. of Portugal, and with other learned Jews of Lisbon. Vecinho presented him with his Latin translation of the astronomical tables of Abraham Zacuto, the famous mathematician, which Columbus always carried with him on his voyages of discovery and found most serviceable. He ascribed it principally to this "Jew" Vecinho, whom he mentions twice in his note-books, that the king of Portugal refused to consider his plans of discovery. At Salamanca Columbus became personally acquainted with Zacuto, whose scientific works he praised highly. At Malaga he met the Spanish farmer-in-chief of taxes, Abraham Senior, and also Isaac Abravanel, who was the first one to assist him financially in his undertakings. It is not known whether he had business relations with the Jews during his stay at Lisbon, or whether he borrowed or received aid from them in his financial difficulties there. In his testament he bequeathed half a silver mark to a Jew living by the gate of the Jews' street in Lisbon, or to the one whom a priest might designate ("a un Judio que moraba a la puerta de la Juderia en Lisboa o à quien mandare un sacerdote el valor de medio marco de plata"). See also America, The Discovery of.

Bibliography: Navarrete, *Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos*, ii. 313; Kayserling, *Christopher Columbus*, pp. 12 *et seq.*, New York, 1894.

A. M. K.

COLUMBUS, GEORGIA. See Georgia.

COLUMBUS, OHIO. See Ohio.

COMETS. See Astronomy; Superstition.

COMMANDMENT: The rendering in the English Bible versions of the Hebrew מצוה, which, in its technical sense, is used in the Bible of a commandment given either by God or by man (I Kings ii. 43). According to the critical schools, it is a word of comparatively late coinage, as it does not occur in documents earlier than D and JE. In the singular it sometimes denotes the "code of law" (II Chron. viii. 13; Ezra x. 3; Ps. xix. 9), or even "Deuteronomy" alone (Deut. vi. 25, viii. 1); and as such is parallel to "Torah" (Ex. xxiv. 12). In the plural it designates specific commands contained in the code, which are as a rule expressed in sentences beginning with "Ye shall" or "Ye shall not," and is sometimes combined with "ḥukḳim," "ḥukḳot" (statutes), "mishpaṭim" (ordinances), and even "'edut" (testimonies). E. G. H.

In rabbinic terminology "miẓwah" is the general term for a divinely instituted rule of conduct. As such, the divine commandments are divided into (1) mandatory laws known as מצות עשה, and (2) those of a prohibitory character, the מצות לא תעשה. This terminology rests on the theological construction that God's will is the source of and authority for every moral and religious duty.

In due logical development of this theology, the Rabbis came to assume that the Law comprised 613 commandments (see Commandments, The 613), of which 611 are said to have been given through Moses (Deut. xxxiii. 4, תורה being numerically equal to 611); the first two commandments of the Decalogue were given by the mouth of God Himself (R. Joshua b. Levi, in Pes. R. xxii.; compare Mak. 24b–25a; Hor. 8a; Pirḳe R. El. xli.). According to R. Ismael only the principal commandments were given on Mount Sinai, the special commandments having been given in the Tent of Meeting. According to R. Akiba they were all given on Mount Sinai, repeated in the Tent of Meeting, and declared a third time by Moses before his death (Soṭah 37b; compare Mek., Mishpaṭim, xx. to Ex. xxiii. 19, and Sifre, Debarim, 104). All divine commandments, however, were given on Mount Sinai, and no prophet could add any new one (Sifra to Lev. xxvii. 34; Yoma 80a). Many of these laws concern only special classes of people, such as kings or priesthood, Levites or Nazarites, or are conditioned by local or temporary circumstances of the Jewish nation, as, for instance, the agricultural, sacrificial, and Levitical laws.

The Biblical commandments are called in the Talmud "miẓwot de oraita"; commandments of the Law in contradistinction to the rabbinical commandments, "miẓwot de rabbanan." Among the latter are: (1) the benediction, or thanksgiving for each enjoyment; (2) ablution of the hands before eating; (3) lighting of the Sabbath lamp; (4) the 'Erub, or preparation for Sabbath transfer; (5) the Hallel liturgy on holy days; (6) the Ḥanukkah lights; and (7) the reading of the Esther scroll on Purim. These seven rabbinical commandments are treated like Biblical commandments in so far as, previous to the fulfilment of each, this Benediction is recited: "Blessed be the Lord who has commanded us . . . ," the divine command being implied in the general law (Deut. xvii. 11, xxxii. 7; Shab. 23a). Many of the Biblical laws are derived from the Law only by rabbinical interpretation, as, the reading of the Shema' (Deut. vi. 4–7), the binding of the tefillin and the fixing of the mezuzah (*ib.* 8–9), and the saying of grace after meals (*ib.* viii. 10). "While reciting the Shema' every morning the Israelite takes upon himself the yoke of the kingdom of heaven; while reciting the chapter 'We-hayah im shamoa'' [Deut. xi. 13–22] he takes upon himself the yoke of the divine commandments" (Ber. ii. 1). "In fulfilling a divine commandment one must do it with the intention of thus fulfilling God's will" (Ber. 13a, b; Naz. 23a, b). A hundred miẓwot ought to be fulfilled by the Israelite each day (see Benediction), and seven ought to surround him constantly like guard-

ian spirits (R. Meïr, in Yer. Ber., end; Tosef., Ber., end). "Also, the commonest Israelite is as full of merit by fulfilment of divine commandments as the pomegranate is of seed" (Cant. R. iv. 3). The fulfilment of a divine commandment is a merit ("miẓwah"); the neglect, a transgression ("'aberah"). These are weighed against each other in the balance on the day of judgment to decide whether a man belongs to the righteous or to the wicked to be accordingly rewarded or punished ('Ab. Zarah 2a, 3a; Ḳid. 39b).

The sons of Noah were also considered to be under the obligation to obey the will of God as revealed in direct specific orders or miẓwot promulgated for them. These are variously enumerated as five, six, and ten. In Tos. 'Ab. Zarah viii. 4 seven Noachian commandments are enumerated: (1) to establish courts of justice, (2) to abstain from idolatry, (3) from blasphemy, (4) from incest, (5) from murder, (6) from robbery, (7) from eating flesh cut from living animals. In Gen. R. xvi.–xxiv. (compare *ib.* xxiv.; Lev. R. xiii.), only six are mentioned as having been given to the first man. In Sanh. 56a, 57a, seven Noachian commandments are spoken of, and derived partly as Adamitic, from Gen. ii. 16, and partly from Gen. ix. 4 *et seq.* To these some tannaim add three: the prohibition of blood from living animals, of castration, and of witchcraft. In Ḥal. 92a thirty commandments are mentioned as having been accepted, but not observed, by the sons of Noah (compare Gen. R. xcviii.; Midr. Teh. Ps. ii. 5; Yer. 'Ab. Zarah ii. 40c). In the Book of Jubilees (vii. 21) only the three capital sins are specified (see Noachian Laws).

"Miẓwah," in the parlance of the Rabbis, came to express any act of human kindness, such as the burial of the body of an unknown person ("met miẓwah"; compare Bernays, "Gesammelte Schriften," 1885, i. 278 *et seq.*, on the Buzygian laws mentioned by Philo in connection with these "commandments" of humanity; Sifre, Naso, 26; Naz. 47b). A miẓwah which can be fulfilled only by the transgression of another law is considered unlawful ("miẓwah ha-bo'ah ba'aberah, 'aberah"; Suk. 30a; Yer. Shab. xiii. 14a). The proselyte on being initiated into Judaism must be familiarized with commandments both of great and of small import (Yeb. 47b). This rule seems to be directed against the older practise followed by the Christian Church (see Didache). The fulfilment of a commandment is a protection against evil powers (Ber. 31a; Pes. 8a; Soṭah 21a; Ḳid. i. 10), and becomes a guardian angel pleading for reward in the future life (Soṭah 3b).

According to the teachings of Judaism, all moral laws are virtually and in their ultimate analysis divine commandments. Obedience to the Divine Will is the first requisite of the moral life (see Duty). This is the meaning of the Biblical account of Adam's offense. The first commandment was intended to test his obedience and thus to awaken his moral consciousness (see Sin; Original Sin, Dogma of). In the Pentateuch the Ten Commandments are not designated as "Miẓwot," but are called the "Ten Words" (עשרת הדברים). In Jewish literature they are spoken of as the עשרת הדברות (see Decalogue).

E. G. H.

COMMANDMENTS, THE 613: That the law of Moses contains 613 commandments is stated by R. Simlai, a Palestinian haggadist, who says (Mak. 23b): "Six hundred and thirteen commandments were revealed to Moses; 365 being prohibitions equal in number to the days of the year, and 248 being mandates corresponding in number to the bones of the human body." The number 613 is found as early as tannaitic times—*e.g.*, in a saying of Simon ben Eleazar (Mek., Yitro, Baḥodesh, 5) and one of Simon ben Azzai (Sifre, Deut. § 76, Friedman's ed., p. 90b)—and is apparently based upon ancient tradition (see Tan., Ki Teẓe, ed. Buber, 2; Ex. R. xxxii.; Num. R. xiii., xviii.; Yeb. 47b; Shab. 87a; Ned. 25a; Shebu. 29a; comp. Bacher, "Ag. Tan." i. 413, ii. 436). The authenticity of the statements attributed to R. Simlai, however, has been questioned by authorities such as Naḥmanides and Abraham ibn Ezra (see M. Bloch, in "Rev. Et. Juives," i. 197, 210; v. 27 *et seq.*; Weiss, "Dor," p. 74, note 50). The first to undertake the task of identifying the commandments was Simeon Kahira, in his "Halakot Gedolot." He begins with the prohibitions, which he classes in the order of the gravity of the punishments incurred by their transgression, while in regard to the mandates he follows the order of the parashiyyot, beginning with the Decalogue.

Kahira was followed by Saadia, Gabirol, and many others, who enumerated the 613 commandments in liturgical poems (see Azharot). In order to make up the number 613, Kahira and the poets just mentioned were compelled to incorporate many rabbinical laws. This method was criticized by Maimonides, who published a work entitled "Sefer ha-Miẓwot," laying down fourteen guiding principles for the identification of the commandments, which he enumerates accordingly. Some of these principles were attacked by Naḥmanides and others, who showed that Maimonides himself had not always been consistent. New identifications were therefore proposed by Moses ben Jacob of Coucy, author of the "Sefer Miẓwot ha-Gadol" (SeMaG), and Isaac ben Joseph of Corbeil, author of the "Sefer Miẓwot ha-Ḳaton" (SeMaḲ). The following is a list of the 613 commandments of Maimonides:

MANDATORY COMMANDMENTS.

1. To know that the Lord God exists. Ex. xx. 2.
2. To acknowledge His unity. Deut. vi. 4.
3–4. To love and fear Him. Deut. vi. 5, 13.
5. To pray to Him. Ex. xxiii. 25.
6. To cleave to Him. Deut. x. 20.
7. To swear by His name. Deut. vi. 13, x. 20.
8. To resemble Him in His ways. Deut. xxviii. 9.
9. To sanctify His name. Lev. xxii. 32.
10. To read the Shema' each morning and evening. Deut. vi. 7.
11. To learn and to teach others the Law. Deut. vi. 7.
12–13. To bind tefillin on the forehead and arm. Deut. vi. 8.
14. To make ẓiẓit. Num. xv. 38.
15. To fix a Mezuzah. Deut. vi. 9.
16. To assemble the people to hear the Law every seventh year. Deut. xxxi. 12.
17. To write a copy of the Law for oneself. Deut. xxxi. 19.
18. That the king write a special copy of the Law for himself. Deut. xvii. 18.
19. To bless God after eating. Deut. viii. 10.
20. To build the Temple. Ex. xxv. 8.
21. To reverence the sanctuary. Lev. xix. 30.
22. To watch the sanctuary perpetually. Num. xviii. 2.
23. That Levites shall serve in the sanctuary. Num. xviii. 23.

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24. That at services the priests wash their hands and feet. Ex. xxx. 19.
25. That the priests kindle the lights in the sanctuary. Ex. xxx. 19.
26. That the priests bless Israel. Num. vi. 23.
27. To set showbread and incense before the Lord on Sabbath. Ex. xxv. 30.
28. To burn incense twice each day. Ex. xxx. 7.
29. To keep fire continually upon the altar. Lev. vi. 13.
30. To remove the ashes daily from the altar. Lev. vi. 10.
31. To put the impure out of the holy place. Num. v. 2.
32. That the Aaronites have the place of honor. Lev. xxi. 8.
33. To clothe the Aaronites with priestly garments. Ex. xxviii. 2.
34. That the Kehathites carry the Ark upon their shoulders. Num. vii. 9.
35. To anoint high priests and kings with oil. Ex. xxx. 31.
36. That the priests officiate by turns. Deut. xviii. 6, 8.
37. That the priests pay due honors to the dead. Lev. xxi. 3.
38. That the high priest take a virgin to wife. Lev. xxi. 13.
39. To sacrifice twice a day. Num. xxviii. 3.
40. That the chief priest offer an oblation daily. Lev. vi. 20.
41–3. To offer an additional oblation every Sabbath, on the first of every month, and on the Feast of Passover. Num. xxviii. 9, xxviii. 11; Lev. xxiii. 36.
44. To offer a sheaf of the first barley on the second day of Passover. Lev. xxiii. 10.
45. To add an oblation on the day of the Feast of Shebu'ot. Num. xxviii. 26.
46. To offer two loaves of bread on Shebu'ot. Lev. xxiii. 17.
47. To add an offering on the first of Tishri. Num. xxix. 1.
48. To add an offering on the Day of Atonement. Num. xxix. 7.
49. To observe the service on the Day of Atonement. Lev. xvi. 3.
50. To add an offering on the Feast of Sukkot. Num. xxix. 13.
51. To offer a special sacrifice on the eighth day of Sukkot. Num. xxix. 35.
52. To keep the festival at the three seasons of the year. Ex. xxiii. 14.
53. That every male appear at the feast. Deut. xvi. 16.
54. To rejoice at the feasts. Deut. xvi. 14.
55–6. To slay the paschal lamb and eat the flesh roasted, on the fifteenth night of Nisan. Ex. xii. 6, xii. 8.
57 8. To observe the second Passover and eat the paschal lamb with mazzah and maror. Num. ix. 11, 13; ix. 11.
59. To blow the trumpets over the sacrifices, and in time of tribulation. Num. x. 10.
60. That cattle, when sacrificed, be eight days old or more. Lev. xxii. 27.
61. That all cattle sacrificed be perfect. Lev. xxii. 21.
62. That all offerings be salted. Lev. ii. 13.
63. To bring a burnt offering. Lev. i. 3.
64–7. To bring a sacrifice for sin, for trespass, a peace-offering, and a meat-offering. Lev. ii. 1, vi. 25, vii. 1, 11.
68. That the Sanhedrin bring a sin-offering if they have erred in doctrine. Lev. iv. 13.
69. That one who has by error transgressed a KARET prohibition bring a sin-offering. Lev. iv. 27, v. 1.
70. That one in doubt whether he has transgressed a prohibition bring a sin-offering. Lev. v. 17, 18.
71. That a trespass-offering be brought for having sworn falsely and the like. Lev. v. 15, 21; xix. 20.
72. To offer a sacrifice according to one's means. Lev. v. 7, 11.
73. That confession of sins be made before the Lord. Num. v. 7.
74–5. That a man or woman having an issue offer a sacrifice. Lev. xv. 13, 28.
76. That a leper after being cleansed bring an offering. Lev. xiv. 10.
77. That a woman offer a sacrifice after childbirth. Lev. xii. 6.
78. To tithe the cattle. Lev. xxvii. 32.
79. To sacrifice the first-born of clean cattle. Deut. xv. 19.
80. To redeem the first-born of man. Num. xviii. 15.
81–2. To redeem the firstling of an ass, and to break its neck if the animal be not redeemed. Ex. xiii. 13.
83. To bring all offerings to Jerusalem. Deut. xii. 5, 6.
84. To offer all sacrifices in the Temple. Deut. xii. 14.
85. To bring to the Temple also the offerings from beyond the land of Israel. Deut. xii. 26.
86. To redeem holy animals that have blemishes. Deut. xii. 15.
87. That a beast exchanged for an offering is holy. Lev. xxvii. 10.
88. That the remainder of the meat-offerings be eaten. Lev. vi. 16.
89. That the flesh of sin- and trespass-offerings be eaten. Ex. xxix. 33.
90–1. To burn consecrated flesh that has become unclean; also the remainder of the consecrated flesh not eaten. Lev. vii. 17, 19.
92–3. That the Nazarite suffer his hair to grow during his separation, and shave it at the close of his Nazariteship. Num. vi. 5, 9.
94. That a man keep his vow. Deut. xxiii. 23.
95. That the judge act according to the Law in annulling vows. Num. xxx. 3.
96. That all who touch a carcass are unclean. Lev. xi. 34.
97. That eight species of animals contaminate. Lev. xi. 39.
98. That food is contaminated by contact with unclean things. Lev. xi. 34.
99. That a menstruous woman contaminates. Lev. xv. 19.
100. That a lying-in woman is unclean. Lev. xii. 2.
101. That a leper is unclean and contaminates others. Lev. xiii. 3.
102–3. That a leprous garment and a leprous house contaminate. Lev. xiii. 47, xiv. 35.
104–6. That a man or woman having a running issue contaminates, as does the seed of copulation. Lev. xv. 2, 16, 28.
107. That a corpse contaminates. Num. xix. 14.
108. That the water of separation contaminates the clean, cleansing only the unclean from the pollution of the dead. Num. xix. 26.
109. To cleanse from uncleanness by washing in running water. Lev. xv. 16.
110–12. That leprosy be cleansed with cedar-wood, etc.; that the leper shave all his hair, rend his raiment, and bare his head. Lev. xiii. 45; xiv. 2, 9.
113. To burn a red heifer and preserve its ashes. Num. xix. 9.
114. To pay the equivalent of a "singular" vow. Lev. xxvii. 2.
115–7. That one who vows an unclean beast, or his house, or his field, shall pay the appointed sum, or as the priest shall direct. Lev. xxvii. 11, 14, 16.
118. That he shall make restitution who trespasses through ignorance in things holy. Lev. v. 16.
119. That plantations in their fourth year shall be holy. Lev. xix. 24.
120–4. To leave to the poor the corners of the field unreaped, the gleanings of the harvest, the forgotten sheaf, the gleanings in the vineyard, and the residue of the grapes. Lev. xix. 9, 10; Deut. xxiv. 19.
125. To bring the first-fruits into the sanctuary. Ex. xxiii. 19.
126. To give the great heave-offering to the priest. Deut. xviii. 4.
127. To separate the tithe of corn for the Levites. Num. xviii. 24; Lev. xxvii. 30.
128. To separate a second tithe and eat it in Jerusalem. Deut. xiv. 22.
129. That the Levites shall give a tithe of the tithe to the priest. Num. xviii. 26.
130. To separate the tithe for the poor in the third and sixth years instead of in the second. Deut. xiv. 28.
131–2. To recite the chapter on the tithe and read it over the first-fruit. Deut. xxvi. 5, 13.
133. To separate for the priest a cake of the first of the dough. Num. xv. 20.
134–5. To let the field rest fallow every seventh year, and to cease from tilling the ground. Ex. xxiii. 11, xxxiv. 21.
136–8. To hallow the year of jubilee by resting, to sound the trumpet in the year of jubilee, and to grant a redemption for the land in that year. Lev. xxv. 9, 10, 24.
139. To allow a house sold in a walled city to be redeemed within the year. Lev. xxv. 29.
140. To number the years of jubilee yearly and septennially. Lev. xxv. 8.
141. To release all debts in the seventh year. Deut. xv. 2.
142. To exact the debt of a foreigner. Deut. xv. 3.
143. To give to the priest his share of the cattle sacrifices. Deut. xviii. 3.
144. To give the first of the fleece to the priest. Deut. xviii. 4.
145. To discriminate between what belongs to the Lord and what to the priest. Lev. xxvii. 21, 28.
146. To perform the right mode of slaughtering beasts. Deut. xii. 23.
147. To cover the blood of wild beast and bird. Lev. xvii. 13.
148. To set free the parent bird when taking a nest. Deut. xxii. 7.
149–52. To search diligently for the marks in clean beasts, fowl, locusts, and fish. Lev. xi. 2; Deut. xiv. 11; Lev. xi. 9.
153. That the Sanhedrin sanctify the new moon and reckon the years and months. Ex. xii. 2.

154-5. To rest on and hallow the Sabbath. Ex. xx. 8 and xxiii. 12.
156. To remove the leaven. Ex. xii. 15.
157-8. To relate the story of the Exodus and to eat unleavened bread on Passover night. Ex. xii. 18, xiii. 8.
159-60. To rest on the first and seventh days of Passover. Ex. xii. 16.
161. To reckon forty-nine days from the time of the cutting of the first sheaf. Lev. xxiii. 15.
162-3. To rest on Shebu'ot and on the first day of Tishri. Lev. xxiii. 24.
164-5. To fast and rest on the Day of Atonement. Lev. xvi. 29, xxiii. 32.
166-7. To rest on the first and eighth days of Sukkot. Lev. xxiii. 35, 36.
168. To dwell in booths seven days. Lev. xxiii. 42.
169. To take the four kinds of branches of trees. Lev. xxiii. 40.
170. To hear the sound of the trumpet on the first of Tishri. Num. xxix. 1.
171. To give half a shekel each year as ransom. Ex. xxx. 13.
172. To obey the prophet of each generation if he neither adds nor takes away from the statutes. Deut. xviii. 15.
173. To appoint a king. Deut. xviii. 15.
174. To obey the authority of the Sanhedrin. Deut. xvii. 11.
175. To yield to the majority in case of division. Ex. xxiii. 2.
176. To appoint judges in every town. Deut. xvi. 18.
177. To administer judgment impartially. Lev. xix. 15.
178. That whoever possesses evidence shall testify in court. Lev. v. 1.
179. To examine witnesses diligently. Deut. xiii. 14.
180. To do unto false witnesses as they themselves designed to do unto others. Deut. xix. 19.
181. To decapitate the heifer as commanded. Deut. xxi. 4.
182. To establish six cities of refuge. Deut. xix. 3.
183. To give cities to the Levites for habitations. Num. xxxv. 2.
184. To make battlements on the housetops. Deut. xxii. 8.
185-6. To destroy idolaters and to burn their city. Deut. xii. 2, xiii. 16.
187. To destroy the seven Canaanite nations. Deut. xx. 17.
188-9. To blot out the remembrance of Amalek. Deut. xxv. 17, 19.
190. To observe a certain procedure in voluntary battle. Deut. xx. 10.
191. To anoint the priest for war. Deut. xx. 2.
192-3. To keep the camp pure and in a sanitary condition. Deut. xxiii. 12, 13.
194. To restore plunder. Lev. vi. 4.
195. To give alms. Deut. xv. 8, 11.
196. To give liberal gifts to a freed Hebrew servant. Deut. xv. 14.
197. To lend to the poor. Deut. xv. 8.
198. To lend on usury to idolaters. Deut. xxiii. 21.
199. To restore a pledge to its owner. Deut. xxiv. 13.
200-1. To pay a hireling his hire when due, and to permit him to eat during work. Deut. xxiv. 15, 24, 25.
202-3. To help a neighbor's beast. Ex. xxiii. 5; and Deut. xxii. 4.
204. To restore lost property. Deut. xx. 1.
205. To rebuke the sinner. Lev. xix. 17.
206. To love the children of the covenant. Lev. xix. 18.
207. To love the stranger. Deut. x. 19.
208. To have just balances and weights. Lev. xix. 36.
209. To honor the wise. Lev. xix. 32.
210. To honor parents. Ex. xx. 12.
211. To fear parents. Lev. xix. 3.
212. To perpetuate the human species by marriage. Gen. i. 28.
213. To lead a pure married life. Deut. xxiv. 5.
214. That the bridegroom rejoice for a year with his wife. Deut. xxiv. 1.
215. To circumcise the males. Gen. xvii. 10; Lev. xii. 3.
216-7. To marry the wife of a deceased brother, and give ḤALIZAH in case of declining to do so. Deut. xxv. 5, 9.
218-9. That the violator of a virgin shall marry her, and he may not put her away all his days. Deut. xxii. 29.
220. That the seducer pay a penalty. Ex. xxii. 16.
221. That beautiful female captives must not be sold, etc. Deut. xxi. 11.
222. To divorce by a written contract. Deut. xxiv. 1.
223. That the suspected adulteress be subjected to trial of jealousy. Num. v. 30.
224. To beat the wicked. Deut. xxv. 2.
225. To exile the homicide through ignorance. Num. xxxv. 25.
226-30. That executions be effected by means of the sword, strangling, fire, stoning, and hanging. Ex. xxi. 20; Lev. xx. 14; Deut. xxi. 22, xxii. 24.
231. To bury on the same day one put to death. Deut. xxi. 23.
232. To deal with a Hebrew servant according to the Law. Ex. xxi. 2.
233-4. To redeem a betrothed Hebrew maid servant. Ex. xxi. 8.
235. To make the non-Hebrew slave serve for ever. Lev. xxv. 46.
236. That he who wounds another pay a fine. Ex. xxi. 18.
237-8. To judge of injuries to a beast by a pitfall. Ex. xxi. 33.
239. To punish the thief with death or to compel him to make restitution. Ex. xxi. 16, xxii. 1.
240-2. To give judgment in cases of trespass by cattle, of injuries by fire, or of robbery of money or goods left in charge of an unpaid keeper. Ex. xxii. 5-7.
243-4. To judge as to the injuries caused by the hireling or by the borrower. Ex. xxii. 10, 14.
245-6. To judge in disputes between buyer and seller or between plaintiff and defendant. Lev. xxv. 14; Ex. xxii. 9.
247. To rescue the persecuted, even at the cost of the life of the oppressor. Deut. xxv. 12.
248. To judge in disputes concerning inheritances. Num. xxvii. 8.

Prohibitive Commandments.

1. Belief in the existence of any but the one God. Ex. xx. 3.
2-4. The making of images. Ex. xx. 3, 4; xxxiv. 17.
5-6. The worship of stars and planets. Ex. xx. 5.
7. The sacrifice of children to Moloch. Lev. xviii. 21.
8-9. Necromancy and familiar spirits. Lev. xix. 31.
10. Showing regard for the service of the stars and planets. Lev. xix. 4.
11. The erection of pillars. Lev. xxvi. 1.
12. The erection of pillars of stone. Lev. xxvi. 1.
13. Planting of trees in the sanctuary. Deut. xvi. 21.
14-16. Swearing by idols, or leading any Israelite toward idolatry. Ex. xxiii. 13; Deut. xiii. 11.
17-19. To show mercy to the seducer. Deut. xiii. 8.
20-21. Defense or concealment of the seducer by the seduced. Deut. xiii. 8.
22. The use of ornaments of idols. Deut. vii. 25.
23-4. To rebuild a city destroyed on account of its idolatry or to use its wealth. Deut. xiii. 16, 17.
25. The use of things belonging to idols or idolaters, or of the provisions and libations offered to idols. Deut. vii. 26.
26. Prophesying in the name of idols. Deut. xviii. 20.
27. False prophecies. Deut. xviii. 20.
28. Listening to prophecies in the name of idols. Deut. xiii. 3.
29. Fear of a false prophet or hindering any one from killing him. Deut. xviii. 22.
30. Walking in the manner of the idolaters, and practising their rites. Lev. xx. 23.
31-8. Enchantment, augury, and consultation of familiar spirits, etc. Lev. xix. 26; Deut. xviii. 10, 11.
39-40. The use of male attire by women, and vice versa. Deut. xxii. 5.
41. Tattooing the body after the manner of idolaters. Lev. xix. 28.
42. The use of garments made of both linen and wool. "Sha-'aṭnez," Deut. xxii. 11.
43-4. Rounding "the corners of the head" or of the beard. Lev. xix. 27.
45. Lacerating oneself for the dead. Deut. xiv. 1.
46. To return to Egypt to dwell permanently there. Deut. xvii. 16.
47. Indulgence in impure thoughts and sights. Num. xv. 39.
48-9. Covenanting with, and preservation of, the seven nations. Ex. xxiii. 32.
50-2. To show mercy to or to intermarry with idolaters or to allow them to dwell in the land. Ex. xxiii. 33; and Deut. vii. 2, 3.
53. The marriage of a daughter of Israel with an Ammonite or Moabite. Deut. xxiii. 3.
54-5. To refuse admission to the congregation to a descendant of Esau or to an Egyptian after the third generation. Deut. xxiii. 7.
56. To offer peace to the Ammonites and Moabites in time of war. Deut. xxiii. 6.
57. The destruction of fruit-trees in time of war. Deut. xx. 19.
58. Fear of the enemy by warriors. Deut. iii. 22, vii. 21, xx. 3.
59. To forget the evil wrought by Amalek. Deut. xxv. 19.

60. Blasphemy of the Holy Name. Ex. xxii. 28.
61. To violate an oath, however rash. Lev. xix. 12.
62. Taking the name of the Lord in vain. Ex. xx. 7.
63. Profaning the name of the Holy One. Lev. xxii. 32.
64. To tempt the Lord. Deut. vi. 16.
65. Destruction of the sanctuary, synagogues, or schools, and erasure of the Holy Name and Holy Writings. Deut. xii. 2, 4.
66. To suffer the body of one hanged to remain on the tree. Deut. xxi. 23.
67. To cease watching the sanctuary. Num. xviii. 5.
68–71. The entrance of the priests into the sanctuary at certain times; priests with a blemish may not go beyond the altar nor serve in the sanctuary. Lev. xvi. 2, 23; xxi. 17, 21.
72. The ministry of Levites in the service of priests, and vice versa. Num. xviii. 3.
73. The entrance of intoxicated persons into the sanctuary, and the teaching of the Law by the same. Lev. x. 9.
74–6. Service in the sanctuary by strangers or by unclean priests, etc. Lev. xxii. 2; Num. xviii. 4.
77–8. Entrance into the court or the camp of the Levites by unclean priests. Num. v. 3; Deut. xxiii. 10.
79. The erection of an altar of hewn stone. Ex. xx. 25.
80. Ascension by steps to the altar. Ex. xx. 26.
81. To burn incense, or to offer it on the golden altar. Ex. xxx. 9.
82. To extinguish the fire on the altar. Lev. vi. 13.
83–5. Misuse of the holy oil, the anointing oil, or the holy incense. Ex. xxx. 32, 37.
86. Removal of the staves from the ark. Ex. xxv. 15.
87–8. To loosen the breastplate from the ephod or to tear the upper garment. Ex. xxviii. 32.
89–90. The killing and offering of sacrifices without the Temple. Deut. xii. 13; Lev. xvii. 3, 4.
91–5. The sanctification and use of blemished things for sacrifice. Lev. xxii. 22, 24; Deut. xvii. 1.
96. The offering of blemished animals from Gentiles. Lev. xxii. 25.
97. The offering of imperfect animals in sacrifice. Lev. xxii. 21.
98–100. To offer in sacrifice leaven or honey, an unsalted oblation, the hire of a harlot, or the price of a dog. Lev. ii. 11, 13; Deut. xxiii. 18.
101. To kill an animal and its young on the same day. Lev. xxii. 28.
102–5. The use of olive-oil or frankincense in the sin-offering or the jealousy-offering. Lev. v. 11; Num. v. 15.
106–7. To exchange sacrifices. Lev. xvii. 26, xxvii. 10.
108. The redemption of the first-born of clean cattle. Num. xviii. 17.
109. The sale of the tithe of the herd. Lev. xxvii. 33.
110–11. The sale or redemption of a dedicated field. Lev. xxvii. 28.
112. The division of the head of the bird in a sin-offering. Lev. v. 3.
113–4. Working with or shearing the first-born. Deut. xv. 19.
115–7. To kill the paschal lamb while there is leaven, or leave its fat or any part of its flesh over night. Ex. xii. 10, xxiii. 18.
118. To leave any of the festal offering until the third day. Deut. xvi. 4.
119. To leave part of the second Passover lamb until the morning. Num. ix. 12.
120. The preservation of any part of the thank-offering until the morning. Ex. xii. 10.
121–2. To break a bone of the paschal lamb or of the second Passover lamb. Ex. xii. 46; Num. ix. 12.
123. To carry of the flesh of Passover out of the house. Ex. xii. 46.
124. To allow the remnants of the meat-offering to become leavened. Lev. vi. 17.
125–8. To eat the paschal lamb raw or sodden, or to allow it to be eaten by a foreigner, by one uncircumcised, or by an apostate Israelite. Ex. xii. 9, 43, 45, 48.
129–32. An unclean person may not eat of holy things, nor of holy things polluted; nor of that which is left of sacrifices; nor of sacrifices which are polluted. Lev. vii. 18, 19, 20; xix. 8.
133–6. A stranger may not eat of the heave-offering, nor a sojourner with the priest, nor an hired servant, nor an uncircumcised person, nor an unclean priest. Lev. xxii. 4, 10.
137. A priest's daughter married to a stranger may not eat of the holy things. Lev. xxii. 12.
138–40. To eat the meat-offering of the priest, or the flesh of the sin-offering, or holy things which have been defiled. Lev. vi. 23, 30; Deut. xiv. 3.
141–4. To eat the second tithe of corn, or of the vintage, or of the oil, or the pure firstling without Jerusalem. Deut. xii. 17.
145–7. The consumption by the priest outside the courts of the sin- or trespass-offering, of the flesh of the burnt offering, or of lighter sacrifices before the blood has been sprinkled. Deut. xii. 17.
148. A stranger may not eat of the flesh of the most holy things. Ex. xxix. 33.
149. The priest may not eat of the first-fruits before they are brought into the court. Deut. xii. 17.
150–1. To eat the second tithe in mourning or in impurity, even in Jerusalem, until it be redeemed. Deut. xxvi. 14.
152. Use of the money of the second tithe except for eating or drinking. Deut. xxvi. 14.
153. Eating the corn before the heave-offerings and tithes have been separated. Lev. xxii. 15.
154. Changing the order regarding the wave-offering, the first-fruits, and the first and second tithes. Ex. xxii. 29.
155. The delay of vows and free-will offerings. Deut. xxiii. 21.
156. Attendance at the feast without an offering. Ex. xxiii. 15.
157. The violation of vows. Num. xxx. 2.
158–60. The marriage of a priest with a harlot, a "profane" woman ("ḥalalah"), or a divorcee. Lev. xxi. 7.
161–2. The marriage of a high priest with a widow, nor may he take her as his concubine. Lev. xxi. 14.
163–4. Priests may not enter the sanctuary with uncovered head or with torn garments. Lev. x. 6.
165. Priests may not leave the court during service. Lev. x. 7.
166–8. The pollution of priests and of the high priest. Lev. xxi. 1, 11.
169–70. The participation of the tribe of Levi in the holy land and in the spoils. Deut. xviii. 1.
171. To make oneself bald for the dead. Deut. xiv. 1.
172–9. The eating of unclean cattle, unclean fish, unclean fowl, creeping things that fly, things that creep upon the earth, or reptiles ("remesh"), etc. Lev. xi. 4, 13, 42–44; Deut. xiv. 19.
180–2. The eating of beasts in a dying condition, or torn animals ("ṭerefah"), or a member of a living animal. Ex. xxii. 31; Deut. xii. 21, 23.
183–5. The eating of the sinew which shrank, of blood, or of fat. Gen. xxxii. 32; Lev. vii. 23, 26.
186–7. The boiling of flesh in milk and the eating of flesh with milk. Ex. xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 26; Deut. xiv. 21.
188. The eating of the flesh of an ox that has been stoned. Ex. xxi. 28.
189–91. The eating of bread made of the new corn, or roasted grain, or green ears of the new corn, before the Passover offering has been brought. Lev. xxiii. 14.
192. The use of the fruit of a young tree before the fourth year. Lev. xix. 23.
193. The eating of mixed seeds of the vineyard. Deut. xxii. 9.
194. The use of libations to idols. Deut. xxxii. 38.
195. Gluttony and drunkenness. Deut. xxi. 20; Lev. xix. 26.
196. Eating on the Day of Atonement. Lev. xxiii. 29.
197–9. The eating of anything leavened on Passover, or of leavened bread after the middle of the fourteenth day. Ex. xii. 20; Deut. xiii. 3, xvi. 3.
200–1. The exposure of leaven and leavened bread. Ex. xiii. 7, 19.
202–6. A Nazarite may not drink wine or any liquor made from grapes, nor may he eat grapes or any part thereof. Num. vi. 3–5.
207–9. A Nazarite may not pollute himself for the dead, nor enter into the tent of the dead, nor shall he shave his hair. Num. vi. 5–7.
210–4. To reap the whole of the field, to gather the fallen ears of corn in harvest, to cut off all the clusters of the vineyard, to gather every grape of the vineyard, or to return to take a forgotten handful. Lev. xix. 9–10; Deut. xxiv. 19, 20.
215–6. The sowing of different kinds of seed together, or of corn and herbs in a vineyard. Lev. xix. 19; Deut. xxii. 9.
217. The gendering of cattle with those of diverse species. Lev. xix. 19.
218. The use of two different kinds of cattle together. Deut. xxii. 10.
219. The prevention of an animal working in the field from eating. Deut. xxv. 4.
220–3. To till the ground, to prune trees, to reap spontaneously grown corn, or to gather the fruit of trees, in the seventh year. Lev. xxv. 4–5.

224–6. To till the earth, to prune trees, to reap what grows spontaneously, or to gather fruit, in the jubilee year. Lev. xxv. 11.
227. The permanent sale of a field in the land of Israel. Lev. xxv. 23.
228. To change the suburbs of the Levites or their fields. Lev. xxv. 34.
229. To leave the Levite without support. Deut. xii. 19.
230. To demand the amount of a debt after the lapse of the seventh year. Deut. xv. 2.
231. To refuse to lend to the poor on account of the release year. Deut. xv. 9.
232. To refuse to lend to the poor the things which he requires. Deut. xv. 7.
233. Sending a Hebrew slave away empty-handed. Deut. xv. 13.
234. Exaction with regard to loans to the poor. Ex. xxii. 25.
235–6. Loans to or by an Israelite upon usury. Lev. xxv. 37.
237. Usury, or participation therein either as surety, witness, or writer of contracts. Ex. xxii. 25; Deut. xxiii. 19.
238. Delay in the payment of wages. Lev. xix. 13.
239–42. The exaction of a pledge from a debtor by violence; the retention of a pledge from the poor when he requires it; the receipt of a pledge from a widow, and the exaction of a pledge when it is such that one obtains by it a living. Deut. xxiv. 6, 10, 17.
243. To kidnap a man of Israel. Ex. xx. 15.
244. To steal. Lev. xix. 11.
245. To rob by violence. Lev. xix. 13.
246. To remove the landmark. Deut. xix. 14.
247. To defraud. Lev. xix. 13.
248. To defraud one's neighbor. Lev. xix. 11.
249. To swear falsely with regard to a neighbor's property. Lev. xix. 11.
250. To injure any one in bargaining. Lev. xxv. 14.
251–3. To oppress or injure any one. Ex. xxii. 21; Lev. xxv. 17.
254–5. To deliver a fugitive slave to his master, or to vex him. Deut. xxiii. 15, 16.
256. To afflict the widow and orphan. Ex. xxii. 22.
257–9. To use a Hebrew servant as a slave, to sell him as a bondman, or to treat him cruelly. Lev. xxv. 39, 42–43.
260. To permit a heathen to treat a Hebrew servant cruelly. Lev. xxv. 53.
261. To sell a Hebrew maid servant. Ex. xxi. 8.
262. To withhold from a betrothed Hebrew slave food, raiment, or conjugal rights. Ex. xxi. 10.
263. To sell as a slave a beautiful captive. Deut. xxi. 14.
264. To humble a beautiful woman. Deut. xxi. 14.
265. To covet a man's wife. Ex. xx. 17.
266. Covetousness. Deut. v. 21.
267–8. A hireling may not cut down standing corn during his labor, nor take more fruit than he can eat. Deut. xxiii. 24.
269. To hide when a thing lost is to be returned to the owner. Deut. xxii. 3.
270. To refrain from helping an animal fallen under its burden. Deut. xxii. 4.
271–2. Fraud in weights and measures. Lev. xix. 35; Deut. xxv. 13, 14.
273. Unrighteousness in judgment. Lev. xix. 35.
274. The acceptance of bribes. Ex. xxiii. 8.
275–6. Partiality or fear in a judge. Lev. xix. 15; Deut. i. 17.
277. To pity the poor in judgment. Ex. xxiii. 3.
278. To pervert the judgment of a sinner. Ex. xxiii. 6.
279. To spare the offender in matters of fines. Deut. xix. 13.
280. To pervert the judgment of strangers or orphans. Deut. xxiv. 17.
281. To hear one litigant except in the presence of the other. Ex. xxiii. 1.
282. To decide by a majority of one in capital cases. Ex. xxiii. 2.
283. Having first pleaded for a man in a capital case, one may not afterward plead against him. Ex. xxiii. 2.
284. The appointment as judge of one who is not learned in the Law. Deut. i. 17.
285. False witness. Ex. xx. 16.
286. The acceptance of testimony from a wicked person. Ex. xxiii. 1.
287. The testimony of relatives. Deut. xxiv. 16.
288. To pronounce judgment upon the testimony of only one witness. Deut. xix. 15.
289. To kill the innocent. Ex. xx. 13.
290. To convict on circumstantial evidence only. Ex. xxiii. 7.
291. To condemn to death on the evidence of only one witness. Num. xxxv. 30.
292. To execute before conviction one charged with a crime. Num. xxxv. 12.
293. To pity or spare the persecutor. Deut. xxv. 12.
294. To punish the victim in a case of rape. Deut. xxii. 26.
295–6. The acceptance of ransom for a murderer or for a manslayer. Num. xxxv. 31, 32.
297. The toleration of bloodshed. Lev. xix. 16.
298–9. To leave a stumbling-block in the way, or to cause the simple to stumble on the road. Deut. xxii. 8; Lev. xix. 14.
300. To exceed the number of stripes assigned to the guilty. Deut. xxv. 3.
301. Calumny. Lev. xix. 16.
302. To bear hatred in one's heart. Lev. xix. 17.
303. To cause the face of an Israelite to blush. Lev. xix. 17.
304–5. To bear a grudge. Lev. xix. 18.
306. To take the dam with the young. Deut. xxii. 6.
307–8. To shave the hair of the scall, or to pluck out the marks of leprosy. Lev. xiii. 33; Deut. xxiv. 8.
309. To plow or sow in a valley in which a slain body has been found. Deut. xxi. 4.
310. To suffer a witch to live. Ex. xxii. 18.
311. To force a bridegroom to perform military service. Deut. xxiv. 5.
312. Rebellion against the Sanhedrin. Deut. xvii. 11.
313–4. To add to or detract from the precepts of the Law. Deut. xii. 32.
315–6. To curse the judges, a prince, or a ruler. Ex. xxii. 28.
317. To curse any Israelite. Lev. xix. 14.
318–9. To curse or smite father or mother. Ex. xxi. 15, 17.
320–1. To work or to go beyond the city limits on the Sabbath. Ex. xx. 10.
322. To punish on the Sabbath. Ex. xxxv. 3.
323–9. To work on the first or the seventh day of Passover, or on the Feast of Shebu'ot, or on the first day of the seventh month, or on the Day of Atonement, or on the first or the eighth day of the Feast of Tabernacles. Ex. xii. 16; Lev. xxiii. 7, 16, 20, 25, 28, 35, 36.
330–45. The various marriages constituting incest. Lev. xviii. 7–18.
346. To have intercourse with a menstruous woman. Lev. xviii. 19.
347–53. Adultery, sodomy, etc. Lev. xviii. 7, 14, 20, 22, 23.
354. The marriage of a bastard with a daughter of Israel. Deut. xxiii. 2.
355. Harlotry. Deut. xxiii. 17.
356. The remarriage of a divorcee with her first husband. Deut. xxiv. 4.
357. The marriage of a widow with any one but the brother of her deceased husband. Deut. xxv. 5.
358. Divorcing of a victim of rape by the offender. Deut. xxii. 29.
359. Divorcing of a wife upon whom an evil name has been brought. Deut. xxii. 9.
360. The marriage of a eunuch with a daughter of Israel. Deut. xxiii. 1.
361. The castration of any male whatsoever. Lev. xxii. 24.
362. The election of a stranger as king over Israel. Deut. xvii. 15.
363–5. The possession by a king of an excessive number of horses and wives, or of an unduly large quantity of silver and gold. Deut. xvii. 16, 17.

Of the mandates Nahmanides rejected Nos. 5, 7, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 85, 89, 95–108 (inclusive), 149, 150, 151, 198, 227, 228, 237, and 299, substituting for them the following:

5. To eat the first-born of cattle and the second tithe in Jerusalem. Deut. xiv. 23.
7. To eat the wave-offering only when it is without blemish. Deut. xv. 22.
63. To eat the fruit of the seventh year, and not to trade with it. Lev. xxv. 6.
64. To possess the land of Israel. Num. xxxiii. 53.
65. To leave open one side in besieging a town. Num. xxxi. 7 (see Sifre *ad loc.*).
66. To remember what God did to Miriam. Deut. xxiv. 9.
67. To be perfect with the Lord. Deut. xviii. 13.
85. To select the wave-offering from the best. Num. xviii. 29.
89. To bring an offering of cattle only. Lev. i. 1.
95. To offer all the sacrifices between the two oblations. Lev. vi. 5.
96. To eat the paschal lamb in the night only. Ex. xii. 8.

97. That the avenger of blood pursue the murderer. Num. xxxv. 19.
98. To avoid the garments of the leprous. Lev. xiii. 51.
99. To recite the blessing over the Torah before reading it. Deut. xxxii. 2.
100. To sustain the sojourning stranger. Lev. xxv. 49.
101. To return usury taken from an Israelite. Lev. xxv. 35.
102. To renounce profit from the Nazarite's hair. Num. vi. 5.
103. To make an ark and a mercy-seat. Ex. xxv. 15.
104. To keep an oath or vow. Deut. xxiii. 24.
105. To reckon months and years. Deut. xvi. 1.
106. To bring an offering morning and evening. Num. xxviii. 4.
107. To offer incense morning and evening. Ex. xxx. 7, 8.
108. To read the Shema' morning and evening. Deut. vi. 17.
149. To recognize unconditionally the first-born son. Deut. xxi. 17.
150. To liberate the slave whose tooth or eye has been knocked out by his master. Ex. xxi. 27.
151. To execute him who has incurred capital punishment. Deut. xvii. 7.
198, 227, 228. That the priest shall serve in the sanctuary all the sacrifices; to separate the wave-offering, a cake of the dough, and give it to the priest. Num. xviii. 7: Deut. xviii. 7; Num. xv. 21.
237. To separate the first tithe and give it to the Levite, and give the poor's tithe to the poor. Num. xviii. 24.
299. To consult the Urim and the Thummim for the king. Num. xxvii. 21.

Of the prohibitions Naḥmanides rejects Nos. 2, 3, 5, 14, 28, 58, 69, 70, 92, 93, 94, 95, 143, 150, 152, 177, 178, 179, 190, 191, 199, 201, 294, 307, 319, 321, 353, substituting for them the following:

2-3. Forgetfulness of the law of God and of the sojourn on Mount Sinai. Deut. iv. 9, viii. 11.
5. Alteration of the order of the vessels in the Temple. Ex. xxiii. 13 (see Mekilta *ad loc.*).
14, 28. The offering of sacrifices with the intention of eating them in other than the prescribed time and place, and the eating of sacrifices so offered. Lev. vii. 18; Deut. xvii. 1.
58. Eating the bird slain for the cleansing from leprosy. Lev. xiv. 14.
69. Selection of the heave-offering by the Levites. Num. xviii. 32.
70. The acceptance of shekels from heathens. Lev. xxii. 25.
92. The condemnation on the testimony of only one witness. Deut. xvii. 6.
93. Allowing the faint-hearted to go to war. Deut. xx. 8.
94. To cause the Shekinah to depart from the camp by reason of any impurity. Deut. xxiii. 15.
95. Depriving the first-born of his birthright. Deut. xxi. 16.
143. Clemency to a murderer. Deut. xix. 21.
150. Marriage of the deceased brother's wife after "ḥalizah." Deut. xxv. 9.
152. Cohabitation with a wife who has committed adultery. Deut. xxiv. 4.
177. Regretting the poing of charity and the freeing of a Hebrew slave in the seventh year. Deut. xv. 10, 18.
178. Robbery of vessels of the sanctuary. Num. iv. 20.
179. The Levite may not carry the holy vessels after the fiftieth year. Num. viii. 25.
190. The divorced wife when married to another may not be taken back. Deut. xxiv. 4.
191. Disputing the priesthood. Num. xvii. 5.
199. Deriving profit from the beheaded heifer. Num. xxxv. 34.
201. To marry a daughter to one who is forbidden to her. Lev. xix. 9.
294. Profanation of the Holy Land.
307. Leaving the sanctuary during the service.

Two prohibitions are contained in each of the following verses, by which the number of the remaining rejected prohibitions is made up: Lev. xxiii. 4; Lev. ii. 11; Deut. xxiii. 19; Ex. xii. 9; Ex. xxii. 21; Ex. xxviii. 7; Deut. xxiv. 5; Deut. xxi. 18; Deut. ii. 9.

Moses of Coucy rejects Maimonides' mandates Nos. 142, 193, 198, substituting the following:

142. To justify the decision of the Lord. Deut. viii. 5.
193. To reckon the solstices and constellations. Deut. iv. 6.
198. To keep far from a false matter. Ex. xxiii. 7.

Of the prohibitions he rejects Nos. 14, 26, 67, 70, 78, 95, 140, 150, 152, 165, 177, 178, 199, 266, 278, 283, 291, substituting the following:

14. Abandonment of the Torah. Deut. iv. 9.
26. The kissing of idols. Ex. xxiii. 24.
67. The making of idols. Lev. xxvi. 1.
70. Pride. Deut. viii. 14.
78. Prostitution of a daughter of Israel. Lev. xix. 29.
95. Cursing oneself. Deut. iv.
140. A priest may not make himself unclean for the dead. Lev. xxi. 1.

There are two prohibitions in each of the following verses, by which the number of the remaining rejected prohibitions is made up: Ex. xii. 9; Lev. ii. 11; Deut. xxiii. 1, 13, 18; xxiv. 6.

Joseph of Corbeil has the following mandates not found in the lists of Maimonides, Naḥmanides, and Moses of Coucy:

To gaze upon the fringes. Num. xv. 39.
To show kindness toward the needy, both in feeling and in deed; to bury the dead; and to show forbearance. Ex. xviii. 20.
To practise modesty in privacy. Deut. xxiii. 15.
To remember the Exodus from Egypt. Deut. xvi. 3.
To love admonition. Deut. x. 16.
To teach. Lev. x. 11.
To cleanse soiled vessels with boiled water and to immerse vessels. Num. xxxi. 23.
To give to the stranger meat forbidden to Israelites. Deut. xiv. 21.
To sanctify the first-born of clean cattle. Deut. xv. 19.
That men shall live with their wives, but keep from them at certain times. Deut. xxiv. 5; Lev. xv. 31.
To blot out the names of idols, to break down their pillars, and hew down the "asherim." Deut. vii. 5, xii. 3.
To burn the asherah, demolish the places of idolatrous worship, break down the altars, and destroy the vessels used for idolatry. Deut. xii. 3; Num. xxx. 52; Deut. vii. 5; xii. 2, 3.

The prohibitions not included by the other compilers, but found in the Semaḳ, are:

Intolerance of admonition. Deut. x. 16.
Self-righteousness. Deut. ix. 4.
Delay in attending to the natural needs. Deut. xxiii. 15.
Sodomy. Ex. xx. 14.

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COMMANDMENTS, THE TEN. See DECALOGUE.

COMMENTARIES ON THE BIBLE. See BIBLE EXEGESIS.

COMMENTARIES ON THE TALMUD. See TALMUD, COMMENTARIES TO THE.

COMMERCE: Sale or exchange of goods, generally on a large scale. During the Biblical period the Hebrews in Palestine had what is known as a natural self-sufficing economy (Benzinger, "Arch." p. 213)—that is, each household grew or made all the food, tools, and clothing it needed. A few articles of luxury or necessity, such as gold, silver, iron, and salt, which could not be found on the Israelitish farms, were supplied by merchants, who carried them round the country, and for that reason were known as "soḥer" (from a root meaning "to wander"). These merchants were almost exclusively Canaanites, probably Philistines. Hence, when the goodwife sells her wool (Prov. xxxi. 24) she disposes of it to the Canaanites (A. V. "merchants"). The Israelite tribes were mainly settled

on the uplands of Palestine, and therefore were not touched by the streams of commerce which flowed by the two great caravan routes along the coast, through Tyre, Acco, and Gaza, to Egypt, and from South Arabia, through Petra on the east side of the Jordan, to Damascus (Herzfeld, "Handelsgeschichte der Juden," pp. 22, 23).

The chief references to commerce in the Old Testament are, accordingly, to that of other than Israelitish peoples—to Ishmaelites (Gen. xxxvii. 25) and Phenicians (Isa. xxiii.; Ezek. xxvii. 27). It is only with the reign of Solomon that any signs are given of extensive external trade on the part of the Israelites. Solomon was himself a large exporter of wheat and oil, which he paid to Hiram, King of Tyre, for timber and the use of skilled workmen (I Kings v. 25 [Hebr.]; I Kings vii.). He doubtless obtained horses and chariots from Egypt (I Kings x. 28, 29) by similar payments. It is even recorded of Solomon that he sent ships of Tharshish every three years from Ezion-geber to Ophir, whence the fleet brought back gold, silver, iron, apes, and peacocks (I Kings x. 22). Solomon's example evidently led to a general development of trading (I Kings x. 15), but it was not followed up by his successors. Jehoshaphat tried in vain to revive the voyages to Ophir (I Kings xxii. 48), and the Prophets when speaking of merchants identify them with Canaanites or Philistines (Hosea xii. 7; Isaiah xxiii. 11; Zeph. i. 11; compare Job xli. 6). It has been assumed from the songs of Deborah, Jacob, and Moses (Judges v. 17; Gen. xlix. 13; Deut. xxxiii. 18, 19) that the tribes of Dan, Zebulun, and Issachar were connected with the Mediterranean trade; but there is very little evidence of this, and the ships used were known by a foreign name as "ships of Tharshish."

Solomon's Foreign Commerce.

There seem to have been some attempts to encourage foreign trade in the northern kingdom, as Ahab is reported to have obtained from Ben-hadad the right to have "ḥuẓot" in Damascus (I Kings xx. 34); in other words, the Israelites were allowed a special street or bazaar in the market of Damascus. A somewhat similar activity on the part of Judah is indicated in Isaiah ii. 6 (Hebr.), where the "contracts made with the sons of aliens" refer, according to Cheyne, to the renewed commercial activity of the reigns of Uzziah and Jotham (II Kings xiv. 22, xvi. 6). The treasures of the kings must have been obtained indirectly from commerce; the tribute of Hezekiah to Sennacherib, which, according to the Taylor cylinder, amounted to 30 talents of gold and 800 of silver, besides precious stones, must have been secured in this way. The luxurious feminine apparel indicated in Isaiah iii. 18–24 must also have been obtained by commerce. Notwithstanding this, the merchant's profession was despised (Hosea xii. 7; compare Ecclus. [Sirach] xxvi. 29, xxvii. 2). The few laws relating to business in the Pentateuch and dealing with weights (Lev. xix. 35, 36), loans to the poor (*ib.* xxv. 36, 37), usury (Deut. xxiii. 20), debts in the Sabbatical year (Deut. xv. 2), and slave-trading (Lev. xxv. 44, 45), show that very little business was done. The fact that even tribute was paid in kind (I Sam. xvi. 20, xvii. 18) proves that not much attention was paid to commerce, as is also proved by the fact that no coined money was made till the time of the Maccabees (see Money).

The highlands of Palestine in Bible times do not seem to have supplied very much material for foreign commerce. Honey, balsam, wheat, and oil were forwarded to Phenicia (I Kings v. 11; Ezra iii. 7; Ezek. xxvii. 17), while spices, balm, myrrh, honey, pistachio nuts, almonds, and oil were forwarded to Egypt (Gen. xxxvii. 25; Hosea xii. 1). In return timber was sent from Phenicia (I Kings v. 11); corn, horses, and chariots from Egypt (Gen. xli. 57; I Kings x. 29); gold, silver, spices, precious stones, ivory, apes, peacocks, armor, and mules from Arabia, Ophir, and other Eastern countries. Wool and sheep were sent as tribute from Moab (II Kings iii. 4). Within Palestine itself salt was sent from the Dead Sea, cattle and wool from the pastures beyond the Jordan, corn chiefly from the plain of Esdraelon. These were sent up to the markets, one of which seems to have been at Jerusalem, at a place called "Maktesh" (Zeph. i. 11); later on there was a market even in the Temple precincts (John ii. 14).

Exports and Imports.

Merchants carried wares to their customers or to the markets (Neh. xiii. 16) by caravans of camels, asses, mules, or oxen (Gen. xxiv. 10, xlii. 26, xliii. 18; I Kings v. 7; I Chron. xii. 40); sometimes merchandise was carried by slaves (II Kings v. 28).

After the return from the Exile the small and impoverished Jewish community had little business to transact except at Jerusalem, and even there it was conducted mainly by Phenicians (Neh. iii. 31, 32; xiii. 15–20). When Jonah sailed for Tarshish he had to embark in a Gentile vessel, showing that little maritime trade was undertaken by the Jews. With the spread of Hellenism in the East, however, there were Greek mercantile settlements in Ptolemais, with connections with the coast of Palestine along the Gaza, Ashkelon, and Dor route (Schürer, "Geschichte," ii. 15); and by the time of Hyrcanus I. Athenian merchants came regularly to Judea (Josephus, "Ant." xiv. 8, § 5; "Corp. Inse. Att." ii., No. 470). It was with the intention of developing the foreign trade of Judea that Simon Maccabeus took Joppa (I Macc. xiv. 5), and similarly Herod built Cæsarea for a port (Josephus, *l.c.* xv. 9, § 6).

After the Exile.

By Maccabean times, indeed, it seems to have become a custom for the villagers to carry their products into towns once a month (I Macc. i. 58). Later on this became extended to twice a week, Mondays and Thursdays being traditionally set aside as market days; and the custom of having special services in synagogues on these days can be traced back to this period. Jerusalem became the commercial center of the whole country, and mention is made there of markets for horses and wool ('Er. x. 9), for ironware, clothing, lumber (Josephus, "B. J." ii. 19, § 4; v. 8, § 1), and for fruit (Beẓah v. 8). Besides these, there were markets at Hebron, Emmaus, Lydda, Antipatris, Haishub, Patris, Beth Hino, Sepphoris, Tiberias, Scythopolis, and Botna, the last three being especially devoted to cereals, which were exported

Markets.

through Kesib to Tyre (Yer. Dem. i. 3), and from Arab in Galilee to Sepphoris (Yer. Ta'an. iv. 1); olives were sent to Italy (Shab. 26a; Josephus, *l.c.* ii. 22, § 2), and olive-oil was sent to Syria and Egypt (Pliny, "Historia Naturalis," xii. 54). The main ports engaged in these exports were Ashkelon, Joppa, Gaza, Ptolemais, Rephia, Yabne, Cæsarea, Dor, and Haifa.

Some outside trade in silk passed through Palestine into Tyre (Yer. B. Ḳ. iv. 2, vi. 7). Most of the more luxurious products were imported. As against 87 different materials produced in Palestine itself, Herzfeld enumerates 133 brought from almost all the known lands of antiquity: camels from Arabia (Ket. 67a); asses from Libya (Shab. 51b); byssus from Pelusium and India, to form the dress worn by the high priest on the Day of Atonement (Yoma iii. 7); linen and "ḥimuẓa" from Rome (Yer. 'Ab. Zarah ii. 10; M. Ḳ. 23a); a garment called a "gomed" from Arabia (Kel. xxix. 9), as well as pottery (Kel. v. 10; Men. v. 9) from the same place; spoons from Sidon and wines from Ammon and Media (Sanh. 106a; Pes. ii. 1). Beans and linseed came from Egypt (Ma'as. v. 8); damsons from Damascus (Ber. 39a; B. Ḳ. 116b); palms, dates, and carpets from Babylon; timber, wine, and purple from Phenicia; wine, oil, and lumber from Syria. Specially important was the trade with Egypt, which probably took some of the cereals from Palestine in exchange for beans and writing-material. Philo speaks of several Jewish shippers and wholesale merchants in Alexandria ("In Flaccum," § 8). Many Egyptian Jews attained considerable wealth by this means. Arion is said to have lent Joseph the "publican" no less a sum than 3,000 talents (Josephus, "Ant." xii. 4, § 7), and the alabarch Alexander lent 200,000 drachmas to Agrippa (*ib.* xviii. 6, § 3).

Trade with Egypt.

Salted fish was a specially favored article of commerce, as may be seen from the fact that Jerusalem had a fish-gate (Neh. iii. 3); it was brought from Egypt (Maksh. vi. 3) and Spain (Shab. xxii. 2) probably to Acco, whence the proverb "to send fish to Acco," corresponding to the English "to carry coals to Newcastle." Lake Tiberias was also the center of a great fishing industry. Josephus enumerates no less than 230 boats sailing upon it at one time ("B. J." ii. 21, § 8). Several kinds of traders are mentioned—cloth-dealers, horse-dealers, and cattle-dealers (Kil. ix. 5; M. Ḳ. ii. 5; B. M. 51b; 'Ab. Zarah i. 6; Shek. vii. 2). These carried their accounts in books ("pinkes," from the Greek πινάξ) made of two boards joined together with a hinge, and covered with wax on which marks could be made. Markets were held every Friday (Sifra 140b), and at Gaza, Acco, and Botna there were great fairs where slaves and horses were sold (Yer. 'Ab. Zarah i. 4). Goods were sold by contract (Shab. 120b) and paid for by bills which themselves were sold for cash before maturing (B. M. iv. 9). Merchants of different towns communicated by post (Shab. x. 4, 19a), and there even seems to have been a kind of parcel-post (R. H. 9b). Prices seemed to be fixed by local authorities (B. M. v. 7), and any speculation in necessaries, such as corn, wine, or oil, was deprecated (B. B. 90b).

Notwithstanding this evidence of considerable commercial activity, it can not be said that the Jews in early post-Biblical times were at all inclined to commerce. Josephus, indeed, says: "We do not dwell in a land by the sea, and do not therefore indulge in commerce either by sea or otherwise" ("Contra Apion," i. 12). Several of the chief sages of the Talmud, however, were traders. Eleasar ben Azaria dealt in wine and oil (B. B. 91a). Notwithstanding this, many sayings in the Talmud show that little importance was attached to commerce as a means of livelihood; *e. g.*, "have little business" (Abot iv. 14); or, "the less trading the more Torah" (*ib.* vi. 6). It was recommended to lay out one's money in three parts: one-third to be invested in land; one-third in goods; one-third to be kept on hand (B. M. 42a). It may be of interest to conclude this account of trading among the Jews of Biblical and Talmudic times by the details given by Herzfeld relating to the prices of objects mentioned in these two sources, arranging the objects in the usual order: grain, cattle, fowl, fruit, wines, dress, slaves, beasts of burden, chariots, fields, vineyards, and houses, finishing with wages and fees. See accompanying table.

Prices.

Hitherto there had been no signs of any special predilection or capacity for commerce shown by Jews, but they had developed special aptitudes in that direction by the early geonic period, when they are everywhere mentioned as merchants. As soon as the Teutonic nations had settled down after the great migrations of the fifth century, Jews are found mentioned together with Syrians as merchants at Narbonne and Marseilles (Gregory, "Epistles," vii. 24, 45). The Frankish kings bought goods from them (Gregory of Tours, "Hist. Gall." iv. 12–35, vi. 5, vii. 23), and they occur as traders at Naples (Procopius, "De Bello Gallico"), Palermo (Gregory, "Epistles," ix. 55), and Genoa (Cassidorus, "Epistles," No. 33). They even chartered ships: Gregory of Tours ("De Gloria Martyrum," p. 97) mentions a Jew who owned a vessel sailing between Nice and Marseilles. It is recorded of Charles the Great that, after watching a ship nearing Narbonne, he decided that it was not a Jewish, but a Norman, vessel (Pertz, "Monumenta," ii. 737). The Visigoth king Egica, indeed, forbade them to engage in maritime commerce ("Leg. Visig." xii. 2, 18). They were particularly active in the slave trade (Agobard, "Opera," ed. Baluze, pp. 62–65), and Gregory the Great protested against their activity in this direction in North Gaul ("Epistles," ix. 36). It has been conjectured that through their means England was brought within the pale of Christendom (Jacobs, "Jews of Angevin England," pp. 3, 4). See Slave Trade.

The cause of this sudden commercial activity and predilection for trading is probably to be found in the rise of Islam and its control of the lands whence came most of the luxuries demanded in Europe. Christians could not trade in Mohammedan countries, nor Moslems in Christendom, consequently an opening was left for Jews, who were tolerated in both spheres as commercial intermediaries (Cunningham, "Western Civilization," ii. 49, Cambridge, 1901). Within two centuries after the foundation of Islam the Jews appear to have almost monopolized the

	Quantity.	Price.	References and Remarks.
Wheat	seah	1 denarius	Peah viii.; 'Er. viii. 2; Ta'an. 19b.
"	"	2 denarii	B. B. 91b.
"	"	sela'	Ta'an. 19b (famine).
" meal	"	⅔ to 1 den.	Shek. iv. 9.
Barley	"	½ shekel	II Kings vii. 1.
Ox	one	mina (100 den.)	Men. xiii. 8.
"	"	1-2 mina	B. K. iii. 9.
Cow	"	100 den.	Tos. Shek. ii. 3.
"	"	200 "	Tos. 'Ar. iv. 4.
"	"	30 "	B. M. 69b.
Oxen	two	50 shekels	II Sam. xxiv. 24 (with threshing-floor).
Calf	one	20 den.	Men. xiii. 8.
Calves	100	100 gold den.	Tos. B. M. v. 4 (one for 25 silver issar).
Ram	one	2 sela', 8 den.	Men. xiii. 8; Ker. v. 2.
"	"	2 shekels	Lev. v. 15.
"	"	1-2½ sela'	Tos. Ker. iv. 3.
Sheep	100	100 gold den.	Tos. B. M. v. 1 (one for 25 silver den.).
"	one	1-3 sela'	Shek. ii. 4.
"	"	2, 4, 5 sela'	Tos. Ker. iv. 3.
Lamb	"	½ sela'	Hag. i. 2; Bek. 11a.
Meat	litra	¼ den.	Gen. R. 49 [?].
Doves	pair	gold, silver den.	Ker. i. 7 (exceptional).
Sparrows	"	issar	Matt. x. 29.
"	five	2 issar	Luke xii. 6.
Figs	3–4	1 issar	Ma'as. ii. 5, 6.
Pomegranate	one	1 peruta (⅛ issar)	Me'i. vi. 4.
Citron	"	1–2 "	" "
Wine	xestes (sextar.)	4 loma	'Ab. Zarah 34b.
Olive-oil	amphora	¼ Tyrian sela'	Josephus, "B. J." ii. 21, § 2.
"	80 xestes	4 den. drachm.	*idem*, "Vita," § 13.
Shirt	one	4 den.	Yer. Shab. viii. 7.
"	"	5 "	Tos. B. M. iii. 3.
"	"	1½ gold den.	Me'i. vi. 4.
Tallit	"	12 den.	" "
"	"	20 "	Tos. 'Ar. iv. 2.
"	"	50 "	Tos. Shek. ii. 4.
Cap	"	⅛ "	B. K. 119a.
Mantle	"	12 mina	B. B. ix. 7 (exceptional).
Slave	"	20 shekels	Gen. xxxvii. 28 (Joseph).
"	"	30 "	Ex. xxi. 32.
"	"	50 "	Lev. xxvii. 3, 4.
" (female)	"	30 "	" "
"	"	100 "	'Ar. vi. 5.
"	"	120 drachmas	Jos. "Ant." xii. 2, § 3.
Ass	.....	100-200 den.	B. K. x. 4.
Horse	"	150 shekels	I Kings x. 29.
Chariot	"	600 "	" "
Field	.....	50 "	Lev. xxvii. 16 (requiring a homer of oats for seed).
Vineyard	.....	1,000 "	Isa. vii. 23; Cant. viii. 11 (with 1,000 vines).
House	.....	10 gold den.	Yer. Ket. iv. 13.
Wages (day-laborer)	.....	1 den.	Matt. xx. 2.
Wages, Hillel's	.....	½ den.	Yoma 35b.
Wages (chaplain)	.....	10 shekels per annum	Judges xv. 10.
Fee of a doctor	.....	2 den.	Luke x. 35.

trade between Europe and Asia. There is a remarkable passage in the "Book of Ways," written about 817 by Ibn Khordadhbeh (ed. De Goeje, in "Bibl. Geogr. Arab." vi. 114), giving the routes adopted by these Jewish merchants.

ROUTES OF THE JEWISH MERCHANTS CALLED RADANITES.

"These merchants speak Persian, Roman [Greek], Arabic, the language of the Franks, Spanish, and Slav. They journey from west to east, from east to west, partly on land, partly by sea. They transport from the West eunuchs, female slaves, boys, silk, castor, marten and other furs, and swords. They take ship in the land of the Franks, on the Western Sea, and steer for Farama [Pelusium]. There they load their goods on the backs of camels and go by land to Kolzum [Suez] in five days' journey over a distance of twenty-five farsakhs [parasangs]. They embark in the East Sea [Red Sea], and sail from Kolzum to El-Tar [port of Medina] and Jeddah [port of Mecca]; then they go to Sind, India, and China. On their return they carry back musk, aloes, camphor, cinnamon, and other products of the Eastern countries to Kolzum, and bring them to Farama, where they again embark on the Western Sea. Some make sail for Constantinople to sell their goods to the Romans; others go to the palace of the king of the Franks to place their goods.

"Sometimes these Jew merchants, when embarking in the land of the Franks in the Western Sea, make for Antioch [at the mouth of the Orontes]; thence they go by land to Al-Jabia [?], Al-Hanaya [on the bank of the Euphrates], where they arrive after three days' march. There they embark on the Euphrates for Bagdad, and then sail down the Tigris to Al-Obolla. From Al-Obolla they sail for Oman, Sind, Hind, and China.

"These different journeys can also be made by land. The merchants that start from Spain or France go to Sous Al-Akça [Morocco], and then to Tangiers, whence they march to Kairowan and the capital of Egypt. Thence they go to Ar-Ramla, visit Damascus, Al-Koufa, Bagdad, and Bassora, cross Ahwaz, Persia, Kirman, Sind, Hind, and arrive at China. Sometimes they likewise take the route behind Rome, and, passing through the country of the Slavs, arrive at Khamlij, the capital of the Chazars. They embark on the Jorjan Sea, arrive at Balkh, betake themselves from there across the Oxus, and continue their journey toward Yourt, Toghozghor, and from there to China."

The name "Radanites" is a puzzle, but probably refers to the commercial metropolis of Persia—Rai (Rhaga), near Teheran, which was the commercial center for Armenia, Chorasan, and Chazaria (Ritter, "Asien," vi. 1, 595). The influence of the Radanites probably accounts for the adoption by the court of Chazaria of the Jewish religion (see CHAZARS), and it is also probable that the mission of a Jewish envoy from Charles the Great to Harun al-Rashid is connected with this extensive commerce. The Jews also appear to have taken wares from Byzantium to Prague, and to have exchanged them for corn, tin, lead, and slaves, from the Russians and Slavs who met them there (Ibrahim ibn Ya'ḳub, quoted by G. Jacob, "Handelsartikel der Araber," p. 9, Berlin, 1891). The large number of Arabic coins found throughout northeastern Europe (as many as twenty thousand in Sweden alone) shows the great extent of this Baltic trade with Chazaria, mainly conducted by Jews.

The spice trade appears to have been practically monopolized by Jews (Gregory of Tours, iv. 12, 35; vi. 5); and this was of consequence because of the demand for condiments to flavor the salted meats and fish on which medieval Europe lived during winter. An indication of the extent of their Lyons trade is found in the complaint of Agobard that, to suit their convenience, the market-day had been changed from Saturday to another day in the week ("De Insolentia," p. 64); indeed, so important had their commercial position in medieval Europe become by the tenth century that a usual formula in charters and like documents was "Jews and other merchants" (Stobbe, "Juden in Deutschland," pp. 103, 199, 200, 231). The emperor Henry IV. gave them permission to sell wine, pigments, and drugs (*ib.* p. 231). In the tenth century the commercial rivals of the Jews began to take measures to restrain their activity. The Venetians, for example, forbade ships' captains to take Jewish passengers on their voyages to the Levant (Depping, "Histoire du Commerce," ii. 22). Similarly as late as 1341 no Jew was allowed to pass from Aix to Alexandria, and only four each year for the Levant.

But the first systematic repression of Jewish com-

mercial activity began in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries during the Crusades. All trade in the towns began to be monopolized by the merchants' gilds, from which Jews were excluded. In England, for example, there is only one known instance of a Jew in a merchant gild (Kitchin, "Winchester," p. 108); so the only way in which Jews could obtain possession of merchandise was not by direct purchase, but as pledges for money lent. In this way, for example, Aaron of Lincoln came into possession of large quantities of corn at the time of his death (see "Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc. Eng." iii. 164, 165); and a large amount of corn was included in the property which escheated to the king on the expulsion of the Jews from Hereford (*ib.* i. p. 144–158). Heliot of Vesoul and his company similarly came into possession of stuffs and vestments which they transported by horses and carriages to various customers. They also sold wheat, soap, paper, wax, fur, leather, harnesses, kitchen utensils, spoons, forks, girdles, etc., besides horses and cattle (I. Loeb, in "Rev. Et. Juives," ix. 39); but these sales, which took place in the presence of the provost, and, probably, were mostly sales of pledges, can not be regarded as the ordinary sales of commerce, in which the buyer competes in open market and afterward sells at his own time, and without intervention of officials. Whatever the commercial activity of the Jews in the Middle Ages and after the Crusades, it was incidental to their trade of money-lending (see Usury) and the taking of Pledges. W. Roscher traces this activity to the introduction into commercial law of three important innovations which indirectly affected commerce: (1) the making of loans on interest; (2) the retention of goods bought bona fide, which has been applied in later commercial law to bonds and other securities to bearer; (3) the introduction, or, at least, the extensive use, of bills of exchange ("Ansichten der Volkswirtschaft," ii. 231, Leipsic, 1878). It is still, however, a doubtful point whether bills of exchange were not introduced quite independently of the Jews (see Exchange, Bills of).

Influence of Crusades.

Though, as a rule, Jewish commercial activity was from the twelfth century almost up to the nineteenth generally restricted to usury and petty trading, there are occasional instances of commercial dealings on a large scale, chiefly at the great seaports. Thus at Marseilles, between 1260 and 1299, a Jewish merchant named Mandrul, and others, traded in spices, cotton, and medicines, like sulfur and tartar, from Egypt, the Barbary States, the Balearic Islands, and Pisa, the chief trade being with Valencia, Acco, and Bougiah ("Rev. Et. Juives," xvi. 23). By this time Jews had lost their monopoly of the slave trade; only two cases of slave-dealing occurred at Marseilles at that period among Jews as against seven among Christians. Similarly, in 1248 there were twenty-nine money-changers among the Christians of Marseilles, but not a single Jew. Jews appear also to have been interested in the export of corn and wine from Vienna to Salzburg (Pertz, "Monumenta," ix. 706), and the Jews of Laibach in 1368 are reported to have become rich through trade with Venetians, Hungarians, and Croats (Scherer, "Rechtsverhältnisse," p. 519). It was indeed found necessary at times to prevent their competition with Christian merchants; thus the Jews of Linz in 1396 were forbidden to deal as merchants with the citizens of that town (Kurz, "Handel Oesterreichs," p. 89). In Spain the practise varied: in Castile, Henry IV. allowed the Jews to trade with Christians (Amador de los Rios, "Historia," iii. 134, 135), and there is evidence of a considerable wool trade between Navarre and England, conducted by Jews (Jacobs, "Spanish Sources," Nos. 1563, 1573, 1639, 1647), besides notices of dealers in cloth, fur, leather, silk, spices, timber, horses, mules, and wine (*ib.* p. xxxvii.); yet the Jews of Navarre were not allowed to sell anything without license from the king (*ib.* Nos. 1458, 1459). On the whole, fewer restrictions seem to have been placed upon the Jews in Spain than elsewhere; the silk industry was entirely in their hands (Grätz, "Geschichte," v. 396). This led to a remarkable extension of Jewish commercial activity when, in the fifteenth century, there spread throughout the world a class of persons which maintained intimate connections with Spain and Portugal at a time when those countries were receiving masses of the precious metals, which raised prices throughout Europe and gave abnormal profits to merchants, amounting, it is said, to between 300 and 400 per cent (Beer, "Geschichte des Welthandels," ii. 147).

Instances of Medieval Commerce.

The commerce of the Maranos served an important function in the development of trade between Europe, America, and the Levant. Manasseh ben Israel, in his "Declaration" to the English Parliament, gives an interesting account of the wide extent of Jewish trade due to their family connections and common language (ed. Wolf, pp. 2, 3). The precious metals mined in America were transported to Spain and Portugal, and thence, in exchange for Oriental goods, were passed on to Antwerp, which thereby became the financial center of Europe. Jewish Marano families were especially active in all these countries. The Caceres family had members in Hamburg, England, Austria, the West Indies, Barbados, and Surinam in the middle of the seventeenth century. Similarly extended connections are found with the Conegliano and Alhadib families. The Mendez family was connected at first with Antwerp, then with Constantinople, while a branch, the Gradis family, settled at Bordeaux, dominated French colonial trade. Benjamin Gradis sent out wine, alcohol, meal, and pickled meats to Cayenne, Martinique, and San Domingo, getting sugar and indigo in return. The Maranos were especially active in the American interstate trade. From Curaçao Joshua Mordecai Henriquez shipped to New Netherland in 1568 Venetian pearls and pendants, thimbles, scissors, knives, and bells. The Jewish trade from Jamaica became so extensive that the English traders of that island petitioned against Jews being allowed to trade from it unless they became endenizened. By 1753 the greater part of the British trade with the Spanish West Indies was in the hands of the Jews, especially the trade of Jamaica with the Spanish main ("Consideration on

Marano Trade.

the Act of 1753," p. 40). Aaron Lopez of Newport had no less than thirty ships engaged in this trade (see M. J. Kohler, in "Pub. Am. Jew. Hist. Soc." x. 62). This trade was naturally fostered by the Jews of New York, who were not allowed to engage in retail trade from 1683 (*ib.* v.). From Marseilles an extensive trade with the Levant was maintained by Spanish Jews. In the ten years 1670–79 the firm of Joseph Vaez Villarreal & Company insured ships to the amount of 866,400 livres ("Rev. Et. Juives," xi. 142). In 1693 merchants of Marseilles petitioned the intendant of Provence not to allow French subjects to lend their names to Jews bringing silk from the Levant, especially from Smyrna (*ib.* xii. 270). The Gorneyim of Algiers practically monopolized the trade between that port and Leghorn in the seventeenth century. (Grünwald, "Juden als Seefahrer," 1902, p. 48).

Meanwhile in Central Europe a special Jewish commerce was being developed in connection with the great fairs, especially during the Thirty Years' war. They purchased the soldiers' loot and thus acquired capital.

Central Europe.

The position of Jews as pawnbrokers led naturally to pedling. These pedlers often developed into traveling traders, purchasing the products of the villages, especially furs and leather, which they sold at the Fairs, especially at the great fair at Leipsic, which, after the close of the Thirty Years' war, became a clearing-house for the wares of North Germany. During the last quarter of the seventeenth century, 15,620 Jews, with 2,362 dependents, visited the three annual fairs at Leipsic, making an average of nearly 240 Jews at each fair. These came from all quarters of Europe; not less than 321 places are mentioned by M. Freudenthal ("Die Jüdischen Besucher der Leipziger Messen," Frankfort, 1902). Chief among these were Prague, Hamburg, Halberstadt, Berlin, Dessau, Frankfort, and, beyond Germany, Amsterdam and Venice. As early as 1590 Jews used to import fur, leather, lumber, and grain from Moscow to Gnesen. The memoirs of Glückl von Hameln show that these visits to the fairs were of social as well as of commercial importance. The Frankfort fair became the center of the Hebrew book trade in the seventeenth century ("Rev. Et. Juives," viii. 75). By this means new connections were made with different parts of Europe by the rising Jewish merchants, and the international trade of the continent became concentrated for a time in their hands. The fur trade in particular was monopolized by Jews, owing to their wide connections, ranging from Novgorod to Nantes ("Rev. Et. Juives," xxxiii. 97). Similarly the Jews of Avignon, in the seventeenth century, used to travel as far as Nîmes and Montpellier (*ib.* xxxiv. 280), where they sold mules on credit, and thus took the business out of the hands of the Christian merchants of Languedoc. In 1738 the latter obtained a decree from the intendant of Provence prohibiting the sale of mules by Jews, though this decree was afterward withdrawn. In like manner German and Polish Jews, toward the end of the eighteenth century, settled in the chief English ports of the south and west as small pawnbrokers and shopkeepers, sending out agents from Monday to Friday to the neighboring villages (L. Wolf, "Family of Yates and Samuel," p. 2, London, 1901).

The amount of trade conducted by the Jews depended in a large measure on the municipal or other authorities. In 1603 Henry IV. granted to Jews of Metz the right to trade, which was confirmed by Louis XIV. in 1657 (Jost, "Geschichte," ix. 31). So, too, the Jews of Leghorn were permitted to trade from 1668 (Bedarride, "Les Juifs," p. 364); on the other hand, the Jews of Rome and Ancona were only permitted to deal in second-hand clothing (Vogelstein and Rieger, ii. 198). As a rule, however, the right to trade was one of the municipal rights, and these were not granted the Jews till well on toward the middle of the nineteenth century. They were therefore generally confined to pawnbroking, pedling, and second-hand clothing, in which for a considerable time they had a monopoly. With the spread of colonization Jewish merchants found new spheres, especially in the Anglo-Saxon world, where there was little opposition to them. The firms of Montefiore in Australia, of Mosenthal and of Bergtheil in South Africa, were among the pioneers of those colonies, and a large proportion of the English colonial shipping trade was for a considerable time in the hands of Jews. On the continent of Europe Jews performed a special function in mediating between the domestic industries of the villages and the markets and manufactories of the chief towns. Thus in Vienna the woolen manufacturers obtained their raw material from Jewish traders who traveled round to Iglau, Reichenberg, and Brünn. Before the emancipation many expedients had to be resorted to before this centralization of the wool industry could be effected. Thus the firm of Tuchowsky used to have a Christian agent at Vienna to represent its interests. When he died one of the firm had to submit to baptism in order to reside in Vienna (S. Mayer, in Bloch's "Wochenschrift," Nov. 14, 1902).

Restrictions on Jewish Trade.

Owing to a variety of circumstances the number of Jews applying themselves to commerce is heavily in excess of their proportion to the general population. Thus in Prussia in 1861 among adult workers 58 per cent of Jews were engaged in commerce as against 6 per cent of the rest of the population (Legoyt, "Immunités," p. 34), while in Italy the proportion was as 55 to 5. These figures are somewhat misleading, as most Jews live in cities; but, after allowing for this factor, a large discrepancy still remains. At Berlin, *e.g.*, in 1871 61.4 per cent of Jews were in commerce against 15.4 of the rest of the population (H. Schwabe, "Berlin in 1871," p. 100); in Vienna, 33.1 per cent against 11.5 per cent (Jeitteles, "Israeliten zu Wien"). Altogether it may be said that thrice as many Jews adopt commercial pursuits. The particular branch of commerce in which Jews appear to excel is mainly the "commerce of intangibles"—that is, dealing with money per se—and they excel as factors and shippers (see Banking; Finance). The clothing trades seem to be largely in the hands of Jews, both as regards manufacture and the wholesale and retail trade. This may have developed out of the restric-

Numbers Engaged in Commerce.

tion to the sale of second-hand clothing, but is probably due more to the economic pressure brought to bear in the Russian ghettos. The trade in furs and feathers is also largely in Jewish hands as a relic of the old peregrinations of the Jewish pedlers in East Europe, and can be traced back to the time of the Chazars. The fancy-goods trade is almost invariably a trade in imports, and here the cosmopolitan connections of the Jews have helped them to achieve conspicuous success. In England the fruit trade is wholly in the hands of Jews, because fruit can be sold on Sunday, and therefore the keeping of the Sabbath is not an obstacle to Jewish fruit-traders. In the United States the most striking characteristic of Jewish commerce is found in the large number of department stores held by Jewish firms.

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——**In Russia:** Under the Polish régime—that is, up to the end of the eighteenth century—commerce was almost the only occupation followed by the Jews in Russia. Neither the upper nor the lower classes among the non-Jewish native population cared to engage in it; and it consequently became centralized in the hands of the Germans and the Jews. As early as the fourteenth century there was a Jewish bazaar in Wilna. During the Middle Ages the Jews of Poland and of Lithuania were engaged in agricultural and industrial pursuits only in a small degree. After the Polish provinces had been annexed to Russia, and especially in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Jews were attracted to handicrafts; but owing to certain restrictions placed on these occupations they were compelled, as they are even to-day, to rely chiefly upon commerce and finance.

The closing years of the nineteenth century were marked by a serious decline of Jewish commerce in Russia. Owing to a steady increase in the number of Jewish merchants, especially in the western regions, and to the consequent keenness of competition, commerce could hardly have been lucrative. The chief obstacle to its development was, and still is, the lack of capital, for the poverty of the Jewish population is extreme.

Business is frequently started exclusively upon credit. Consequently, when the manufacturer reduces or withdraws credit, the Jewish merchant is often forced to declare himself insolvent. But the manufacturer is not always the trader's only creditor. Advances secured by chattel mortgage are made by banks, by mutual loan associations, and by private persons. Usually the interest charged is very high, especially to small dealers. The "wocher"—that is, the plan of paying off a debt in weekly instalments—prevails. The profit is mostly absorbed by the interest on the capital borrowed. Therefore, in order to secure an income, it is often necessary to put the capital repeatedly into circulation. By adopting this course the turnover of the Jewish merchants is, other things being equal, greater than that of their Christian competitors; but, notwithstanding their resourcefulness, the Jewish merchants do not realize as large a percentage of profits as do the Christians.

Business Conducted on Credit.

The foregoing applies to Jewish merchants doing business on a moderate scale. The majority of the Jews in the cities and villages within the Pale of Settlement are not able to start business even on credit, and are therefore compelled to trade in small wares. Opening a small store on some street-corner, they stock it with a few rubles' worth of goods, and make a profit of from twenty to thirty copecks a day. Frequently the business equipment consists only of a single stand stocked with provisions. Dealers of this kind are very numerous in the Jewish centers, as in Wilna, Minsk, and Kovno, where the percentage of poor Jews is exceptionally large. Thus, in Wilna their business center consists of a cluster of dark alleys, permeated with a fetid atmosphere, and resigned to rows of dirty, ill-smelling stores and stands. Although the range of prices is astonishingly low, little business is done, and often the dealers in the district outnumber the customers.

The Jewish interest in lumber, in agricultural produce, in the export of grain, flax, butter, eggs, fruit, wines, and tobacco, and in kerosene, is considerable. Before the promulgation of the law making the sale of liquor a government monopoly, the Jews were active in the retail sale of vodka. At present Jewish merchants supply alcohol to the government in considerable quantities. In general, government contracts have been monopolized by the wealthier Jews. In recent years, however, many of the governmental departments have declined the services of Jewish contractors.

Branches of Trade.

The Jews are prominent in the trade in grain. They have established branch offices in the chief centers of the grain-producing regions. In the autumn their agents travel through the grain belt and purchase its produce. Small dealers establish themselves at the railroad stations. They pay up to ninety-five per cent of the value of the grain shipped, deposit the bills of lading in a bank, and then send an order for sale to the agent at the port. When the sale has been consummated and the money from the commission agent received, accounts between seller and purchaser are adjusted. The dealers forward the grain to Black Sea and Baltic ports and to German frontier-towns like Danzig, Königsberg, etc. The number of Jews engaged in the grain-trade is considerable, and embraces buyers, commission agents, bankers, brokers, etc. To the poverty of the crops recently harvested in South Russia may be attributed the present (1902) deplorable condition of the Jews in that region.

A considerable portion of the Jewish population is engaged in the lumber trade. The Jews buy the standing timber from the landowners, especially in western Russia, and manufacture from it articles of various kinds for the home and foreign markets.

The part taken by the Jews in fairs, which are a distinguishing feature of trading life in Russia, also

deserves notice. Whenever a fair is held they supply the peasants who visit the fair with all kinds of household necessities, such as iron, salt, kerosene, sugar, and dry-goods, in exchange for their farm products. To the development of railroads in recent years may be attributed the decline of this method of trading. Another obstacle calculated to shut out the Jews from this class of trade is the law prohibiting them from living in small towns and villages. Practically no recent statistical data on Russian-Jewish commerce are available.

Fairs.

There are still some legal restrictions on Jewish commerce in force even within the Pale of Settlement. A typical example is the prohibition against dealing in objects held sacred by Christians, such as holy images and the like. Prior to the government monopoly of the sale of liquors, the Jews, while permitted to engage in that business, were hampered by various restrictions. Thus, they were forbidden to sell beyond the Pale; and within the Pale the sale was allowed only in houses owned by the sellers.

Anti-Jewish Restrictions.

The chief obstacle which embarrasses Jews engaged in commerce in Russia is their exclusion from the interior governments of the country. Those enrolled in the mercantile gilds are allowed to go there only for the purchase of commodities: members of the first gild are allowed to stay six months; those of the second gild, only two months. At certain fairs temporary sojourn only is permitted. Artisans domiciled in the interior governments may deal in their own manufactures. If a Jew be found trading in prohibited articles, these articles are confiscated, and the transgressor is sent to the Pale of Settlement. A five years' enrolment with the merchants of the first gild in governments within the Pale confers the privilege of enrolment in the first gild in the interior governments. In consequence of this measure many of the wealthier Jews enroll as merchants, although not actually engaged in any business, to obtain the right of residing wherever they please. Those engaged in the liberal professions, physicians, druggists, etc., enjoy the privilege of settling wherever they may choose, though their right of engaging in business outside the Pale has often been contested by the administration. The senate, however, has invariably decided in their favor. For statistics regarding Jewish commerce in Russia, see Russia.

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H. R. F. J.

COMMERCIAL LAW: According to Jewish law persons legally capable of entering into any form of contract are legally capable of making commercial contracts also; but it must not be forgotten that girls reach majority at twelve and boys at thirteen. Three kinds of incapables are barred out: the deaf-mute, the unsound in mind, and the minor. Bondmen are excluded because their possessions as well as their earnings belong to their masters. Married women have not full legal capacity, for they lack the control of their property, and their earnings belong to their husbands. But the authorities recognize the wife that "trades [buys and sells] within the house" with the permission of her husband (Shulḥan 'Aruk, Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ 62, 1); in fact, a woman may marry with the agreement that the husband shall have no interest in her property or its income (Ket. ix. 1). Yet the great majority of those women who have carried on trade and industry in Israel, often on a large scale and with marked success, have done so simply in the names and as the agents of their husbands.

There is an Assyrian word used in the Talmud for "partners" (שותפין), but in the Mishnah it is applied mainly to joint owners of land. In the Codes it is used both in this sense and in that of "partners" (Maimonides, "Yad," Sheluḥin, *passim*). It will be seen under Partnership that its formation is clogged by many doubts and formalities. Of joint-stock companies or trading corporations the Talmud and the Codes show little trace; there were, indeed, societies in Palestine holding their property in common and working for the common profit—the Essenes, for instance—but neither the inclinations nor the purposes of these societies were in any way commercial, and seldom, if ever, did they go to law. Old trading companies may, perhaps, be recognized in the mutual insurance companies mentioned below, or in the caravan (שיירא) repeatedly spoken of in the Talmud; but nothing is known from that source as to their workings as legal entities.

Partnership.

The commonwealth of Israel in its palmiest days troubled itself but very little about ships, and controlled hardly any of the ports on its coast-line. Its maritime trade fell to Phenicians and Philistines. There were, however, in Mishnaic times, Jews who owned trading-vessels; and in the article Alienation and Acquisition the mode of making delivery of a vessel (ספינה) so as to give title to the buyer is discussed.

Maritime Law.

There is also, in a rather crude form, a law of jettison, or general average. Says a Baraita (B. Ḳ. 116b): "A ship is going along the sea; a squall arises and threatens to sink her, and they lighten her of her burden; then they take account, according to the weight, and not according to the money value; for they should not change from the usages of ship-owners." The reason of this rule is evidently that the owners of goods of small weight in proportion to value have done very little toward overloading the ship. No mention is made of other sacrifices for the common good than actual jettison; and the rule of apportioning the loss by weight rather unjustly relieves the ship-owner from contribution. But other laws on shipping, now generally in force, are not found. Rich Jews in the Middle Ages often owned ships and cargoes; but they of necessity settled disputes about these in the admiralty courts of the sea powers, not before their rabbis; and so no rulings on such disputes in the responsa literature, or in the Jewish Codes, are to be found.

There is but little mention of bills and notes in Jewish law, though it has been shown under ALIENATION that Abraham ben David was the first to suggest a form of bond with some elements of true negotiability; his idea, however, was not developed by later authorities. In questions of contracts with carriers and contracts of affreightment—that is, for carriage by water—the Talmud knows no special liability of the carrier; he is, like the shepherd, simply a hired keeper (see BAILMENTS). On that sort of affreightment known as a "charter party," where a single freighter hires the ship for the voyage, the Talmud (B. M. 79a, b) gives some points which Maimonides repeats in "Yad," Sekirut, vi. 4, but with a lack of clearness which indicates that the subject treated did not come up in actual practise.

Marine Insurance.

A Baraita, probably of the second century (B. Ḳ. 116b), contains the principles of marine insurance: "And ship-owners have the right to contract that whosesoever vessel is lost, they will get him another; but if it be lost through his fault [כוסיא (variant בוסיא; see Rabbinowicz, "Dikduḳe Soferim" *ad loc.*)] they do not replace it; if not through his fault, they replace it; and if he has lost his vessel while deviating from proper course, they do not replace it." This is the earliest known passage on insurance. The Justinian Code is silent; and when the Roman republic or empire, as Livy and Suetonius say, agreed to indemnify shippers against loss in case of war or famine, it was not insurance, for there was neither premium nor mutuality.

Another Baraita (B. Ḳ. 116b) approves mutual insurance among ass-drivers (חמרים), with this addition: "If he says, 'Give me [the money] and I will watch,' they do not listen to him"; for, as the Gemara explains, one of the considerations of the insurance is that every driver shall stay with the caravan and help to defend it. Note the phrases: "ship-owners have the right," "ass-drivers have the right," to insure. Generally, contracts depending on uncertain future conditions were not favored in Jewish law. Of life or fire insurance the Talmud knows nothing; nor is it cognizant of bottomry and respondentia bonds.

In the Jewish law contracts for hiring service are treated more from the moral than from the commercial standpoint. The subject of apprentices is also unknown to Jewish law, doubtless for the reason that boys are of age at thirteen and may dispose of their own services.

Of commercial remedies only the lien of the party in possession for work done and for advances is recognized in the Talmud, and this incidentally in the discussions on the liability for faulty work of mechanics entrusted with goods (B. Ḳ. 98–102); but there is none of the complication of the subject which has been introduced into modern law.

For the discussion of other points of commercial law see ACCEPTANCE; AGENCY, LAW OF; ALIENATION AND ACQUISITION; BAILMENTS; BROKER; CONTRACT; DEBTOR AND CREDITOR; OVERREACHING; PARTNERSHIP.

L. G. L. N. D.

COMMISSION. See BROKERS.

COMMUNITY, ORGANIZATION OF.—Ancient and Medieval: At the beginning of the common era there were Jewish communities at Alexandria, Rome, Salamis, Corinth, Athens, Delos, etc.; at Antioch (in Pisidia), Iconium, Smyrna, Ephesus, and other well-known cities on the Mediterranean and in Asia Minor. In Palestine, which even as a Roman province retained its essentially Jewish character, the whole country formed one community, with its center at Jerusalem, where the highest religious, judicial, and executive authorities were located.

After the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, the national life of the Jews was replaced by the communal life, on which the Roman form of government was impressed. But while the Romans reserved for themselves the government of the province, they did not interfere with the internal affairs of the communities. The Jews still had a center in the person of the patriarch ("nasi"), who had the disposal of communal offices, and the right to levy a tax (AURUM CORONARIUM), which right, on the cessation of the patriarchate, was transferred to the emperor. At an early date the Babylonian communities separated from those of Palestine, and had their own head, called "resh galuta" (exilarch), whose authority was greater than that of the patriarch.

The Governing Body.

The communities, whether found in כפרים ("villages"), עירות ("cities"), or ברכים ("walled towns"), were composed of בני העיר ("full citizens"—residents of more than twelve months' standing), יושבי העיר ("half citizens"—residents of from thirty days' to twelve months' standing), and "transients"—those who remained less than twenty days in the place. At the head of the community was a governing board (טובי העיר, פרנסים) consisting of at least three members, but usually of seven, and, in later times, of twelve. If brothers happened to be on the board, they had one vote only between them. All communal offices, even that of physician, were filled by appointment from the "court" with the concurrence of the community. The governing board, even where it had absolute authority, was expected to observe the wishes of the community. Membership in the board, as well as other communal offices, was sometimes hereditary.

The governing board conducted all the affairs of the community, giving special attention to the distribution of funds for alms; it apportioned communal and municipal taxes according to fixed rules, and decided on the acquisition and sale of communal property. It supervised the entire social and commercial life of the community, fixed weights and measures, the price of food, and the rate of wages; it issued police regulations, and could even interfere in the private affairs of the individual; and, in the interest of the community, could annul rules long sanctioned by usage and precedent. The board was responsible for the safety and the social and intellectual welfare of the community.

The Jews of ancient Rome were governed by a "gerusiarch," that is, a president of the communal council ("gerusia"); an archon (מנהיג or פרנס);

an Archisynagogue (ראש הכנסת); etc. (Berliner, "Magazin," i. 66; for the later communal government at Rome see Berliner, *ib.* ii. 31). In Sicily the following expressions were current: "dienchelele" (chief district rabbi); "manigliori" (from מנעל = "keeper of the keys of the synagogue"); "presbyter" (ḥazzan and shoḥeṭ); "sacristano" (גבאי); "celebrare missam" (literally, "to celebrate mass"), to conduct services, etc. (Güdemann, "Geschichte des Erziehungswesens," ii. 71, 281). At Cologne the president of the community was called "Judenbischof" (Jewish bishop), and was assisted by a chapter. At Speyer the archisynagogue, appointed by the Catholic bishop, was at the head of the community.

The governing board was subject to the "dayyan" (judge, also called "ḥakam," or "zaken"), who was ordained by the nasi or exilarch, and was the final authority on ritual, civil, and political questions. He decided unaided in money matters (without being obliged to make restitution in case of an error of judgment), where otherwise three lay judges were required. Criminal cases were decided only by three scholars of standing (בית דין), who were usually elected for life to insure impartiality and respect. They did not, in general, draw a salary, but when their entire time was devoted to the affairs of the community, they might receive means sufficient for a bare subsistence. They had supervision over all religious and political affairs. Those who had been ordained at Babylon were called "rabbonim"; those ordained in Palestine were called "rabbis." The title of "ḥaber" (associate) was bestowed upon a person who had rendered special services to the community. He was considered in many cases as arbitrator. A community consisting of more than ten members was a synagogal community, and was obliged to secure a synagogue, the judicial and outer affairs of which were in the hands of a committee elected from the members of the governing board. It was not permissible to sell or exchange the synagogue, except in cases of extreme necessity, nor could the old synagogue be pulled down before the new one was built. Affairs pertaining to the ritual and liturgy were in the hands of the archisynagogue. (This term when applied to a woman, as in old Roman inscriptions, meant, no doubt, merely the president of a woman's philanthropic society, like the "parnesessa" at Rome in the sixteenth century.) The archisynagogue was especially honored, his office being for life and sometimes hereditary. In the Diaspora there were honorary titles, such as "fathers," or "mothers, of the synagogue"; thus, the title of "mater synagogæ" or "pateressa" was conferred upon Dona Gracia Mendesia. The "rosh ha-keneset" (archisynagogue) was subordinate to the "ḥazzan ha-keneset," whose orders were authoritative in synagogal and in general matters; he was also executor of the punishments decreed by the court, and performed the functions of the later "shammash," who is otherwise called שליח בית דין ("the messenger of the court") in the Talmud and by the Geonim.

The Bet Din.

The שליח צבור ("delegate of the congregation," or "leader in prayer") stood before God as representative of those who did not understand the import of the prayer. He, too, was an unsalaried official. All worthy persons, however, and especially those in straitened circumstances or in trouble, were allowed to lead in prayer on days of fasting and repentance. The lesson from the Torah was read by the קורא ("reader") although any one called upon was to read his own section. The weekly section was translated into the Aramaic vernacular by the מתורגמן ("dragoman"), who was entitled to compensation; and in order to insure the requisite minimum for the service, ten men, called Baṭlanim, received a regular salary to attend.

Other Officials.

The school, like the synagogue, was under the supervision of the community, which appointed the teachers (called variously מלמד תינוקות, מלפנא, סופר, מקרי ינוקא). The latter were paid by the parents of the children of school age, but this salary was generally so small that the community contributed an addition as צדקה ("relief"). No one who was unmarried, or under the age of forty, was employed as teacher. An assistant teacher (ריש דוכנא) was paid by the community when the pupils numbered forty or more; a second assistant being added when the number reached fifty. Private teachers were also allowed. A father or guardian was obliged to send his child to school, and he was not allowed to send the child to a neighboring school if there was one in his own community. Most of the communities had their own schoolhouses (בית המדרש), often adjoining the synagogues

The management of the alms fund was an important matter; it was in the hands of a special committee (גבאי צדקה), chosen generally from among the members of the governing board, and hence also called פרנסים. The mere management, which involved no responsibility, was in the hands of one person; the levying of contributions, from which women, orphans, and the poor were exempt, was in the hands of two persons working together, who had the right to fine delinquents. The distribution was in the hands of at least three persons, for they had to decide on the amount of the relief, and any court dealing with money matters had to consist of at least this number. This office, also, was often hereditary, and the antecedents of the incumbent had to be irreproachable. In expending the money the wishes of the givers were to be considered. There were two chief classes of poor-funds: (1) The קופה ("box"), for feeding and clothing the resident poor. Every Friday evening a collection was taken up for them, and they were provided for during the coming week. (2) The תמחוי ("dish"), for the support of transients, for whom collections might be taken up on any day, in such amounts as were necessary. Non-Jews, also, were to be relieved, but those who begged from house to house received only a trifle from the fund. On special occasions, as on Purim, the poor received additional gifts. Money was also distributed in the synagogues for philanthropic purposes. Orphans were cared for by their guardians, or, if there were none, by the local court (בית דין).

Benevolent Institutions.

The irregular or special communal taxes were

levied only when occasion demanded, and only upon those directly concerned. This fund was managed by the treasurer (גזבר), who was a member of the governing board. The budget included the expenses (1) of the synagogue and its service, to which the full citizens, including orphans, contributed; (2) of education, such as the building of the schoolhouse and the occasional relief of the teacher, to which all members of more than two months' standing contributed; (3) of the poor-fund, consisting of (*a*) the "ḳuppah" (weekly food distribution), supported by all members of more than one month's standing; (*b*) the "tamḥui" (daily distribution of meals), supported by those of more than three months' residence; (*c*) the clothing fund, maintained by all residents of more than six months' standing; and (*d*) the burial fund, supported by all those of more than nine months' residence; (4) of the public safety, such as for walls, soldiers, etc., to which all full citizens and all landowners, and even orphans, contributed, Talmudic scholars only being excepted; (5) of the water-works, to which only those benefited contributed. The state taxes were apportioned among the communities, which divided them among their members. Only scholars were exempt from the poll-tax, while the tax on real estate was paid entirely by property-owners.

Various Funds.

Along these lines developed the life of the community ("ḳahal," pronounced "kohl" in the districts where German-Polish was spoken; compare the term "kohlstibel" = "communal room"). Yet the rabbi (the designation מר [compare מרת, applied to women to-day] was dropped toward the end of the twelfth century, being later replaced by רבי = "rabbi" [compare Zunz, "Literaturgesch." p. 284; Rahmer's "Jüd. Lit.-Blatt." vii., No. 31; Salfeld, "Martyrologium," xxiv.; on מארי and חכם באבאי at Aden, see Rinman, "Massa'ot Shelomoh," pp. 10, 110]) no longer had the high position enjoyed by the "resh galuta" of Babylon and the "nagid" in Egypt until the fifteenth century. Until the end of the thirteenth century he was independent of the community as an unsalaried official. In England, before the expulsion, there was one "presbyter omnium Judæorum Angliæ.," appointed by the king, generally for life. In Poland during the sixteenth century he was appointed by the king, in whose name he levied taxes and held court. The rabbinate in Bohemia was in a similar position during the same century; but here there was no regular district rabbinate, as in Galicia and Moravia. In Algeria at the beginning of the fifteenth century the appointment of the rabbi was subject to the sanction of the government. In countries bordering on the Rhine he was appointed every three years. Rabbinical synods were held in some places as early as the thirteenth century; at Bologna, after 1416. In Poland they were held annually, and known as the "wa'ad arba' araẓot," Council of the Four Lands.

In order to put an end to unpleasant rivalry for leadership in prayer, a salaried reader was appointed, who frequently discharged other religious functions and received the title חזן (ḥazzan). In his musical functions he was assisted by a "bass" and a "singer," and occasionally by boy choristers. The ḥazzan was usually elected by the unanimous vote of the congregation: it is on record that one refused nomination at the hands of the Archbishop of Cologne.

The taxes which the governments demanded from the communities were often paid with difficulty. In Spain and in England, about 1273, even children of ten had to contribute, and in the latter country the Jews at times paid one-twelfth of the royal revenues. In Anjou the taxes were collected by a "sindicus et procurator universitatis Judæorum." Where the Jews formed one-tenth of the population they often paid one-fourth of the taxes, more than one-half of this sum being frequently paid by the wealthier members of the communities; hence the moneyed aristocracy which arose toward the end of the seventeenth century. The rabbi (also his widow), other professional scholars, all salaried officials, and some physicians, were exempt from taxes; artisans paid only the poll-tax; in Christian countries the ḥazzan paid, but not in Mohammedan. Some communities elected a committee of ten to choose the rabbi, the ḥazzan, and the sexton (שמש). These three received perquisites. In Poland, Russia, and Hungary their salary was raised by collections at weddings; and they received special gifts ("kibbudim") during festivals.

Communal Taxes.

Wandering beggars were, and still are, a plague to communities, particularly as the latter were responsible for any trespasses of the former. At Metz every one was subject to taxation if a beggar remained eight days. The tax for the Holy Land was confiscated by the Roman emperors as "fiscus," the so-called "golden sacrificial penny" which the Jews had to pay to the emperor when he had extraordinary expenses (Würfel, "Juden in Nürnberg," p. 49; Ulrich, "Juden in der Schweiz," p. 12). Even to-day money is paid into the קופת ארץ ישראל ("the collection-box for Palestine"). In many countries (as in Austria down to modern times) there were also taxes on meat, wine, artificial light, strangers, dowries, luxuries, houses, imports, and exports. In Prague there was a tax even on the writing-material used by school-children; in Rome a tax was levied for the benefit of the circus. In Switzerland the Jews of the village communities paid from 15 to 20 florins to get timber and foliage for their tabernacles (Ulrich, *l.c.* pp. 32, 287).

Fines and Imposts.

In Nuremberg (Würfel, *l.c.* p. 32) the municipal council and judges had the right to appoint annually a committee and recorder, who saw that the community lived in peace and amity. In Zurich, in 1335, the Jews were required "to obey the burgomaster and city council. If any Jew injured another the latter was to bring the matter before the said burgomaster and council, and when they had decided according to their 'light,' he was to abide by their decision forever, appealing to no special Jewish law or to any higher court. He who did so was to be adjudged guilty of perjury, and pay two hundred silver marks as penalty" (Ulrich, *l.c.*). The foregoing was construed as applying even to the internal affairs of the synagogue.

In Spain all the communal decisions had to be

confirmed by the government. Here, however, as late as 1379, the community could inflict capital punishment; but this measure was taken only against the "malshin" (slanderer), a term which has been adopted into Spanish. An efficacious mode of punishment exercised by the Jewish court, and still employed by the Church, was the Ban ("niddui"), in its more stringent form called "ḥerem."

Minor Officials.

The communal elections took place in the various countries and communities at different times between Passover and the Feast of Tabernacles. The Schulklopfer, generally identical with the שמש, was a curious institution. In Talmudic times, and later in Palestine, the "shofar" was blown at the beginning of the Sabbath. Still later (but as early as Yer. Beẓah 63a), mention is made of מקושה דכנישתא, the "Schulklopfer," or "synagogue-knocker," who, crying "In Schul herein!" knocked at the window with a hammer every morning except on the Ninth of Ab. Usually he tapped three or four times, but in cases of death, twice; on the Sabbath he used his fist instead of the hammer. The שמש also acted as public crier in the synagogue, invited to the festivities, called together the council, acted as bailiff of the court ("shammash bet din") in the absence of a special officer, and arranged for "minyan" (the number [10] of men required to be present at any religious services), to help form which the members of the community could be forced only on New-Year and Atonement days.

Taḳḳanot.

Extraordinary legislation for the community was made public by means of the "taḳḳanah" (enactment), proclaimed and sometimes posted in the synagogue, and written in a book. Such enactments were usually issued for a given time only, generally for five years. In this way was promulgated the decree of monogamy for western European Jews; the decision as to when and what taxes were to be paid, and as to when the "Schulklopfer" should go round. One of the earliest "taḳḳanot" (dating before the ninth century) decreed that the dowry secured to the wife in the "ketubbah" (marriage contract) might be taken from the personal property of the husband after his death. The decrees against pronouncing the name of God, and against making proselytes, are also old. In Sicily begging from house to house was forbidden, under pain of the ban, by the taḳḳanah. By this means the inclusion in letters of the usual formula, "may he live long," was enforced; sermons were announced; the rate of interest was determined; the conditions under which one might move from a community, thereby casting an additional burden on that community, were set forth; and purchasing imported fowls or wine, lending money on stolen property, and building houses which would obstruct the street leading to the synagogue, were prohibited.

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Communal Property.

Each community owned all the instruments of communal life. Foremost among these is the synagogue, with its sacred scrolls and other appurtenances; one or several "batte midrashim," or houses of study—in modern times Talmudic libraries; lodges for washing the dead; ritual baths; slaughter-houses; lodging-houses for travelers; places for administering justice and for communal business; a large hall for the solemnization of marriages; a dancing-hall (usually in Germany and France, but not in Spain and the East); bakehouses or ovens, for the annual Passover cakes and the weekly "schalet"; and many cooking and other utensils, which might be used in turn by such members of the community as needed them. Another class of communal property includes funds for carrying on worship and study, and for charities; funds for the use of the general body in dealing with the Gentile government, for the purpose of preventing the oppression of individuals. Where the Jews were confined to a separate quarter, funds to pave and to clean the streets, to build and to repair gates, were sometimes needed. In such cases they were raised by a tax on the householders.

The communal property, both real and personal, may be bought and sold by the "ḳahal" acting through its proper organs. The Codes take this power for granted, but restrain its exercise. Thus, a synagogue may be sold in order to put up a bet ha-midrash, or to buy scrolls of the Law, but not conversely (Megillah, 26b, 27a; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Oraḥ Ḥayyim, 153, 1).

Bibliography: M. Weinberg, *Die Organisation der Jüdischen Ortsgemeinden in der Talmud Zeit*, in *Monatsschrift*, 1897; Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, ch. ii.; Grunwald, *Die Statuten der Altona Hamburg Gemeinde*, in *Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft für Jüdische Volkskunde*, xi.

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France and the Netherlands.

——**In Modern Times:** Notwithstanding the emancipation of the Jews from their medieval state of dependence on the government, the authorities in most of the European states still continue to regulate them in one way or another. This is especially the case on the continent of Europe, where most of the states have a ministry of public worship within whose jurisdiction all such matters fall.

The most important community organization in these states was the system of consistories established by Napoleon I. on March 17, 1808, and still effective as modified by an ordinance which was developed by Martin du Nord and promulgated by King Louis Philippe on March 27, 1844 (see Consistories). The consistorial system exists not only in France, Belgium, Holland, and Luxemburg (see Antwerp, Brussels, Amsterdam, etc.), but also has survived the French régime in Alsace-Lorraine, there being three "Circonscriptions Consistoriales": at Strasburg for Upper Alsace; at Colmar for Lower Alsace; and at Metz for Lorraine.

Germany presents to-day the most varied assortment of communal organizations, due to the different regulative forms adopted by the states which make up the empire. In some this organization is perfect, and is in direct communication with the government—*e.g.*, in Württemberg, Baden, Hesse, and Mecklenburg—in others it is imperfect, and the connection with the state is almost nominal.

In the kingdom of **Württemberg** the laws of April 25, 1828, and of Aug. 3, 1832, made it obliga-

tory upon every Jew to be a member of a congregation. All were to form "Kirchengemeinden" (church communities), electing their own officers and having at their head a rabbi selected by the "Oberkirchenbehörde" (upper ecclesiastical council), such selection to receive the sanction of the government. The chief rabbi, whose seat is in Stuttgart, has the title "Kirchenrath." The congregations are divided into 13 "Rabbinatsbezirke" (rabbinical districts) and 41 "Gemeindebezirken" (community districts). The Oberkirchenbehörde or Kirchenoberbehörde, is made up of a government commissioner, a Jewish theologian, three or more additional members, and an "expeditor." It nominates all ministers and officers, and regulates the affairs of the congregations throughout the kingdom.

Germany.

In the grand duchy of **Baden,** as early as 1809, an organization of the Jewish communities was effected. The synagogues were divided into provincial synagogues, with a "Landesrabbiner" (chief rabbi of the district or province) and elders at their head—all to be approved by the government—and "Ortssynagogen" (local synagogues), dependent upon the provincial ones. At the head of the organization is an "Oberrath" (high consistory) in Carlsruhe, made up of an "Obervorsteher" (rabbi or layman), two "Landesrabbiner," two "Oberrathen," three additional "Oberrathen," and a scribe. The Oberrath was chosen by the grand duke, the Obervorsteher (chief warden) by the ministry, and the rabbis by the Oberrath, subject to confirmation by the government. The "Ortsrabbiner" were to be elected by the "Jüdische Landvorstand," with confirmation by the Oberrath. The decisions of the Rath in important matters is also subject to confirmation by the ministers. On May 4, 1812, a government commissary was added to the Oberrath; and for the provincial synagogues were substituted (March 5, 1827) "Bezirkssynagogen" (district synagogues), a "Landessynode" (national synod) being added. According to the law of June 18, 1892, every Jew is bound to pay a certain church tax regulated according to his general state tax, and for this purpose the individual congregations divide their members into sixty different classes. There are now in Baden both "Bezirksrabbiner" (district rabbi; *e.g.*, at Bruchsal and Freiburg) and "Stadtrabbiner" (city rabbi, as at Carlsruhe, Pforzheim, and Mannheim).

In **Mecklenburg-Schwerin,** according to the statute of May 14, 1839, the Jewish Church was recognized as such by the state, and all congregations were put under an Oberrath made up of two government commissaries (who have, however, no voice in religious matters), the Landesrabbiner, and a Rath of five, to be changed every four years. The Landesrabbiner is elected by the Rath subject to confirmation by the government, which contributes to his salary.

Mecklenburg-Strelitz has an "Ober- und Landesrabbiner" confirmed by the state. The Jewish communities in the grand duchy of **Hesse** were to be divided in 1825 into grand-ducal rabbinates; while **Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach** (which, according to the "Juden Ordnungen" of 1823 and 1833, was to have a Landesrabbiner and to receive a state subvention) has a grand-ducal "Aufsichtsbehörde" for Jewish affairs and a Landesrabbiner. **Saxony** has only individual congregations and no general organization; but since Dec. 30, 1834, these congregations have been placed within the jurisdiction of the ministry of education, and since Jan. 30, 1836, the government contributes toward their expenses. **Oldenburg, Birkenfeld, Saxen-Meinigen** (which, according to the edict of Jan. 21, 1829, was to have a Rath made up of the Landesrabbiner and a deputation from the consistory), **Anhalt,** and **Bruswick** still have a Landesrabbiner whose election is subject to confirmation by the state. The province of **Hesse-Nassau** is divided into Rabbinatsbezirke, each with a Provinzalrabbiner at the head, and with a Landrabbinat in Cassel. The cities of **Frankfort-on-the-Main** and **Homburg** have each a separate Stadtrabbinat. In some districts (*e.g.* Fulda, Hanau, Marburg) the religious affairs of the Jews are in the hands of a "Königliches Vorsteheramt der Israeliten" (royal directoral board of the Jews), in others (*e.g.*, Wiesbaden), of "Regierungs Commisaren" (governmental commissioners). In **Bavaria** the law of June 10, 1813, allowed every fifty families to form a congregation; but no organization was given to the Jews as a body. There are at present Bezirksrabbinate, Distriktsrabbinate, and Stadtrabbinate.

Prussia.

The greatest difficulty in organizing the Jewish communities was experienced in Prussia, due to the various enlargements of the kingdom during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1815 portions of Germany which had been under French rule were added to the kingdom. In these former French provinces the consistorial arrangement had been introduced by the decree of March 17, 1808, and in Westphalia by the royal decree of March 31, 1808. In the province of Posen the law of June 1, 1833, recognized the Jewish congregations as corporations, at the head of which were representatives elected under the auspices of the government. The law of Jan. 14, 1834, gave these corporations further administrative powers. A third set of communities was governed by Frederick the Great's "General-Juden-Reglement" of April 17, 1750, for the kingdom of Prussia, Brandenburg, and part of Pomerania, and by the law of May 21, 1790, for Breslau. In **Lübeck** the heads of the congregations had to be confirmed by the "Landgericht." In religious matters the members of the congregations were placed under "the elders and rabbi," and were watched over by a royal commission. A fourth class comprised Jewish congregations, especially in Silesia, for which no especial regulations had been issued.

According to the "Allgemeine Landrecht" the Jewish communities are considered as "merely tolerated church societies," like the Herrenhuter and Mennonists. The communities have therefore been allowed to develop their own organization as they best seemed fit, only under a general supervision of the state. Each province, or district, has developed a "Verband der Synagogen-Gemeinden" *e.g.* (East Prussia with 45 congregations, West Prussia with 41, Pomerania with 21, in Posen with 26, Bromberg with 27, Breslau and Liegnitz with 36, Saxony with 15, and Westphalia with 44). The Jews in

each place are forced to belong to the Jewish congregation, no matter what their religious affiliations may be. Thus the Reform-Gemeinde in Berlin is a part of the Jüdische-Gemeinde of the city. The extreme Orthodox party has found this arrangement burdensome; and in 1873 a law was passed by the Reichstag, largely through the efforts of Lasker, which permitted any one to declare himself "Confessionslos." This enabled the Orthodox Jews to found their own synagogue apart from the general organization, as was done in Berlin by the Synagogen-Gemeinde Adass-Jisroel, in Frankfort by the Israelitische-Religions-Gesellschaft, and in Mayence.

The simple form of city and district organization in Germany, as above described, has not been found sufficient to meet all the demands, and attempts have been made to bring the congregations and communities into closer touch with one another. For this purpose the Deutsch-Israel Gemeindebund was formed in 1869; its council sat at first in Leipsic, and since 1883 has met in Berlin. It is a purely deliberative assembly, so far as its power goes; but it deals with questions which affect the Jews of Germany as a whole. The Central Verein Deutscher Bürger Jüdischen Glaubens" has a similar object in view; while the Deutscher Rabbiner Verband (founded in 1884), the Verein Traditionell-Gesetzestreuer Rabbiner in Deutschland, the Vereinigung der Liberalen Rabbiner Deutschlands (founded in 1898), and the Deutscher Reichsverband Jüdischer Religionslehrer (founded in 1901) deliberate upon questions affecting the purely religious interests of the congregations.

Austria also presents a very varied organization of Jewish communities. Up to the end of the reign of Francis II. (1835) the Vienna Jews were not allowed to use the term "congregation"; they were merely "the Jews of Vienna," at the head of whom were "Vertreter" (delegates); their rabbi was an "inspector of meat," and their preacher a "teacher of religion." The law of March 21, 1890, definitely regulated the Jewish communities, ordering that every Jew must be a member of the congregation of the district in which he resided, and giving the congregation the right to tax its members. The Jewish congregation of Vienna is presided over by the Vorstand der Israelitischen Cultus-Gemeinde with a "Vertreter-Collegium," or board of delegates, consisting of eleven members and various permanent and temporary commissions. Its religious affairs are in the hands of a "Rabbinats-Collegium," with a chief rabbi, a "Rabbinats-Assessor," and various other rabbis. They are responsible for the proper keeping of the registers. The congregation has a number of synagogues, each with its own management. There are also a number of unofficial "Vereinsbethaüser." The Turco-Israelitish congregation (Sephardic) has had since 1737 its own synagogue, with a "Vorstand" and a hakam or rabbi. The rest of Lower Austria has only local congregations, which at times have combined with a Bezirksrabbiner at their head.

Maria Theresa tried to introduce a sort of consistorial arrangement of the Jewish communities in **Galicia** by the law of July 16, 1766. This provided for an Oberlandesrabbiner and twelve parnasim, who formed a "Juden-Direction," which had both spiritual and temporal powers. This Direction was dissolved in Nov., 1785, because of the misuse of its powers; and on May 29, 1789, the emperor Joseph issued a new "Judenordnung" dividing the country into districts, each having a rabbi who held office for three years. At present there is no general organization except in the larger cities. Thus Lemberg has a "Cultus-Representanz," at the head of which is a Vorstand, a "Cultusrath," and a rabbinate made up of a Gemeinde-Rabbiner, a Synagoge-Rabbiner and Rabbinats-Assessoren. **Bohemia** formerly had a "Representanz der Landsjudenschaft," with representatives from the various districts of the kingdom. At present no such organization exists. The city of Prague has an Oberrabbiner, at whose side are Gemeinde-Rabbiner and preachers. **Bosnia** and **Herzogovina** have an Oberrath whose seat is at Sarajevo. The Jewish communities of **Moravia** have had an even still more interesting development. At the beginning of the eighteenth century Moravia had its "Landesrabbiner," "Landesältesten," "Landeseinnehmer," and a "Solicitator." The law of 1754 reorganized the Jewish communities and instituted a royal commission in matters relating to the taxation and policing of the Jews. Under Emperor Joseph II. there was a further reorganization. The special Jews' Law was done away with, and there was founded the Mährisch-Jüdischer Landesmassafond, which has been of great help in regulating the financial status of the congregations. In 1798 the number of Jewish congregations was fixed at 52; in 1877 at 55. According to the law of May 20, 1874, the governing board of every congregation must be announced to the police, and the election of a rabbi must be confirmed by the authorities. The law of March 21, 1890, mentioned above, did not do away with the Landrabbinat of Moravia, and it has remained the only one of its kind in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. It still has a Landesrabbiner. The law of Jan. 1, 1892, fixed the number of Jewish congregations in Moravia at 50.

Austria.

There is no general Jewish congregation in **Hungary,** and the congregations have perfect freedom in managing their affairs. The Jewish community of Budapest is presided over by a Rabbinats-Collegium and a commission. In Austria, as in Germany, the attempt has been made to form larger and more comprehensive organizations of the Jewish communities. The Israelitische Allianz in Wien was founded (1873) with the intention of subventioning schools, of furthering the study of Jewish history, and of combating anti-Semitism. The Allgemeiner Oesterreichisch-Israelitischer Bund and the Oesterreichisch-Israelitische-Union pursue similar objects.

In Italy, in the former kingdom of Sardinia, the Jews were organized under deputies or syndics, elected by the notables. They were divided into four communes or universities: Piedmont, Monferrato, Allesandria, Nice, each with a chief rabbi. These universities were subdivided into smaller groups. Piedmont, under French domination, was divided in 1808 into two consistories (Turin and Casale); but in 1815 the old order was reestablished. In what was for-

merly the grand duchy of Tuscany, an old corporation statute of Cosmo I. (1569–74) ordered that the Jews should be under forty "governanti," appointed for life by the grand duke, and at the head of whom there was to be a "cancellero." Venice had a head commission of twenty-four notables ("sezioni rinnite"). Various other systems prevailed in different parts of the country, which have largely been abolished in united Italy. The leading congregations have a chief rabbi, the others a vice-rabbi or teacher. The affairs of each congregation are in the hands of a commission of from two to four members, recognized by the government.

Italy.

In Denmark the Jewish communities were organized by the edict of March 14, 1813. Each synagogue was to have a priest (rabbi); the chief rabbi was to reside at Copenhagen. The power of the latter was afterward considerably reduced; the congregations outside Copenhagen were to be perfectly free, each having a "katechete" or teacher, responsible to the government. In **Sweden,** according to the edict of May 27, 1782, the Jews are free to form congregations wherever they wish; but synagogues can be built only with the consent of the king. Every congregation chooses seven electors, and these choose three wardens for three years.

Denmark.

In Russia every Jew is forced to belong to some religious organization; the government rabbi being held to a strict registration of all births, marriages, and deaths. New congregations can be formed only with the permission of the government. There is no hierarchy: the congregations usually have two rabbis; one the religious head, whom they elect, and a second appointed by the government, who need not necessarily be a theologian. The affairs of the individual congregations are in the hands of the "ḳahal" or board (see Council of Four Lands). For purposes of taxation the government divides the Jews into certain definite classes. The Karaites have their own organization; their head rabbi is called "ḥakam" (see Crimea). In Rumania (Moldau-Wallachia) a peculiar organization existed since the beginning of the eighteenth century. At the head of the Jews in Moldau there was a "haham-basha," nominated by the prince, whose jurisdiction extended also over Wallachia. He was usually a layman, though the post was often confided to a rabbi. At his side was a "vakil-haham-basha." Each community was presided over by one or more provosts and notables, whose election had to be confirmed by the prince upon the recommendation of the haham-basha. The post of haham-basha was abolished in 1832 at the request of the Jews themselves.

Russia and Rumania.

In Turkey the Jewish communities have preserved more of a political character than anywhere else. Their head is a state official (who was responsible for the collection of the poll-tax ["kharaj"], up to 1855, when it was abolished), as were the heads of the Greek Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox, and Armenian Reform bodies. According to the "Hatt-i-Humayun" of "Gul-ḥane," 1839, the internal affairs of the Jewish community were placed under the supervision of a board comprised of lay and clerical members; with the exception of legal questions which were to be decided by the regular tribunals. The hakam-bashi and one delegate were to take part in the deliberations of the supreme court of justice. A similar representation was given to the Jews in the vilayets, sanjaks, etc. The hakam-bashi of Constantinople was formerly chosen by the Jews themselves; though the government might annul the choice. They had, also, their purely spiritual head, the "rab-ha-kolel."

Turkey.

In 1860 a supreme tribunal for the Jews was instituted, consisting of four members, and an assembly of notables (Majlis Paḳidim, Majlis Jashmi, Ṭobe ha-'Ir), elected by the most important men of the community. A new constitution was granted to the Jews by Sultan 'Aziz, May 5, 1865, which instituted three different councils: a "Majlis 'Umumi" (national council) of 24 notables, a "Majlis Gashim" (temporal council) of 7 lay members, and a "Majlis Ruḥani" (spiritual council) of 9 rabbis. The communities in the various vilayets and sanjaks are under a ḥakam-bashi of their own, who is supported by an administrative council.

The congregational system has been largely developed in English-speaking countries. In England, before the middle of the eighteenth century, the synagogues were entirely independent of one another. In 1757 the Great and the Hambro synagogues appointed one chief rabbi. In 1868 the three London synagogues and their two branches united into one organization; and in 1870 the United Synagogue was formed with the intention of comprising all the synagogues of the United Kingdom. The chief rabbi of the United Synagogue has the title of "chief rabbi of the united congregations of the British empire." He has at his side a bet din, and the worldly affairs of the United Synagogue are managed by a council consisting of life members and certain officers, of the wardens for the time being of the constituent synagogues, and of a certain number of representatives at council.

The Spanish and Portuguese congregations of London have their own organization, with their own ecclesiastical chief, who is called "haham." In 1840 the West London Synagogue of British Jews was formed as a Reform congregation; it and the daughter congregations in Bradford and Manchester do not form part of the United Synagogue. In 1887 a fourth organization was effected for the purpose of associating together the synagogues in East London. This organization, known as the "Federation of Synagogues," is managed by a board consisting of a president, one elected member from each confederated synagogue, and one representative for every fifty contributing members of each synagogue, and seven elected elders. Steps have recently been taken to form in England an organization to be known as the "Jewish Congregational Union," on lines similar to those followed by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

England.

The English Jews have also organized, without respect to congregational affiliations, the Anglo-Jewish Association (1871), the objects of which are

the protection of persecuted Jews, and the education of Jewish children in Eastern countries. The London Committee of Deputies of British Jews (founded 1760) watches and takes action with reference to all matters affecting the welfare of British Jews as a religious community. It consists of 65 deputies: 31 elected by 18 metropolitan synagogues; 32 by provincial synagogues; and 2 by colonial congregations.

Organization on strictly congregational lines has been most completely developed in the United States. Here each congregation is a law unto itself. It may elect its own ministers and arrange its services at will. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, organized July 1, 1873, in Cincinnati, is merely a deliberative body, and has no power to make its decisions effective in the congregations composing the Union. As the Union represents the congregations belonging to the Reform wing, a similar organization of Orthodox Jewish congregations was formed in New York in 1898. No distinction is made in the status of the various rabbis, a very large number of whom are banded together for mutual help in the Central Conference of American Rabbis (founded 1891). In some of the larger cities—*e.g.*, New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia—local rabbinical associations have been formed. A National Council of Jewish Women was formed in 1893.

United States.

No international organization of Jews has been attempted until quite recent times. The Alliance Israélite Universelle of Paris (founded 1860) was intended to be such; but, though it has branches in almost every country, the foundation of similar societies in England, Germany, and Austria shows that it has not attained this end. The International Zionist Organization, with its periodic congresses, has, since 1897, moved in this direction.

Bibliography: *Statistisches Jahrbuch des Deutsch-Isr. Gemeindebundes*, Berlin, 1901; *The Jewish Year Book*, London, 1902; *Kalender für Israeliten*, Vienna, 1901; *Annuaire des Consistoires et des Communautés Israélites*, Marseilles, 1901; Jost, *Neuere Gesch. der Israeliten*, passim; William Freund, *Zur Judenfrage in Deutschland*, 1843, 1844; C. R. d'Elvert, *Gesch. der Juden in Mähren*, passim, Brünn, 1895; Franco, *Hist. des Juifs dans l'Empire Ottoman*, passim; compare, also, Zunz. *Kurze Antworten auf Kultusfragen*, Berlin, 1844 (reprinted in *G. S.* ii. 204 *et seq.*), and especially Louis Venetianer, *The Organization of Judaism in the European States*, Budapest, 1902 (in Hungarian).

G.

COMMUTATION OF SENTENCE. See Judgment.

COMO: City on the Italian lake of the same name. Como never possessed a Jewish community, although a single Jewish family, with employees and servants, lived there for a time and conducted a banking business which was handed down from father to son for four generations. They owed their permission to live in Como to the dukes of Milan—at first to the Viscontis and then to the Sforzas—who granted them protection partly for the sake of their taxes and the benefit to be derived from entering into business relations with them, and partly from dictates of humanity, though the inhabitants of Como and the adjacent districts were extremely hostile to the Jews.

In 1436 Duke Philip ordered the city to admit Giuseppe and his son Abraham, of Mantua, to whom the council of Como had in the previous year refused admission. The city authorities, however, demanded, in addition to the payment by the newcomers of the usual taxes, that they wear the Jews' badge. Abraham's son Mandolino opened a bank at Mandello, Lake of Lecco; and in 1467 his son Benedetto obtained the exclusive right for a period of ten years to conduct a bank in the territory of Como. No more Jews were to be admitted except those from Lugano. Notwithstanding this restriction of competition, however, Benedetto failed in 1472.

The city intended to expel the Jews in 1478; but, on the intervention of the duke, it made a new contract with them for ten years, restricting usury and increasing their taxes. But the inhabitants remained hostile; and Benedetto's widow, named Gentile, was obliged to appeal to the duke to protect her rights. She had been required to sell her house at a sacrifice, because it was too near a convent, and, for a similar reason, to leave a house which she had rented; and she was even prevented from moving into a third dwelling, for which she had already paid. Finally she asked the duke to secure for her "a safe and permanent lodging in a locality not isolated." As the hostility of the inhabitants increased during the excitement following the blood accusation at Trent (1475), the Jews disappeared entirely from Como.

Bibliography: *Motta Ebrei in Como*, in *Periodico della Società Storica per la Provincia e Diocesi di Como*, 1885, v.

E. C. I. E.

COMPASSION: Sorrow and pity for one in distress, creating a desire to relieve, a feeling ascribed alike to man and God; in Biblical Hebrew, רחם ("riḥam," from "reḥem," the mother, womb), "to pity" or "to show mercy" in view of the sufferer's helplessness, hence also "to forgive" (Hab. iii. 2); חמל, "to forbear" (Ex. ii. 6; I Sam. xv. 3; Jer. xv. 15, xxi. 7); חוס, "to spare" (Deut. vii. 16, xiii. 8; Ezek. vii. 4, xx. 17); חנן and חסד, "to be gracious" and "kind" (Isa. xxii. 23 [if the text is correct]; Prov. xx. 28; Job vi. 14; Num. xiv. 19; Gen. xxx. ii. 10; Isa. lxiii. 7). The Rabbis speak of the "thirteen attributes of compassion," י"ג מדות של רחמים (Ex. xxxiv. 6; Pesiḳ. 57a; R. H. 17a). Later a distinction is made between attributes of compassion and those of love (חסד; see Asher ben David in his commentary on the Thirteen Attributes, where he classifies them under "justice," "love," and "compassion").

The Biblical conception of compassion is the feeling of the parent for the child ("pitieth"; Ps. ciii. 13). Hence the prophet's appeal in confirmation of his trust in God figures the feeling of a mother for her offspring (Isa. xlix. 15), and Pharaoh's daughter, moved by maternal sympathy, has compassion on the weeping babe (Ex. ii. 6).

But this feeling should mark the conduct of man to man (I Sam. xxiii. 21); its possession is a proof that men are among those deserving recognition as "blessed unto Yhwh"; and in Zech. vii. 9 it is included among the postulates of brotherly dealings. Inversely, the lack of compassion marks a people as "cruel" (אכזרי; Jer. vi. 23). The Chaldeans are without compassion in that they slay the young and helpless (II Chron. xxxvi. 17); and Edom is censured for having cast away all "pity" (Amos i. 11).

The poor are especially entitled to compassion (A. V. "pity"; Prov. xix. 17). The repeated injunctions of the Law and the Prophets that the "widow," the "orphan," and the "stranger" shall be protected show how deeply rooted was the feeling of compassion in the hearts of the righteous in Israel. It can not be admitted that the provisions for the extermination of the seven original Palestinian tribes (Deut. vii. 3, 16) indicate the absence of kindly sympathy for aliens. Even if these provisions do not, as the critical school insists, represent merely pious wishes, they are at least entitled to be regarded as war measures, and, as such, were exceptional. They rank with similar provisions to cover the cases of the murderer and the false prophet (Deut. xiii. 8; xix. 13, 21). The very horror with which the conduct of the Chaldees and Edom (see above) was regarded proves the contrary. Even the "enemy" was within the sweep of Jewish compassion. And so was the dumb animal, as the humane provisions of the Pentateuch against cruelty to them demonstrate (see CRUELTY TO ANIMALS).

The physiological psychology of the Bible places the seat of the sympathetic emotions in the bowels.

Seat of Compassion.

But the eyes were credited with the function of indicating them. Hence the frequent use of the expression "the eye has," or "has not," pity. The "length of the breath"—that is, in anger or wrath (ארך אפים)—is another idiomatic expression for compassionate forbearance.

God is full of compassion (Ps. ciii. 11, cxlv. 3); and this compassion is invoked on men (Deut. xiii. 17), and promised to them (Deut. xxx. 3). "His compassions fail not, being new every morning" (Lam. iii. 22). Repeatedly He showed His compassion (II Kings xiii. 23; II Chron. xxxvi. 15). His "mercy [or "compassion"] endureth forever." He loveth the "poor," the "widow," the "orphan," and the "stranger." He is named חנון ורחום ("gracious and full of compassion"; Ex. xxxiv. 6, *passim*). To obtain His "compassion," as the quality that pardons, sinners must first repent and return to Him (II Chron. xxx.). But when they do this, even non-Jews will experience His compassion (Book of Jonah). For God "pitieth" like a father those "that fear him" (Ps. ciii. 13).

These Biblical ideas become the foundation of the ethical and theological teachings of the Rabbis. Israel especially should be distinguished for its compassionate disposition (Yeb. 79a), so that one who is merciful falls under the presumption of being of the seed of Abraham (Beẓ. 32b). One who is not prone to pity and forbearance is cruel (B. Ḳ. 92a), and this though to be compassionate has the tendency to rob life of its savor (Pes. 113b). The thoughtlessly frivolous is like a cruel man, but one who is compassionate experiences the lot of the poor man (B. B. 145b). Compassion shown to fellow man will win compassion from on high (Shab. 151a). Eyes without pity will become blind, and hands that will not spare will be cut off (Ta'an. 21a). Women are recognized as prone to pity (Meg. 14b). In fact, this trait of its women was one of the glories of Jerusalem (B. B. 104b). To praise God meant to become merciful like unto Him (Shab. 133b; Ex. xv.). Strangers certainly came within the scope of the rabbinical ideas of compassion. Their dead were buried with the dead of Israel; their poor were assisted; their sick were visited (Giṭ. 61a, Tos. v. 4, 5). The angels when about to celebrate in song Israel's victory over Egypt were hushed by God with the rebuke: "The works of My hands have been drowned, and you would intone jubilant pæans!" (Meg. 10b).

The peculiar interdiction of the explanation of Pentateuchal laws as manifestations of divine compassion for dumb creatures (Ber. 33b) proves that this explanation was popular (see CRUELTY TO ANIMALS). But the Rabbis often lay stress on the fact that the Torah takes great care to "spare" (חסה) the property of man (Soṭah 14b; Nega'im xii.).

God is recognized as the "Compassionate" (רחמן; compare the frequent use of "raḥman" in the Koran). He is invoked as the אב הרחמים (Father of Compassion). So close is this association with Him that "Raḥmana" becomes the usual designation for His revealed word. He suffers with His people (Rabbi Meïr: "The Shekinah exclaims with the suffering patient, 'Oh, my head! Oh, my arm!'" Sanh. iv. 46a; but see Levy, *s.v.* קל). He mourns with His people (Lam. R. to i. 1). The relation which God's "compassion" sustains to His "justice" is also a subject of rabbinical inquiry, as it was among the early Christian sects. When the shofar is sounded "God's quality of compassion mounts the throne" (Pesiḳ. 151b, 155a; Lev. R. xxix.; compare also Abraham's prayer [Yer. Ta'an. 65d]). The name "Elohim" designates God's justice (מדת הדין), and the name YHWH God's compassion (מדת הרחמים; Ex. R. vi.). Even while God is preparing to inflict punishment, God's compassion is bestirring itself (Yer. Ta'an. 65b, bottom; Pesiḳ. 161b; Midr. Teh. to Ps. 86; Pes. 87b). Philo says "God's pity is older than His judgment" ("Quod Deus Sit Immutabilis," 16). The name YHWH is repeated twice in Ex. xxxiv. 6 to allay the fears of Moses. As before the sin of the golden calf had been committed God dealt with Israel according to His compassion, so even now, after their sinning, will He deal with them in mercy (Pesiḳ. R. 5; Num. R. xii.).

K. E. G. H.

COMPENSATION. See FEES.

COMPIÉGNE DE WEIL, LUDWIG: Convert to Christianity; lived at Paris, later at Metz, in the second half of the seventeenth century. He was a descendant of the rabbi Jacob Weil of Nuremberg. Having embraced Christianity while still a youth, he studied theology at the Sorbonne, and devoted himself to the interpretation of Maimonides' "Yad ha-Ḥazaḳah," of which he translated into Latin the following halakot: "'Abodat Yom ha-Kippurim," Paris, 1667; "Ḥamez u-Mazẓah," *ib.* 1667; "Ḳiddush ha-Ḥodesh," *ib.* 1669; "Ta'aniyyot," *ib.* 1667; "Sefer ha-'Abodah," comprising all the halakot concerning the service of the Temple, *ib.* 1678; "Sefer ha-Ḳorbanot," with Abravanel's introduction to Leviticus, London, 1683. A separate edition of this introduction appeared under the title "Haḳdamat Abravanel el Sefer Wa-Yiḳra," Amsterdam, 1701.

In addition to these works Compiègne translated into Latin Abraham Yagel's catechism, "Leḳaḥ Ṭob," London, 1679.

Bibliography: Wolf, *Bibl. Hebr.* iv. 891; Fürst, *Bibl. Jud.* i. 184.

J. I. Br.

COMPRAT VIDAL FERUSSOL. See Farissol, Comprat Vidal.

COMTINO, MORDECAI BEN ELIEZER: Turkish Talmudist and scientist; lived at Adrianople and Constantinople; died in the latter city between 1485 and 1490. The earliest date attached to any of his writings is 1425. The form of his family name is doubtful. In Hebrew it is usually written כומטינו, as, for instance, in one of his acrostic piyyuṭim, and has been transcribed by modern scholars "Comtino." Some manuscripts, however, give כומטיינו or כומטיאנו; and Mordecai's biographer, J. Gurland, uses the form "Kumatyano," a name which he finds still in use in Turkey (Geiger, in "Wiss. Zeit. Jüd. Theol." iii. 445; *idem*, "Melo-Chofnajim," p. 13). He was the pupil of Enoch Saporta, a distinguished Talmudist, known for his cultivation of the sciences and his tolerance toward the Karaites.

Mordecai was the teacher not only of Elijah Mizraḥi, but also of the Karaites Elijah Bashyazi and Caleb Afendopolo. Though an opponent of their teachings, Mordecai was held in honor by the Karaites, two of his piyyuṭim being included in their Siddur (Landshut, "'Ammude ha-'Abodah," p. 200). Most of his works have come down in manuscript, selections from which have been published by Gurland, in his "Ginze," part iii., 1866. The scientific bent of his mind is shown in his commentary to the Pentateuch (MSS. Paris, Nos. 265, 266; St. Petersburg, No. 51), in the preface to which he speaks of his researches in grammar, logic, physics, astronomy, arithmetic, geometry, and metaphysics. This commentary, in which he especially criticized Ibn Ezra, was attacked by Shabbethai ben Malchiel Kohen ("Hassagot," *c.* 1460), which attack Mordecai answered in his "Teshubot Hassagot" (Steinschneider, "Cat. Codicum Hebr. Bibl. Acad. Lugduno-Batavæ," pp. 202–207). He also wrote commentaries to Ibn Ezra's treatises "Yesod Morah" (dedicated to his pupil Joseph Rachizi), "Sefer ha-Shem," and "Sefer ha-Eḥad" (MS. Paris, No. 661; compare Neubauer, "Cat. Bodl. Hebr. MSS." col. 436), and a commentary to Maimonides' "Millot ha-Higgayon," printed in Warsaw, 1865.

Mordecai was a teacher of mathematics, and did much to advance the study of the exact sciences in Turkey. In his commentaries to Ibn Ezra he has often occasion to touch upon such subjects. His chief works in this branch are: a treatise in two parts on arithmetic and geometry, in which he follows partly the Greek and Latin authors, partly the Mohammedan (MSS. Berlin, No. 49; Brit. Mus. 27,107 A; Paris, 1031, 5; St. Petersburg, 343, 344, 345, 346); "Perush Luḥot Paras," a commentary written in 1425 on the astronomical tables of Yezdegerd, tables already treated of by Solomon b. Elijah Sharbiṭ ha-Zahab (MSS. Paris, Nos. 1084, 1085; St. Petersburg, 359); glosses to Euclid (MS. Günzburg, No. 340, 5); an essay upon the construction of the astrolabe, "Tikḳun Keli ha-Neḥoshet," as a complement to the Hebrew works on the subject, which he found to be superficial; an essay (1462) upon the construction of the astronomical instrument ("Al Ẓafiḥah") invented by Al-Zarkala, written at the request of his pupil Menahem (MSS. Munich, No. 36, 13; Paris, 1030, 5; St. Petersburg, 353); an essay upon the construction of an instrument for measuring time (sun-dial), which can be made in two different ways (MS. St. Petersburg, No. 361).

Bibliography: J. Gurland, *Ginze Yisra'el*, iii., *Mordecai Kumatyano* (in Russian); *idem*, in *Talpiyyot*, pp. 1–34 (popular ed.); Steinschneider, in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, 1901, p. 63; idem, *Hebr. Uebers.* pp. 435, 593, 630. Compare, also, Fürst, *Gesch. des Karäerthums*, ii. 297 *et seq.*; Nepi-Ghirondi, *Toledot Gedole Yisrael*, p. 260; Grätz, *Gesch.* viii. 290 and note 6; Grünwald, in *Jüdisches Literaturblatt*, xxiii. 176.

G. I. Ber.—G.

CONANIAH: 1. A Levite who in the reign of Hezekiah had charge of the offerings and tithes brought to the Temple. Associated with him in this work was his brother, Shimei (II Chron. xxxi. 12, 13; A. V. "Cononiah").

2. Leader of the Levites who in the reign of Josiah raised flocks and donated them for the paschal sacrifices of the Levites (II Chron. xxxv. 9).

E. G. H. G. B. L.

CONAT, ABRAHAM BEN SOLOMON: Italian printer, Talmudist, and physician; flourished at Mantua in the second half of the fifteenth century. He obtained the title of "ḥaber" (associate of a rabbi) for his learning, but displayed it chiefly in the choice of works selected by him for printing, which art he and his wife Estellina expressly learned. He embarked upon the business of printing at Mantua in 1476, and became celebrated as one of the earliest printers of Hebrew books in Europe, producing the third to the tenth of Hebrew incunabula as recorded by De Rossi. In 1475 he established a printing-office at Mantua, from which he issued: "Ṭur Oraḥ Ḥayyim," by R. Jacob b. Asher (1476); "Ṭur Yoreh De'ah," by the same author, only one-third of which, however, was printed by him, the rest being executed at Ferrara; "Beḥinat Olam," by Jedaiah Bedersi, in which Conat was assisted by his wife Estellina and Jacob Levi of Tarascon; Levi b. Gershon's (Ralbag's) commentary on the Pentateuch; "Luḥot," astronomical tables giving the length of day at different times of the year, by Mordecai Finzi; "Yosippon," the pseudo-Josephus or Gorionides; "Eldad ha Dani"; "Nofet Ẓufim," the rhetoric of Messer Leon (Judah).

All these books were printed between 1476 and 1480, when the business was suspended on account of the rivalry of Abraham ben Ḥayyim at Ferrara. Abraham Conat was proud of his work; he used to accompany his name in the colophons by the words "Who writes with many pens without the help of miracles, for the spread of the Torah in Israel." He was especially delighted that four pages could be printed at one time on a large sheet, and that he could produce two thousand pages every day. His type was of such a shape that his editions are often taken for manuscripts.

Bibliography: De Rossi, *Annals*, pp. 8–11, 110–114, 177; Zunz, *Z. G.* pp. 249, 250; Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 2866, No. 7957; Steinschneider and Cassel, *Jüdische Typographie*, in Ersch and Gruber, *Encyc.* section ii., part 28, p. 34; Wolf,

Bibl. Hebr. i. 67, No. 102; Fürst, *Bibl. Jud.* i. 185; D. Chwolson, in *Sbornik*, St. Petersburg, 1896, pp. 3, 6, 7; *Chwolson Jubilee Volume*, p. 68.

J. M. Sel.

CONCIO (קונציו), JOSEPH B. GERSHON: Italian author; lived at Asti and Chieri in the beginning of the seventeenth century. He published several Hebrew poems, including: "Ot le-Ṭobah," twenty-two sentences on Talmudic arguments in the order of the Hebrew alphabet, which appeared together with "Shir le-Siman ha-Parashiyyot" and "כ"ב Shirim bi-Leshon Ḥidah Meḥubbarim" (Riddles and Their Solution) (Chieri, 1627); "Dibre Ester," allegorical commentary to Esther, together with "Zeh ha-Shulḥan" (*ib.* 1628); "Ma'agal Ṭob," seventeen sentences of the Talmud (*ib.* 1627–28), in which he was assisted by his son Abraham as printer or editor (Steinschneider, "Cat. Bodl." col. 2866); "Shir Yehudit" (Asti, 1628); "Mar'eh Ḥayyim," halakic matter in verse (Chieri, 1629); "Meḳom Binah," comments on certain passages in Proverbs (*ib.* 1630); "Teḥillat Dabar," a treatise on logic, preserved in a Cod. Almanzi; besides a collection of poems, reviewed by Steinschneider in "Ha-Asif," ii. 225. Concio also wrote in Italian, as two poems, "Cinque Enimmi" (Asti, 1628) and "Canto di Judit" (1628), bear witness.

Bibliography: De Rossi, *Dizionario*, p. 86; idem, *Libri Stampati*, pp. 40, 59; Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibl.* xvii. 14; xx. 129, 130; xxi. 74; idem, in *Ha-Asif*, ii. 225; idem, in *Monatsschrift*, xliii. 320.

G. I. E.

CONCORDANCE (Latin, **Concordantiæ**): An alphabetical list of all the words in a book, with references to the passages where each word is found. The appellation indicates the concordance or similarity of all such passages. In Jewish literature the term is applied exclusively to concordances of the Bible and of the Talmud.

—— **Biblical:** The word, in this connection, was first used by Hugo de Sancto Caro (named from Saint-Char, a suburb of Vienne in southern France), who compiled a concordance to the Vulgate about 1244. The revised edition of this work, made by the Franciscan Arlotto di Prato (Arlottus), about 1290, served as a model for the concordance to the Hebrew Bible which Isaac Nathan b. Kalonymus, of Arles in Provence, compiled 1437–45. Isaac Nathan, also known as the author of Biblio-exegetical and religio-philosophical works, was led to undertake this task by discovering, during the polemic discussions forced upon him by Christian scholars, that, in order to refute the arguments drawn by his opponents from the Bible, it was necessary to have an aid that furnished a ready reference to every Biblical passage and a quick survey of all related passages. He called his concordance "Me'ïr Natib" (Enlightener of the Path); on the title-page of the first edition, however, it is also called "Yaïr Natib" (It Will Light the Path, after Job xli. 24 [A. V. 32]). This work, on which all later Hebrew concordances were based, is the first Jewish work in which the original text of the books of the Bible is divided into chapters, and these and the verses are numbered according to the Vulgate. Isaac Nathan also found it necessary to add to his preface a list of the first words of each chapter. He followed the Vulgate in the sequence of the Biblical passages, keeping the order of the books of the Bible as found therein. Isaac Nathan's concordance was first published by Bomberg at Venice in 1523, this edition being followed by several others (Venice, 1564; Basel, 1556, 1569, 1581). The first Basel edition has a Latin translation of the principal words. An enlarged edition, containing a concordance to the Aramaic parts of the Bible and an index of Biblical proper names, places, etc., was undertaken by Marius de Calasio at Rome 1621. Other editions appeared at Cologne, 1646; London, 1647–49; and Rome, 1657.

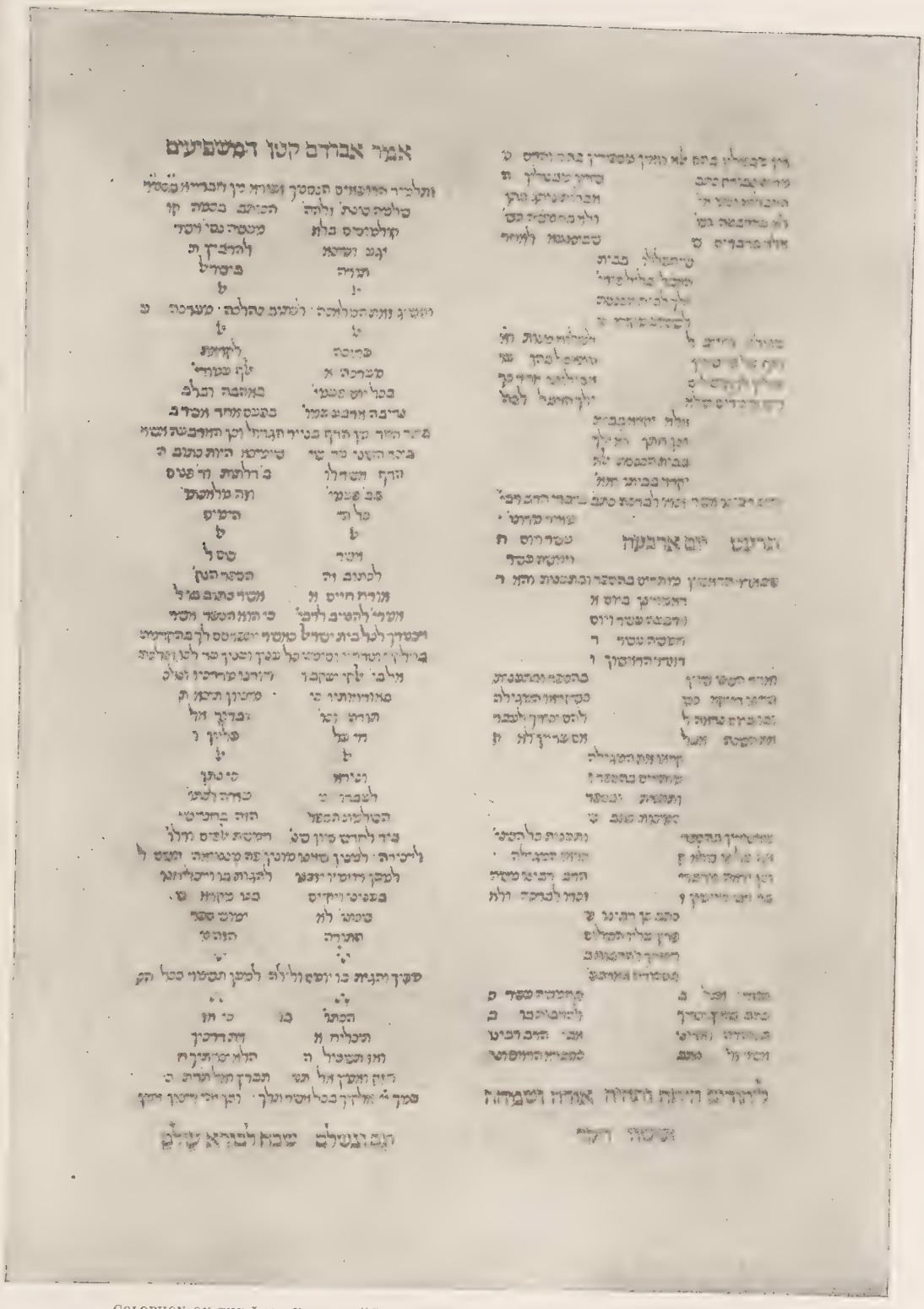
Isaac Nathan's.

Even before Isaac Nathan's work was printed Elijah Levita of Rome began to work out a concordance on a Masoretic basis, which he at first intended to entitle "Sefer Beḳi'ut" (Book of Scholarship), but afterward called "Sefer Zikronot" (Book of Remembrance), indicating thereby its function as an aid to the memory. The manuscript of the first draft—probably by the author himself—finished between 1515 and 1521 and dedicated to Cardinal Ægidius of Viterbo, is now in the Royal Library at Munich (Steinschneider, "Die Hebräischen Handschriften der Königlichen Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München," No. 74; "Joodsche Letterbode," vii. 174). The manuscript of the second draft, finished at Venice 1536, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Frensdorff, in Frankel's "Monatsschrift," xii. 101). Levita's concordance has not been printed; the beginning only was issued by B. Goldberg (Frankfort-on-the Main, 1875). It has this great advantage over Isaac Nathan's, that the several forms of each word are arranged grammatically and lexically according to a definite scheme; while in Nathan's work only the various meanings of the same root are distinguished, all forms falling under one definition, being not separated, but arranged according to the sequence of the books and the chapters. Levita, moreover, added—and this was his chief purpose—the Masoretic notes belonging to every word; he, therefore, included proper names and particles wherever they were found with Masoretic comment.

Elijah Levita's.

The usefulness of Levita's concordance is impaired, however, by the fact that he cites every passage only once, and not under every word occurring therein. As he says in his preface, his concordance is intended not only as an aid in polemic discussions with Christians, as Nathan's professed to be, but also to serve other purposes; viz., to be a manual for the grammatical and lexical knowledge of the Hebrew language, a book of reference for Bible quotations, a book for preachers seeking the Bible passages concerning a certain point, an aid toward acquiring a polished Hebrew style, a riming dictionary, and even a reference book for cabalistic speculations ("Z. D. M. G." xliii. 235). With this schedule for his work, Levita almost exhausted the uses to which a Bible concordance can be put: there remains to be added only its utility to the Bible exegete and critic.

Levita's Masoretic concordance, as has been stated, was never published, and therefore could not supplant Isaac Nathan's work as an aid to Biblical study; a thoroughly revised edition of the latter by



COLOPHON ON THE LAST PAGE OF "TUR ORAH HAYYIM," PRINTED BY ABRAHAM CONAT, 1476.

(In the collection of Hon. Mayer Sulzberger.)

the eminent scholar Johann Buxtorf the Elder of Basel became the concordance par excellence. Buxtorf followed Nathan's work closely; he retained the latter's remarks on the meanings of the root placed at the head of every article, but also gave these in Latin, and explained every form of the word in Latin. He materially increased the usefulness of the concordance by separating from one another the derivatives of a root, the nominal and the verbal forms, and by arranging them systematically, as Levita had done. Buxtorf's concordance appeared after his death (Basel, 1632), his son Johann adding to it a concordance of the Aramaic portions of the Bible as well as a long preface. This concordance, which was authoritative for more than two hundred years, was reedited by John Taylor, London, 1754. Extracts from it were made by Christian Ravius, Frankfort-on-the-Oder, 1676, and by Andreas Sennertus, Wittenberg, 1653. A most useful and important addition to it was made by Christian Nolde (Noldius) in his "Concordance of the Particles," Copenhagen, 1679; new ed., Jena, 1734.

Buxtorf's.

A highly valuable revision of the concordance was undertaken by Julius Fürst. In the Latin preface to his great work (Leipsic, 1840) he described the relation of the latter to Buxtorf's concordance in the following words: "I admit that I have used Buxtorf's concordance as the foundation for my own work; but I may claim that I have not only revised and enlarged Buxtorf's work, but have worked it over to such an extent that I do not hesitate to affix my name to the concordance. I have enriched Buxtorf's work with many additions; adding, for instance, Wolf Heidenheim's manuscript notes contained in his copy of the book, and articles that Buxtorf had omitted, as on the verb היה and the divine name YHWH. All these additions are in accordance with the advances in philology, and especially in etymology; and in some cases I have followed an entirely new arrangement, founded upon a careful examination of the origin and the form of the words." Fürst added new material, and made some minor changes, especially by substituting Arabic numbers for the quotations instead of the Hebrew letters. The headings of the articles are entirely new, having been transformed into interesting lexicographical articles in which the etymology and meaning of the root are explained by the aid of comparative philology.

Julius Fürst's.

Unfortunately, however, Fürst goes too far in applying his theory of the primitive roots of the Semitic languages and of the original relationship of the latter with the Indo-Germanic languages. This theory had been propounded by Fürst's pupil, Franz Delitzsch, in his work "Jesurun" (Grimma, 1838), which was designated as "Prolegomena to Fürst's Concordance of the Old Testament." Fürst's peculiar views on certain Hebrew roots affected unfortunately the arrangement of the concordance, as he often places a word in a connection in which it would not be sought according to the commonly accepted view; as, for instance, דם ("blood") under the root אדם ("man"). The work has a number of interesting appendices, including: an etymologic index to the concordance; an alphabetical list of 2,668 Biblical proper names, with their etymologies, but without reference to the passages; a list of about 600 Phenicio-Punic proper names; an index of Aramaic and Neo-Hebrew words compared in the headings to the articles; an etymological table of Hebrew and Aramaic particles; a systematic view of the noun forms; "Propylæa Masoræ," a view of the most important topics of the Masorah; a synopsis of the history of the Hebrew language, written in Hebrew; and a comparative glossary of Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, and Arabic words. In the "Litteraturblatt" of the periodical "Der Orient," edited by Fürst, additions and revisions to the concordance repeatedly appeared in the years following 1840. B. Bär issued a new edition of Buxtorf's concordance—in quarto instead of in folio—making use in part of Fürst's work (Stettin, 1862, *et seq.*). An English version by B. Davidson appeared in London in 1876.

An entirely new revision of the concordance was undertaken a few years ago by Solomon Mandelkern. He had found, after a thorough examination of the entire material, that "in the concordances of Fürst and Bär about 5,000 omissions and grammatical errors, as well as countless misquotations and wrong references, must be rectified." Mandelkern's new concordance appeared in Leipsic in 1896. To the material of the preceding concordances is added an appendix, containing all proper names, as well as, in a separate division, a list of the most important particles. Mandelkern corrected the errors of the previous concordances and filled in the omissions. He arranged the passages according to the sequence of the Biblical books obtaining in the Hebrew Bible, instead of the sequence of the Vulgate hitherto used. Especially noteworthy is the care that Mandelkern displays in regard to the exact and logical completeness of the Biblical passages used to illustrate each word. The headings of the articles furnish the lexicographical explanations of the roots and their derivatives, while due attention is paid to the latest philological discoveries and textual criticism. Mention must also be made of the practical arrangement of this latest concordance. Mandelkern has issued it in a smaller edition (Leipsic, 1900), which contains all the material of the larger edition, but only a list of the passages where the respective word-forms are found, without any quotation.

Solomon Mandelkern's.

That Mandelkern's concordance itself contains numerous errors and omissions has become evident since its appearance, especially from the reviews in Stade's "Zeitschrift" and in the "Monatsschrift." The editor of the latter, M. Brann, mentions in this connection a most complete and careful concordance to the particles, and one to the proper names (preserved in manuscript in Breslau), made by Moritz Piorkowsky, a teacher in Silesia in the first half of the nineteenth century ("Monatsschrift," xlii. 529 *et seq.*). Two other concordances of Biblical proper names may be mentioned: one by Gideon Brecher, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1876; the other by Schusslovicz, Wilna, 1878.

Among concordances to the Septuagint are: the

earlier ones of Conrad Kircher (Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1607) and of Abraham Tromm (Trommius) (Amsterdam, 1718); and the large concordance by E. Hatch and H. A. Redpath (Oxford, 1892–97), which covers also the other Greek Bible translations and the Apocryphal writings, and is compiled with extraordinary care. A supplement to this work (Oxford, 1900) deals with the proper names.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The introductions to the concordances of Buxtorf, Fürst, Mandelkern; Andr. Glauchius, *De Usu Concordantiarum Biblicarum*, Leipsic, 1660. A detailed list of concordances is given at the beginning of Fürst's introduction.

T. W. B.

—— **Talmudical:** In 1899 the library of the "Landesrabbinerschul" of Budapest came into possession of a manuscript in two folio volumes, containing the first half of a concordance to the Babylonian Talmud. The first volume (from א to ו) has 237 pages with 1,890 columns; the second (from ז to י), 169 pages with 1,347 columns. The writing is exceedingly elegant and small (cursive), and shows equal care from beginning to end. Each column contains about 80 lines, so that nearly 260,000 Talmudic passages are recorded. The letter א takes up 648 columns; ב, 504; ג, 241; ד, 260; ה, 228; ו, 9; ז, 184; ח, 507; ט, 166; and י, 491. The Talmudic passages follow in the sequence of the Talmudic treatises, and are arranged according to roots and words, like the Biblical passages in Isaac Nathan's concordance, without regard to their grammatical form. The passage is given in such a way that it always forms a complete sentence clear in meaning. An index of all the articles, with a short explanation of the words, is given at the beginning of each volume. The work has the significant title "Asaf ha-Mazkir" (after II Kings xviii. 18, 37; Isa. xxxvi. 3, 22), meaning a collection of words serving to aid the memory.

The author of the work, Moses Rigotz (Rigócz), or Moses Sande (*i.e.*, Szántó), who lived toward the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth in Balassa-Gyarmat, the chief town of the county of Nograd, Hungary, was notary of the Jewish community in the county, and was held in high esteem by the nobility and the authorities. He was a pupil of the Moravian chief rabbi R. Gerson Politz, with whose successor, R. Mordecai Benet, he corresponded in regard to the Talmudic concordance he had undertaken. Other Talmudic authorities also encouraged him to carry out his plan; for instance, R. Wolf Boskowitz; R. Meïr Eisenstadt (a pupil of R. Moses Sofer), rabbi at Balassa-Gyarmat; and R. Moses Minz of Alt-Ofen. Notwithstanding the approbation ("haskamah") of these authorities, neither the author himself nor (after his death) his son succeeded in having the work published; and it seems to have remained unfinished. The two volumes remained in the possession of the author's family, until the last owner, Joseph Weiss, presented them to the above-mentioned library. The work and the author were first noticed by W. Bacher in the Hungarian weekly "A Jövö," Jan. 22, 1897, pp. 6–8 (see extract in Brody's "Zeit. für Hebr. Bibl." 1898, iii. 63).

E. C. W. B.

CONCUBINAGE. See PILEGESH.

CONDITIONS: Qualifications or limitations annexed to an agreement by which it may be continued, altered, or rendered of no effect upon the performance or non-performance of something, or the happening or non-happening of an uncertain event. If the event must happen before the agreement begins to operate, the qualification is called a "condition precedent"; if afterward, a "condition subsequent."

A condition may be attached to any contract or legal act. The various conditions known to Roman and common law may be divided as follows: (1) positive, *i.e.*, the happening of some event which may or may not happen; (2) negative, *i.e.*, the non-happening of such an event; (3) authoritative, *i.e.*, dependent on the power of the party in whose favor the obligation is contracted; (4) dependent on the party binding himself with the obligation; (5) casual, *i.e.*, dependent on an accident, or on the act of persons in no way controlled by either of the parties to the contract; (6) mutual, *i.e.*, dependent on the acts of both parties; (7) mixed, *i.e.*, dependent on the act of one of the parties and a third person. The condition may be either expressed or implied, and it may be lawful or unlawful.

The law of conditions is well developed in the Jewish law-books. All these classes of conditions were known to the Jewish law. Nevertheless the classification of the subject-matter must differ somewhat from that of the other systems of law.

Express conditions are created by the use of one of three formulas: "im" (if); "me'akshaw im" (from now on, if); and "'al menat" (on condition that). The condition "if" differs materially from the other two. The latter are simpler, and not subject to the same rules that must be observed in order to create a valid condition with the form "if." The first consideration refers, therefore, to the condition "if." There are four principal rules to be observed in the creation of a condition with the word "if."

Condition "If."

(1) The condition must be "double" ("tenai kaful"); that is, it must be expressed in a positive as well as a negative form. R. Meïr derived this rule from Num. xxxii. 29, 30: "And Moses said to them, 'If the children of Gad and the children of Reuben will pass with you over Jordan, . . . then ye shall give them the land of Gilead for a possession: but if they will not pass over with you, . . . they shall have possessions among you in the land of Canaan'" (see Mishnah Ḳid. iii. 4). The following example is given by Maimonides ("Yad," Ishut, vi. 3): "If a man says to a woman, 'If thou givest me two hundred zuzim thou art betrothed to me by this denarius [coin], but if thou dost not give them to me thou art not betrothed'; and after having expressed this condition he gives her the denarius, the condition is a valid one, and she is 'betrothed on condition.' If thereafter she gives him the two hundred zuzim she is betrothed absolutely; and if she does not give them to him, she is not betrothed." Some of the later geonim ruled that conditions need not be "doubled" except in cases of conditions annexed to betrothal or divorce, and that in ordinary contracts referring to money matters this form of expressing the condition doubly is unnecessary.

Maimonides dissents from this (Ishut, vi. 14), and his opinion is the adopted law. If the condition is not properly expressed in its double form it is void, and the contract is unaffected by it. Thus, if, in the case above, the man had merely said, "If thou givest me two hundred zuzim thou art betrothed to me by this denarius," and had omitted the clause, "if thou dost not give them to me thou art not betrothed"; and had then given her the coin, the condition would have been void, and she would have been betrothed to him absolutely (Ishut, vi. 5).

(2) The double condition must be so expressed that the positive form precedes the negative. This is shown in the above example. If the man had put the negative form first, thus: "If thou dost not give me the two hundred zuzim thou are not betrothed, but if thou givest them to me thou art betrothed with this denarius," and if he then gave her the coin, she would have been betrothed without condition (Ishut, vi. 1; Giṭ. 75b).

(3) The condition must precede the act, or the conclusion of the contract. Maimonides illustrates it thus. "If the man says to the woman, 'Thou art betrothed to me by this coin,' and gives her the coin; and then expresses the condition, saying, 'If thou wilt give me two hundred zuzim thou art betrothed; but if not, thou art not betrothed,' the condition is void, because the legal act of betrothal was complete before the condition was expressed" (Ishut, vi. 4). In taking the view that the act itself may not precede the expression of the condition, Maimonides follows the literal meaning of the Mishnah (B. M. vii. 11): "And every condition which is preceded by the act is void." Other authorities go even further, and maintain that the substance of the contract may not even be expressed before the condition is expressed, or else the condition is void (Maggid Mishneh to "Yad," Ishut, vi. 4). Thus the contract and the condition in the following case are well expressed: "If you do this I will give you that; but if you do not do this I will not give you that." But if a party says, "I will give you this if you do that," the condition is void.

Qualifications.

(4) The condition must be one possible of fulfilment. If the condition of the contract is that the party shall climb into heaven, or walk through the sea, or swallow a reed a hundred yards long, the condition is void, and the contract is complete without condition (B. M. 94a).

The condition created by the words "me'akshaw im" (from now on, if) differs in many important respects from the condition "if." The latter is, in fact, a condition precedent, and the former a quasi condition subsequent. Where the condition is that a certain thing shall be done "if" something else is done, the condition must be fulfilled before the contract to do the thing can be enforced; whereas in a condition subsequent, the contract is immediately effective, but may be ended by the performance or non-performance of the condition at some future time. In the Jewish law this is accomplished by use of the words "from now on, if." The distinction between these two cases is thus expressed by Maimonides (Ishut, vi. 15, 16): "If one betroths a woman 'on condition,' she is betrothed from the moment the condition is fulfilled, and not from the time of the actual ceremony of betrothal. For example, if he says to a woman, 'If I give thee two hundred zuzim during this year thou art betrothed to me by this denarius, and if I do not give them to thee thou art not betrothed,' and gives her the denarius in the month of Nisan, and the two hundred zuzim in the month of Elul, she is betrothed from Elul. Therefore if another betroths her before the condition imposed by the first man is fulfilled, she is betrothed to the second." And this is also the law in cases of divorce and of money matters. The divorce is absolute or the sale or gift perfected at the time when the condition is fulfilled. All this is true only if, in imposing the condition, he did not say "from now on." If, however, he said, "Thou art betrothed unto me by this denarius *from now on* if I give thee two hundred zuzim," and he eventually gives her the two hundred zuzim, she is betrothed from the time of the ceremony of betrothal, even though the condition was not fulfilled until after some time. Therefore if a second man betroths her before the fulfilment of the condition, her betrothal to the latter is void. And this is also the law in cases of divorce and of money matters (Ḳid. 60a; Giṭ. 74a).

Condition "from now on, if."

Three of the above four rules that must be observed in creating conditions with the word "if" need not be observed when the words "from now on, if" are used. The only one in force in this case is that the condition must not be impossible of fulfilment (Ishut, vi. 17). But the Shulḥan 'Aruk states that there is a difference of opinion on this point among the authorities, some holding that even when the form "from now on, if" is used, all the rules must be observed (Eben ha-'Ezer, 38, 3).

The form "'al menat" (on condition that) is in all respects similar, in its legal effect, to the form "from now on, if" (Ishut, vi. 17; Giṭ. 74a).

Conditions may be implied from the nature of the contract and from its terms. Thus if a contract is reduced to writing and contains a date, the question as to when it is to go into effect is determined thereby (Ket. 2b). The date in the contract is equivalent to the use of the form "me'akshaw." If a contract is entered into for a specific reason, as where one sells a piece of ground because he urgently needs the money, and the reason fails, as when the need for the sum of money is no longer pressing, the contract may be rescinded, because it is an implied condition of the contract that it is to be considered null and void if the reason that caused its consummation no longer exists (*ib.* 97a). It is necessary, however, that this reason be clearly stated at the time the contract is made, or otherwise the implied condition is not presumed to exist, for the maxim of the law is that "words which are in the heart are no words" (Ḳid. 49b). This rule applies only to contracts concerning real estate, for in contracts concerning movable property the conditions, if any, must be expressed according to the rules of law governing the making of conditions (gloss to Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 207, 3). There are some acts which are subject to conditions,

Condition "on condition that."

because it is presumed that all men are familiar with them. They need not be expressed in any way; they are absolutely presumptions of law. Thus where a man on his sick-bed transfers his entire estate to another, the law presumes that it was done in contemplation of death. The condition is implied that if he dies it shall be a valid transfer, but if he recovers it shall be void. It is not to be presumed that a man would have given away his entire estate if he expected to recover from his illness (Mishnah B. B. ix. 6; see also Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 246, 1; "Yad," Zekiyah, vi. 1).

Unlawful Conditions.

Unlawful conditions are void. Such are conditions that are contrary to the precepts of the law (Mak. 3b). For instance, if a man marries a woman on condition that he shall not live with her as her husband, such a condition is absolutely void. But if he stipulates that he shall not provide her with food and clothing, his condition is a valid one (Eben ha-'Ezer, 38, 5). The distinction between the two cases is based on the fact that the cohabitation of husband and wife is of the very essence of marriage, whereas the questions of food and clothing are financial considerations, in regard to which conditions may be made even though they are opposed to the law, provided they are made as waivers of rights given by the law, and are not stated in such a manner as to imply that the parties do not recognize the law. There can, however, be no diminution of the amount of the Ketubah, or of the husband's rights of inheritance. These are excepted, even though they are mere matters of money (Ishut, xii. 6; see also "Yad," Mekirah, xiii. 3; Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 67, 9; 227, 21).

There is another class of exceptions to unlawful conditions. Where the condition is that the party shall do something contrary to law, it is not ipso facto void, because the party need not fulfil it. For example, if the condition is that the party shall eat forbidden food, and the condition is fulfilled, the contract is valid, even though a breach of the dietary law has been occasioned thereby (Ishut, vi. 8). But this fulfilment of such conditions must be in the power of the party alone. If the condition is a mixed one—that is, if it requires the act of the party and a third person—it is void, because it is presumed that the third person will not be a party to a breach of the law (Giṭ. 84a, b; Ishut, vi. 11).

Conditions of Divorce.

Conditions in cases of delivery of bills of divorce present a specially interesting phase of the subject. Where a husband was about to go abroad, or to sea, or with a caravan through the desert, it was customary for him to give his wife a bill of divorce "on condition." The condition annexed was that if he did not return within a certain time, the divorce should be absolute; but that if he did return within such time, the bill of divorce should be null and void (Mishnah Giṭ. vii. 8). The purpose of this proceeding was to prevent the wife from becoming an 'Agunah.

The husband could make his own death the condition upon which the divorce became absolute (*ib.* vii. 3); the happening of this event worked retroactively, and during the interval between the delivery of the Get and the death of the husband the wife was, according to R. Judah, considered a married woman in every respect; but, according to R. Jose, one whose divorce was doubtful (*ib.* vii. 4). This peculiar use of the get "on condition" seems to have arisen out of the desire of the husband to save his wife from the levirate marriage (Ned. 27a, Rashi). According to the Law the death of the husband without issue made his wife ipso facto the bride of his brother, whose duty it was to marry her or release her through the ceremony of "ḥaliẓah" (Deut. xxv. 5–10). The divorced woman was, of course, not subject to this law. So that when the husband gave his wife a bill of divorce on condition that it should become absolute at his death, she remained his wife as long as he lived, but at the moment of his death she was not his widow, but a divorced woman (Mishnah Giṭ. vii. 3).

The general rules of conditions are set forth in detail in the Shulḥan 'Aruk, Eben ha-'Ezer, 38, 2–3; for betrothal on condition, see Eben ha-'Ezer, 38, 39, 40; for divorce on condition, see Eben ha-'Ezer, 143–148. See also Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 207; Ishut, vi.; and Asmakta.

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J. SR. D. W. A.

CONDOM (קונדו or קונדון): County seat in the department of Gers, France. Jews were found there at the beginning of the fourteenth century. In order to pass through this locality, they were heavily taxed. A Jewess, not enceinte, had to pay eight deniers Tours currency; if enceinte, she had to pay double that amount. In 1320, during the persecutions of the Pastoureaux, all the Jews of Condom were massacred.

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G. S. K.

CONDUITS. See Aqueducts in Palestine.

CONEGLIANO (also known as **Conian**): A prominent Jewish family of northern Italy. The spelling "Conian," according to Kaufmann, is a misreading of the Hebrew קוניאן. It takes its name from the town of Conegliano, which at one time belonged to the republic of Venice. A branch of the family flourished in Ceneda. Its members were distinguished by their learning. The family seems to have originated in Asti, where the name is first met with in the sixteenth century. The best-known members are:

Israel Conegliano: Italian physician and statesman; born at Padua in the middle of the seventeenth century; died in Constantinople in the second decade of the eighteenth century.

After obtaining his diploma Israel Conegliano practised medicine in Venice for two years, and then went to Constantinople. Despite the state of anarchy which reigned at Constantinople at that time, he won the favor and respect of the sultan, and also of his grand vizier Kara Mustapha. Giovanni Morosini, the ambassador of Venice, and his successor, Giambattista Donato, realizing the influence the

young Jewish physician had obtained over the ruling powers, asked their government to attach him to the legation. The matter was, however, left in abeyance until 1681, when Mustapha sent Conegliano to Venice to consult other eminent physicians about the illness of the sultan's son-in-law.

On Oct. 10, 1682, Conegliano was appointed physician extraordinary to the Venetian embassy, with an allowance of one hundred zecchinos (about $475), a quarter more than had ever been previously paid, and a further payment of forty zecchinos for personal expenses. Conegliano arrived at Constantinople in December of 1682.

Shortly after his arrival the relations between Turkey and Venice became strained, because of a massacre of Turks by the Morlaks of Dalmatia, then under the suzerainty of Venice. The Porte demanded 175,000 reals for the sultan, and 25,000 each for Mustapha and Ḥusain Aga. Donato, the ambassador, went back to Venice to conduct the negotiations, and Conegliano was left as the unofficial representative of Venice.

Conegliano, however, was soon deprived of his most powerful protector. Mustapha had been in supreme command of the Turkish forces that had threatened Vienna. Driven off by John Sobieski of Poland, Mustapha was murdered Dec. 25, 1683, by order of Mohammed IV. In the alliance made by Poland with Venice it became the duty of Conegliano to keep his government posted on the movements of the common enemy, Turkey. This he did, though at the imminent risk of his life, sending the reports through his brother Solomon, then a practising physician in Venice. On the death of his first wife in 1687, Conegliano went to Venice in order to superintend the education of his two boys. In 1690 he returned to Constantinople, and soon gained greater influence than before. A change of sultans and the secret aid of France had induced the Turks to renew a warfare, which was stopped only by the approach of winter. Conegliano unearthed a plot to burn the Venetian fleet, just in time to prevent its execution. So active was he in the service of his country that, despite his popularity, his house was attacked, and he was saved only by the prompt and energetic action of the French ambassador, M. de Castagnères.

In 1693, however, France withdrew her protection from Venetian subjects, and Conegliano sought in vain to enlist the good services of Holland. In May of this year five poor Jews were arrested on fictitious charges of espionage. Conegliano was able to procure their release; but he had aroused antagonism, and he was secretly advised by Ali Pasha, the grand vizier, to flee the city. This he refused to do, and a contemplated order to arrest all Venetians and confiscate their property was stayed for two months. He had, during all this period, been an ardent advocate of peace.

In June, 1694, he returned to Venice, leaving his brother Leo and his friend Ḥusain Aga in Constantinople to work for a cessation of hostilities. On arriving in Venice, Conegliano learned that the Senate had, on June 12, 1693, exempted him and his two brothers from wearing the yellow hat, and had made them citizens of the republic. In February, 1696, the Turks under Mustapha II. invaded Hungary, but were crushed at Zenta by Eugene of Savoy. Peace, however, was not declared until 1698. On Aug. 23 of that year Conegliano was appointed an ex officio member of the peace congress, with Ruzzini, the Venetian ambassador to Constantinople, as the active member. The congress met at Carlovitz, near Belgrade, but bickerings and differences led to a deadlock. Matters were approaching an open rupture, when at last the jealousy of Lord William Paget and of Ruzzini abated, and Conegliano was permitted for the first time to use his influence with the Turkish commissioners. His efforts were crowned with success, and on Jan. 26, 1699, the peace protocol was signed.

Conegliano returned to Venice and was further honored by his government by receiving permission to travel at will, without the special license usually required of the Jews. In 1700 Conegliano went again to Constantinople, where he died.

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E. Ms.

Israel Conegliano: Preacher at the Ashkenazic synagogue of Padua; born there at the end of the eighteenth century; died March, 1824. He was the pupil of Azariel Alatino, and the teacher of Joseph Almanzi, who bewailed his death in a special publication, "Me'il Ḳin'ah." Israel wrote a work entitled "Sefer Derashot," still extant in manuscript in Almanzi's collection. M. S. Ghirondi published a poem in his honor in "Bikkure ha-'Ittim," vi. 57.

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I. Br.

Joseph ben Israel Conegliano: Physician, and probably son of the preceding; lived at Padua at the end of the eighteenth century. He was the author, in conjunction with his brother Naphtali, of a poem entitled "Zemer le-Se'udat Purim" (Song for the Meal of Purim), published at Mantua.

Judah Conegliano: Talmudist; rabbi in Acqui at the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth. He was among the rabbis whose interdiction of the bath of Reggio provoked so much discussion. Judah Saltaro, in his work "Mikweh Yisrael," Venice, 1607, invokes Conegliano's authority on a ritual question.

Naphtali ben Israel Conegliano: Hebraist; brother of Joseph, and joint author with him of the poem "Zemer le-Se'udat Purim."

I. Br.

Solomon Conegliano: Venetian physician; born about 1642; died in 1719. Conegliano was the elder brother of Israel Conegliano, and, like him, served the Venetian republic with great credit. He was educated at Padua, where he attended the university, obtaining the degrees of M.D. and Ph.D. Jan. 22, 1660. He returned to Venice shortly afterward, and soon developed remarkable talent as a teacher of medicine. Young Jews from all parts of Europe sought his house, to attend the preparatory school which he had established there. Tobias Cohn, who, in his encyclopedia entitled "Ma'aseh Ṭobiyyah," represents Solomon as one of the greatest physicians and philosophers of his time, was one of

his pupils. A poem by him was prefixed to Cohn's encyclopedia. So eminent were his qualifications, both as teacher and as practitioner, that the government permitted him to exercise the privileges of a citizen of the republic. Conegliano's services to Venice and the honors conferred upon him and on his brother by the republic are given in detail in the biography of Israel Conegliano.

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G. E. Ms.

CONEGLIANO, IMMANUEL. See Ponte, Lorenzo Da.

CONEY: A small herbivorous animal (*Hyrax Syriacus* or *Hyrax Daman*) mentioned in the Bible. "Coney" is the traditional rendering of the Hebrew "shafan" (שפן), which occurs four times in the O. T. (Lev. xi. 5; Deut. xiv. 7; Ps. civ. 18; Prov. xxx. 26). In the first two places the "shafan" is classified among the unclean animals, along with the hare, "because he cheweth the cud but parteth not the hoof" (Lev. xi., R. V. 5). In the Book of Proverbs the shefannim are described as one of the "four things which are little upon the earth," but "are exceedingly wise." They "are but a feeble folk, yet make they their houses in the rocks" (Prov. xxx. 24, 26). The rendering "coney" is principally supported by the Jewish interpreters and lexicographers of the Middle Ages. None of the ancient versions, however, lend it support in more than one out of the four passages—for instance, the Septuagint in Psalms, and the Vulgate in Proverbs (see Bochart, "Hierozoicon," pp. 1002–1003). Besides, this interpretation is inadmissible for one if for no other reason: the "coney" is a European animal, unknown to the Israelites; and it does not live in the rocks.

Bochart, who refuted the Jewish opinion, tried to demonstrate that the shafan, which, he says, the Septuagint generally and rightly translates χοιρογρύλλιος, and which St. Jerome rightly identifies with the ἄρκτομυς, can not be anything else than the jerboa. His arguments are: (1) the authority of the Copto-Arabic lexicon, the "Scala Magna" of Kircher ("Lingua Ægyptiaca Restituta," p. 165); (2) the analogy between the habits of the two animals (*ib.* p. 1016). Since then, however, travelers who have made on the spot a thorough study of the habits of the jerboa have pronounced that identification impossible (see Bruce, "Voyage," v. 145, Paris, 1791). Shaw ("Travels," p. 386) was the first to propose to identify the shafan with an animal called "ghanam Isra'il" (Israel's lamb). This identification found a warm supporter in Bruce (*l.c.* p. 165), who further identifies it with the "ashoko" of the Abyssinians. The Arabs call this animal "wabr" also, which, it may be added by way of confirmation, is the word used by the Arabic versions to render "shafan" in the first two passages, Lev. xi. 5 and Deut. xiv. 7. Finally, Fresnel ("Journal Asiatique," 3d series, v. 514) says that in the Ehkili dialect (Sabean) the wabr is called "thufun," from the root "thafan," Hebr. "shafan."

The shafan, it is said, does not chew the cud. But here, as in many other cases, Scripture speaks according to appearances. Bruce, who studied carefully the habits of this animal, says that it certainly chews the cud (*l.c.* v. 168). "The shafan," says Shaw, "is a harmless creature of the same size and quality with the rabbit, having the like incurvating posture and disposition of the fore teeth. But it is of a browner color, with smaller eyes and a head more pointed. . . . The usual refuge of it is in the holes and clefts of the rocks" (*l.c.* p. 376). Like the ants they live in large numbers, and display considerable wisdom in guarding themselves against surprises from their enemies.

Their habitat extends from Abyssinia into Arabia, Palestine, and Syria. In Abyssinia both Christians and Mohammedans abstain from their flesh; but the Arabs of Arabia Petrea, and also the inhabitants of Mount Lebanon, consider it a great relish. For the place of the coney in the totemistic theories, see Totemism.

E. G. H. H. H.

CONFERENCES, RABBINICAL: Assemblies of rabbis to determine common courses of action or common principles of faith. Rabbinical conferences are a late phenomenon in the history of Judaism, dating, as they do, only from the fourth decade of the nineteenth century. There had been occasional gatherings of Jews during earlier centuries to consider important issues touching the life and religious practise of the people; but the deliberations at these gatherings, or synods, as they are usually called, were not participated in exclusively by the rabbis (see Consistories; Synods, Rabbinical).

The changed conditions in the life of the Jews in the early years of the nineteenth century, owing to the emancipation from medieval legislation and the accompanying necessity of reconciling the religious beliefs and practises with the demands of the new era upon which they had entered, were the moving causes for the convening of the first rabbinical conference. There have been five notable conferences: viz., at Brunswick, June 12–19, 1844; at Frankfort-on-the-Main, July 15–28, 1845; at Breslau, July 13–24, 1846; at Philadelphia, Pa., Nov. 3–6, 1869; and at Pittsburg, Pa., Nov. 16–18, 1885. Besides these, mention may be made of the following: the Jewish Ministers' Association, an organization of rabbis stationed in the eastern cities of the United States, which met annually from 1885 to 1890;

Early Conferences.

the Conference of Southern Rabbis of the United States, which existed from April 14, 1885, to Nov. 20, 1887, when it held its final meeting; and the Rabbinical Literary Association, which was organized at Detroit, Mich., July 13, 1880, and existed only two years. After the rabbinical conference at Philadelphia three meetings were held in 1871 at Cleveland, New York, and Cincinnati respectively. The so-called Cleveland conference (Oct. 17–20, 1855) was not strictly a rabbinical conference, since there were also a few lay delegates present. The same was the case at the synods of Leipsic (June 29–July 4, 1869) and Augsburg (July 11–17, 1871). Hence, these three meetings do not come properly within the scope of this article. The same may be said of the so-called French Sanhedrin, that met in 1807 at the call of Napoleon, and all previous synods. In Germany and Hungary, local conferences of rabbis are still held from time to

time. The Central Conference of American Rabbis, organized in 1889, meets in annual session.

In point of fact, however, the first purely rabbinical conference took place at Wiesbaden in 1837, in answer to a call issued by Abraham Geiger. In a letter to a colleague, dated May of that year, Geiger had written as follows in reference to the purpose of the proposed meeting: "It is not intended to create a new Judaism, nor yet to assume the authority of a synod: it shall merely give honest men the opportunity to discuss the proper methods of conducting their office, and shall be the beginning of the restoration of the almost vanished spirit of Judaism" ("Wiss. Zeit. Jüd. Theol." iii. 321). This conference was attended by Rabbis Geiger of Wiesbaden, Aub of Bayreuth, Bloch of Buchau, Guttmann of Redwitz, Herxheimer of Bernburg, Kohn of Hohenems, Maier of Stuttgart, Stein of Burgkunstadt, Wagner of Mannheim, Wassermann of Mühringen, and Wechsler of Oldenburg. Friedländer of Brilon, Grünebaum of Landau, and Hess of Eisenach arrived too late. These men discussed various questions, but did not enunciate any important decisions. The mere fact, however, that they had gathered for such discussion was significant. A committee was appointed to prepare a manual for domestic devotion in accordance with the needs of the time. It was resolved to discuss in the pages of Geiger's "Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für Jüdische Theologie" the practical questions which were agitating the Jewish communities at that time.

The epoch-making conferences have been the five mentioned by name above; they were respectively attended by most of the prominent Reform rabbis of the time in Germany and America; and their deliberations and decisions form an important chapter in the development of the faith.

During the opening years of the fifth decade of the nineteenth century the Jewish communities of Germany were stirred by religious agitation as never before; the issue between the traditionalists and the reformers was acute; the bitter opposition of Tiktin, rabbi of Breslau, to the appointment of Geiger, the most prominent reformer in Germany, had induced the officers of the congregation to address the rabbis of Europe for opinions on the subject; and these opinions were published in two volumes entitled "Ueber die Verträglichkeit der Freien Forschung mit dem Rabbineramte." The publication in 1842 of the new prayer-book of the Hamburg Temple (Reform) congregation had called forth from Isaac Bernays, the Orthodox leader, a declaration anathematizing the book and the reformers. These latter, in their defense, published a number of opinions of rabbis who sanctioned the reforms introduced into the prayer-book; these rabbis were, besides the two preachers of the congregation, Salomon and Frankfurter, the following: L. Auerbach, Friedländer, Geiger, Guttmann, Holdheim, Kohn, Maier, Mannheimer, Philippson, and Stein. The volume was entitled "Theologische Gutachten über das Gebetbuch nach dem Gebrauche des Neuen Israelitischen Tempelvereins in Hamburg" (Hamburg, 1842). The action of a society of Jews in Frankfort-on-the-Main in 1843, condemning circumcision, and resolving to abolish the rite in the future so far as their children were concerned, had induced Solomon Trier, the chief of the Orthodox of that city, to address his colleagues for opinions on the absolute requirement of circumcision as an essential of Jewish practise. These opinions, also, were published in a volume entitled "Gutachten über die Beschneidung" (Frankfort, 1814).

Controversies Regarding Reform.

The time was ripe for the organization of a society of rabbis at whose meetings all these vexed questions could be discussed, and decisions reached for the guidance of the troubled communities. Ludwig Philippson, editor of the "Allg. Zeit. des Judenthums," recognized this need of the hour, as Geiger had done before him; and he issued a call in the columns of his journal (Jan. 15, 1844, p. 27) for a rabbinical conference. In this call he wrote:

"Let us speak plainly. The issue is no longer the permissibility or non-permissibility of this or that synagogal institution, of this or that alleviation for civil or social life: the issue before us is concerned with the entire content of our religion, which we must present and strengthen in its purity in order to rescue it from deadening rigidity on the one hand and from benumbing unfaith on the other. Judaism is losing influence day by day, and every layman is asking us, 'What are you doing?' The objects of the conference shall be: (1) to bring the rabbis into closer relations and acquaintanceship; (2) to promote unanimity in the conduct of the rabbinical office; (3) to further the founding of communal institutions; and (4) to deliberate upon all Jewish affairs."

A number of rabbis declared themselves in sympathy with this call, and it resulted in the convening of the Brunswick conference of 1844.

The Brunswick Conference (June 12–19, 1844): This was attended by the following rabbis:

A. Adler of Worms; S. Adler of Alzey; Ben Israel of Coblenz; Bodenheimer of Hildesheim; Adler of Minden; Formstecher of Offenbach; Frankfurter of Hamburg; Geiger of Breslau; Goldman of Kurhessen; Heidenheim of Sondershausen; Herzfeld of Brunswick; Herxheimer of Bernburg; Hess of Weimar; Hirsch of Luxemburg; Hoffmann of Meiningen; Holdheim of Mecklenburg-Schwerin; Jolowicz of Marienwerder; J. Kahn of Treves; Klein of Pomerania; Maier of Stuttgart, who was president of the conference; Philippson of Magdeburg; Salomon of Hamburg; Schott of Randegg; Sobernheim of Bingen.

The purpose of the conference was declared to be "to consider the ways and means for the preservation of Judaism, and the awakening of the religious spirit."

The resolutions passed by the conference were as follows:

"The oath of a Jew is binding without any further ceremony than the invocation of the name of God. The prayer 'Kol Nidre' is unessential; and the members of the conference were to take steps to abolish it on the following Day of Atonement."

The conference indorsed the responsa of the French Sanhedrin, with the exception of the third, which it changed to read as follows:

"The marriage of a Jew with a Christian—in fact, the marriage of a Jew with the adherent of any monotheistic religion—is not forbidden if the civil law permits the parents to raise in the Jewish religion the children issuing from such a union."

A commission was appointed to consider a number of important questions and to report at the next conference.

The Frankfort-on-the-Main Conference (July 15–28, 1845): The deliberations were concerned mainly with the reports of the commission appointed at

the Brunswick conference. There were present, besides the above-mentioned:

J. Auerbach of Frankfort-on-the-Main; Einhorn of Birkenfeld; Frankel of Dresden; Gosen of Marburg; Güldenstein of Buchau; Jost of Frankfort; Reiss of Alt-Breisach; Stein of Burgkunstadt; Suesskind of Wiesbaden; Treuenfels of Weilburg; Wagner of Mannheim; Wechsler of Oldenburg; Leopold Stein of Frankfort-on-the-Main, who was president of the conference.

The first report discussed was that on the retention of Hebrew in the public services. The conference voted unanimously for the retention of the sacred language. On the question, to what extent, there was a decided difference of opinion. The recommendation of the committee, adopted by a vote of 18 to 12, was that the "Bareku" with its response, the "Shema'" (first paragraph), the first and last three benedictions of the "Tefillah," and the selection from the Torah should be in Hebrew, and that the remainder of the service should be in the vernacular.

The conference also decided (in the affirmative) the question "Shall the prayers for the return to the land of our forefathers and for the restoration of the Jewish state be eliminated from the ritual?" Closely connected with this was the question as to whether the Messianic idea was to receive prominent and distinct expression in the ritual. This also was decided in the affirmative.

Although the conference voted for the retention of the "Musaf" prayer, yet it was definitely understood that the traditional supplication for the restoration of the sacrifices should be so changed as to be a mere mention of the sacrifices as historical reminiscences.

On the question of the reading from the Torah, the majority voted for the triennial cycle; and the reading of the "Haftarah" in the vernacular was favored.

The conference was unanimous in its affirmative vote on the admissibility of the organ into the synagogue. All the members but three agreed that a Jew was permitted to play the organ on the Sabbath, and that by so doing he did not violate the law of Sabbath observance.

The conference considered favorably the suggestion submitted by the Berlin Reform Association for the calling of a synod "in which the lay and the theological elements shall be alike represented."

The conference decided in the affirmative the question whether modern bathing establishments can be used for ritualistic purposes. A committee was appointed to direct the attention of the people to the need of theological seminaries.

It was at this conference that the irreconcilable differences between the traditionalists and the reformers received decisive expression. The discussions had shown that many of the members held radical views on a number of vital points connected with the ritual. Zacharias Frankel, who declared himself to be a champion of positive historical Judaism, desired the conference to issue a statement of definite principles. In this he was opposed particularly by Geiger and Holdheim, and, although a majority of the meeting was in sympathy with Frankel's views, yet the conference supported his two chief opponents in their contention that no definite declaration of principles should be formulated, because such a theoretical document would result only in antagonisms and would not assist in solving the burning questions of the day. Frankel withdrew from the conference, and became the leader of the adherents of so-called "positive historical" Judaism. Frankel issued a call in May, 1846, for a conference of Jewish theologians, to be held in the fall of that year, and to be the organ of the opposition to the Reform conferences; but the meeting did not take place.

Historical Judaism.

The Breslau Conference (July 13–24, 1846): This was attended by:

A. Adler of Worms; S. Adler of Alzey; J. Auerbach of Frankfort-on-the-Main; Ben Israel of Coblenz; Einhorn of Birkenfeld; Formstecher of Offenbach; Geiger of Breslau (who was president of the conference); Goldstein of Waren; Gosen of Marburg; Güldenstein of Buchau; Herxheimer of Bernburg; Herzfeld of Brunswick; Hess of Eisenach; Holdheim of Mecklenburg-Schwerin; J. Kahn of Treves; M. Levy of Breslau; L. Lövy of Münsterberg; Pick of Teplitz; Philippson of Magdeburg; Sobernheim of Bingen; Stein of Frankfort-on-the-Main; Wagner of Mannheim; Wechsler of Oldenburg.

A number of important declarations were made on vital subjects, such as the Sabbath, the holidays, circumcision, and mourning customs. The conference expressed itself on the Sabbath question to the effect that the restoration of the solemn observance of the Sabbath as a day of rest and sanctification is incumbent not only upon the teacher in Israel, but upon every Israelite. Therefore special care must be taken in these days to insure the solemnity of the public services and to secure the observance of Sabbath in the home. Work which is ordinarily prohibited on the Sabbath is permitted in connection with divine services if necessary for the proper conduct of these services. If a man's livelihood is endangered by the closing of his business on the Sabbath, he may have his business attended to by non-Jews. If contingencies arise threatening the material welfare, any kind of work may be done on the Sabbath to avoid this; for example, in case of fire. Any and all manner of labor is permitted on the Sabbath in cases where human life—whether of Jew or non-Jew—is in danger. The rabbinical prohibitions known as "hedges"—rigorous interpretations of Sabbath laws—are no longer binding. Such institutions as "'Erube Ḥaẓerot" and "'Erube Teḥumim," which are mere evasions of the Sabbath laws, although their ostensible purpose is relaxation of the strictness of these laws, are both superfluous and inadmissible. The Jewish soldier must attend to his duties on the Sabbath. As for the Jew who holds a public office, although he is bound to perform the duties connected with his office, yet he should exert himself to restore the solemnity of the day in his home. Brain-work is not included in the categories of labor prohibited on the Sabbath.

The Sabbath Question.

The conference made the following pronouncements concerning the holidays: Congregations are justified in abolishing the second day's observance of the holidays with the exception of the second day of Rosh ha-Shanah. If, however, some of the members of a congregation should object to such abolition, these days are to be continued as occasions for public worship, but the prohibition to work on them

is no longer binding in any event. The eating of leavened bread is permitted on the twenty-second day of Nisan, the so-called eighth or last day of Passover. It is permitted to blow the shofar on the first day of the New-Year when it happens to fall on the Sabbath. The same is the case with the use of the four fruits on the first day of Succot when that falls on the Sabbath.

The question of circumcision was made the occasion for a number of declarations, of which the most important were these: Every "mohel" should be required to pass an examination, after being instructed by a surgeon, and should prove by his credentials his authority to perform the operation. The so-called "peri'ah" may be performed with a surgical instrument if the assisting surgeon prefers this to the finger-nail, which, as a rule, is used for the purpose. The "meẓiẓah" is to be dispensed with. (See Circumcision.) A physician should treat the child after circumcision. A physician should examine the child before circumcision, and decide whether the operation can be safely performed, or whether on account of sickness or bodily weakness it had best be postponed. If parents have had the misfortune to lose a child, or a child has become a chronic invalid, owing to the operation, and they fear to have other children circumcised, they may postpone the rite until the physician declares that there is absolutely no danger from its performance.

Mourning Customs.

The conference gave expression to some decided views on traditional mourning customs. It declared that such practises as the rending of the garments, allowing the beard to grow for thirty days after the death, sitting on the floor, removing the leather shoes, the prohibitions of washing, bathing, and greeting, have lost all significance in these days; nay, more, are repulsive to the religious feeling, and should be abolished. The mourner should remain at home for three days, counting from the day of burial. The mourner should also, as far as possible, abstain from business on the day of the funeral and for two days after the burial. Many important resolutions were referred to committees, but were not acted upon by the conference.

Each of these conferences aroused intense excitement; protests against the discussions and resolutions of the conferences being issued by opponents, while pamphlets in defense were published by participants. The Brunswick conference called forth a protest from seventy-seven German and Hungarian rabbis; also publications such as "אסוף אסיפה. Protestation Gegen die Rabbinerversammlung von D. Deutsch, Rabbiner in Sohrau, O. S." In defense were issued; "Die Erste Rabbinerversammlung und Ihre Gegner," by Kirchenrath Dr. Maier, and the pamphlet by Holdheim, "Die Erste Rabbinerversammlung und Herr Dr. Frankel." The press of the day, notably the three Jewish publications, "Die Allgemeine Zeitschrift des Judenthums," "Orient," and Frankel's "Zeitschrift für die Interessen des Judenthums," contained articles pro and con. Feeling ran very high, and this was intensified by the Frankfort conference, which had resulted in an open break with Frankel and the conservatives. The bitterness of the feelings engendered is apparent from such an incident as the refusal on the part of Michael Sachs, the famous preacher of the Berlin congregation, to receive one of the rabbis who had attended the Frankfort conference.

A conference of the rabbis of Baden, held in the summer of 1845 after the Frankfort conference, declared for Reform on the historico-traditional basis. The Breslau conference called forth a bitter declaration from some Jews of Frankfort-on-the-Main, condemning the conference for its cowardice in not dealing fearlessly with the Sabbath question. This aroused the participants in the conference, notably Geiger, Philippson, Stein, and Wechsler, who wrote in defense of their action. These were days of "storm and stress" in Judaism. No further conferences were held. The hope of the founders of the rabbinical conference, that it might become the authoritative tribunal for the solution of the vexing problems that were agitating the Jewish congregations, was not realized, owing to the political reaction following the year 1848. In 1868 an unsuccessful attempt was made to convene a rabbinical conference at Cassel.

Outcome of Conferences.

These conferences did not succeed in effecting their object because the differences in Jewry were too pronounced. Had they frankly and outspokenly taken either the Reform or the Orthodox position, they might have received acknowledgment as the authority from the adherents of the cause they espoused. It was impossible to satisfy all parties; the participants in the conferences represented many shades of opinion, from the extreme radicalism of Holdheim to the conservative traditionalism of the sympathizer with Frankel, although their main tendency was toward Reform. The conferences furnished at most a forum where vital questions were discussed, and expression was given to interesting views, but they did not attain an authoritative place. They were at best expressive of the conflicts and disturbances that were agitating Jewish thought in the fifth decade of the nineteenth century.

The Philadelphia Conference (Nov. 3–6, 1869): There were present:

S. Adler of New York; J. Chronik of Chicago; D. Einhorn of New York; B. Felsenthal of Chicago; J. K. Gutheim of New York; S. Hirsch of Philadelphia; K. Kohler of Detroit; L. Mayer of Selma, Ala.; M. Mielziner of New York; S. H. Sonnenschein of St. Louis; M. Schlesinger of Albany, N. Y.; I. M. Wise of Cincinnati.

The following statement of principles was adopted:

"1. The Messianic aim of Israel is not the restoration of the old Jewish state under a descendant of David, involving a second separation from the nations of the earth, but the union of all the children of God in the confession of the unity of God, so as to realize the unity of all rational creatures and their call to moral sanctification.

"2. We look upon the destruction of the second Jewish commonwealth not as a punishment for the sinfulness of Israel, but as a result of the divine purpose revealed to Abraham, which, as has become ever clearer in the course of the world's history, consists in the dispersion of the Jews to all parts of the earth, for the realization of their high-priestly mission, to lead the nations to the true knowledge and worship of God.

"3. The Aaronic priesthood and the Mosaic sacrificial cult were preparatory steps to the real priesthood of the whole people, which began with the dispersion of the Jews, and to the sacrifices of sincere devotion and moral sanctification, which alone are pleasing and acceptable to the Most Holy. These institutions, preparatory to higher religiosity, were consigned to the

past, once for all, with the destruction of the Second Temple, and only in this sense—as educational influences in the past—are they to be mentioned in our prayers.

"4. Every distinction between Aaronides and non-Aaronides, as far as religious rites and duties are concerned, is consequently inadmissible, both in the religious cult and in social life.

"5. The selection of Israel as the people of religion, as the bearer of the highest idea of humanity, is still, as ever, to be strongly emphasized, and for this very reason, whenever this is mentioned, it shall be done with full emphasis laid on the world-embracing mission of Israel and the love of God for all His children.

"6. The belief in the bodily resurrection has no religious foundation, and the doctrine of immortality refers to the after-existence of the soul only.

"7. Urgently as the cultivation of the Hebrew language, in which the treasures of divine revelation were given and the immortal remains of a literature that influences all civilized nations are preserved, must be always desired by us in fulfilment of a sacred duty, yet it has become unintelligible to the vast majority of our coreligionists; therefore, as is advisable under existing circumstances, it must give way in prayer to intelligible language, which prayer, if not understood, is a soulless form."

The conference passed a number of resolutions on marriage and divorce, and declared that "the male child of a Jewish mother is, no less than her female child, in accordance with a never-disputed principle of Judaism, to be considered a Jew by descent, even though he be uncircumcised."

The Pittsburg Conference (Nov. 16–18, 1885): There were present at this conference:

I. Aaron of Ft. Wayne, Ind.; J. Bloch of Youngstown, O.; S. Falk of Buffalo, N. Y.; A. Guttmann of Syracuse, N. Y.; E. G. Hirsch of Chicago; A. Hahn of Cleveland, O.; K. Kohler of New York; J. Krauskopf of Kansas City, Mo.; M. Lessler of Wheeling, W. Va.; A. Moses of Louisville, Ky.; M. Machol of Cleveland, O.; L. Mayer of Pittsburg; L. Naumberg of Pittsburg; D. Philipson of Baltimore; S. Sale of Chicago; S. H. Sonnenschein of St. Louis; M. Schlesinger of Albany, N. Y.; S. Weil of Bradford, Pa.; I. M. Wise of Cincinnati.

The following declaration of principles was formulated:

"1. We recognize in every religion an attempt to grasp the Infinite, and in every mode, source, or book of revelation held sacred in any religious system the consciousness of the indwelling of God in man. We hold that Judaism presents the highest conception of the God-idea as taught in our Holy Scriptures and developed and spiritualized by the Jewish teachers, in accordance with the moral and philosophical progress of their respective ages. We maintain that Judaism preserved and defended, midst continual struggles and trials and under enforced isolation, this God-idea as the central religious truth for the human race.

"2. We recognize in the Bible the record of the consecration of the Jewish people to its mission as the priest of the one God, and value it as the most potent instrument of religious and moral instruction. We hold that the modern discoveries of scientific researches in the domain of nature and history are not antagonistic to the doctrines of Judaism, the Bible reflecting the primitive ideas of its own age, and at times clothing its conception of Divine Providence and Justice dealing with man in miraculous narratives.

"3. We recognize in the Mosaic legislation a system of training the Jewish people for its mission during its national life in Palestine, and to-day we accept as binding only its moral laws, and maintain only such ceremonies as elevate and sanctify our lives, but reject all such as are not adapted to the views and habits of modern civilization.

"4. We hold that all such Mosaic and rabbinical laws as regulate diet, priestly purity, and dress originated in ages and under the influence of ideas entirely foreign to our present mental and spiritual state. They fail to impress the modern Jew with a spirit of priestly holiness; their observance in our days is apt rather to obstruct than to further modern spiritual elevation.

"5. We recognize in the modern era of universal culture of heart and intellect the approaching of the realization of Israel's great Messianic hope for the establishment of the kingdom of truth, justice, and peace among all men. We consider ourselves no longer a nation, but a religious community, and therefore expect neither a return to Palestine, nor a sacrificial worship under the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish state.

"6. We recognize in Judaism a progressive religion, ever striving to be in accord with the postulates of reason. We are convinced of the utmost necessity of preserving the historical identity with our great past. Christianity and Islam being daughter religions of Judaism, we appreciate their providential mission to aid in the spreading of monotheistic and moral truth. We acknowledge that the spirit of broad humanity of our age is our ally in the fulfilment of our mission, and therefore we extend the hand of fellowship to all who operate with us in the establishment of the reign of truth and righteousness among men.

"7. We reassert the doctrine of Judaism that the soul is immortal, grounding this belief on the divine nature of the human spirit, which forever finds bliss in righteousness and misery in wickedness. We reject, as ideas not rooted in Judaism, the beliefs both in bodily resurrection and in Gehenna and Eden (Hell and Paradise) as abodes for everlasting punishment and reward.

"8. In full accordance with the spirit of Mosaic legislation, which strives to regulate the relation between rich and poor, we deem it our duty to participate in the great task of modern times, to solve, on the basis of justice and righteousness, the problems presented by the contrasts and evils of the present organization of society."

The conference adopted the following resolution on the proselyte question:

"Inasmuch as the so-called Abrahamitic rite is by many, and the most competent, rabbis no longer considered as a *conditio sine qua non* of receiving male Gentiles into the fold of Judaism, and inasmuch as a new legislation on this and kindred subjects is one of the most imperative and practical demands of our Reform movement, be it

"Resolved that a committee of five, one of them to be the president of this conference, be entrusted with framing a full report to be submitted for final action to the next conference."

This conference has been the only one to make a definite statement on the question of Sunday services. Its declaration on the subject was to this effect:

"Whereas we recognize the importance of maintaining the historical Sabbath as a bond with our great past and the symbol of the unity of Judaism the world over; and whereas, on the other hand, it can not be denied that there is a vast number of working men and others who, from some cause or other, are not able to attend the services on the sacred day of rest; be it resolved that there is nothing in the spirit of Judaism or its laws to prevent the introduction of Sunday services in localities where the necessity for such services appears or is felt."

The conference also recommended that each rabbi read only such sections of the Pentateuch as he thinks proper, but with regard, however, to the regulations of the Hebrew calendar.

Central Conference of American Rabbis: The first meeting was held in Detroit, Mich., July 9, 1889, at the initiation of Isaac M. Wise. The meeting for organization was presided over by David Philipson, with Henry Berkowitz as secretary. At a session on the following day a series of resolutions was adopted as the working basis of the conference. One of these fixed the position of the conference in the historical succession of rabbinical deliberative bodies, by declaring that "the proceedings of all the modern rabbinical conferences, from that held in Brunswick in 1844, and including all like assemblages held since, shall be taken as a basis for the work of this conference in an endeavor to maintain in unbroken succession the formulated expression of Jewish life and thought in each era."

Actuated by the spirit of this resolution, the conference elected as honorary president Samuel Adler, the only surviving member of the various German con-

ferences held after the year 1840; and Isaac M. Wise was elected president. The conference has since met in annual session in the following cities: Cleveland, 1890; Baltimore, 1891; New York city, 1892; Chicago, 1893; Atlantic City, 1894; Rochester, N. Y., 1895; Milwaukee, Wis., 1896; Montreal, Canada, 1897; Atlantic City, 1898; Cincinnati, 1899; Buffalo, 1900; Philadelphia, 1901; New Orleans, 1902. All of these meetings were held in the month of July, with the exception of those at Chicago, Cincinnati, and New Orleans. The Chicago conference took place Aug. 23–26, introductory to the Jewish Denominational Congress, held in connection with the World's Parliament of Religions; and, together with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, it represented Judaism officially at the Parliament. The papers read by the members of the conference, both at the Jewish Denominational Congress and at the general Parliament, were published by the Union in a volume entitled "Judaism at the World's Parliament of Religions" (Cincinnati, 1894). The Cincinnati meeting in 1899 was held in March instead of July, in order to celebrate the eightieth birthday of Isaac M. Wise, founder and president of the conference from its organization. An extra session was held at Washington, D. C., in Dec., 1892. The meeting at New Orleans took place May 6–10, 1902. The proceedings of the various meetings of the conference are given in detail in a series of year-books, containing not only the record of the business transacted and the discussions by the members on religious doctrine and practise, but also of the papers read at the sessions.

Foundation.

Although the conference is open to rabbis of any opinion, it is in reality an association of ministers of the Reform school; and while it formulated no declaration of principles, yet its position in all its deliberations and proceedings has been taken firmly on the basis of the Reform movement. This was evident particularly in the discussion of the authority of the Talmud and the rabbinical codes. At the meeting held in Rochester in 1895, the president in his annual address proposed for discussion and decision the question, "What is our relation in all religious matters to our own post-Biblical and patristic literature, including the Talmud, casuists, responses, and commentaries?" The committee to whom the question was referred reported as follows:

Reform Platform.

"From the standpoint of Reform Judaism, the whole post-Biblical and patristic literature, including the Talmud, casuists, responses, and commentaries, is, and can be considered as, nothing more nor less than 'religious literature.' As such it is of inestimable value. It is the treasure-house in which the successive ages deposited their conceptions of the great and fundamental principles of Judaism and their contributions to the never-ceasing endeavor to elucidate the same. Consciously or unconsciously, every age has added a wing to this great treasure-house, and the architecture and construction of each wing bear the indelible marks of the peculiar characteristics of the time in which it was erected. Our age is engaged in the same task. We too have to contribute to the enlargement of this treasure-house; but we have to do it in our own way, as the spirit of our time directs, without any slavish imitation of the past.

"To have awakened the consciousness of this historic fact is the great merit of Reform Judaism; and the more this consciousness grows upon our mind, the more the conditions and environments of our modern life force it upon us, the more persistently we have to assert that our relations in all religious matters are in no way authoritatively and finally determined by any portion of our post-Biblical and patristic literature."

The notable achievements of the conference are: its preparation and publication of the Union Prayer-Book for Jewish worship; its successful representation of Judaism at the World's Parliament of Religions, as described above; its declaration on the requirements for the admission of proselytes; and, more than all, its uniting in one body the Reform rabbis of the country. The Union Prayer-Book is used at present (1902) by 158 congregations, in all portions of the country, having superseded most of the prayer-books in use heretofore. It attempts to combine the best elements of the traditional service with prayers expressing the aspirations of modern days. In its report to the general meeting, the ritual committee entrusted with the preparation of the work stated thus the principles that had guided it:

Union Prayer-Book.

"Imbued with the earnestness of the task that was laid upon us, we endeavored to conform the ritual for these two great holidays to the spirit and principle of the first part of our Union Prayer-Book, to unite the soul-stirring reminiscences of the past with the urgent demands of the present, and to enhance the solemnity of the service by combining the two essential elements, the ancient time-honored formulas with modern prayers and meditations in the vernacular."

The declaration of the conference on the admission of proselytes, adopted at the New York meeting in 1892, is as follows:

"Resolved that the Central Conference of American Rabbis, assembled this day in this city of New York, considers it lawful and proper for any officiating rabbi, assisted by no less than two associates, and in the name and with the consent of his congregation, to accept into the sacred covenant of Israel, and declare fully affiliated with the congregation שבקרושה לכל דבר, any honorable and intelligent person who desires such affiliation, without any initiatory rite, ceremony, or observance whatever; provided such person be sufficiently acquainted with the faith, doctrine, and religious usages of Israel; that nothing derogatory to such person's moral and mental character is suspected; that it is his or her free will and choice to embrace the cause of Judaism; and that he or she declare verbally, and in a document signed and sealed before such officiating rabbi and his associates, his or her intention and firm resolve—

"1. To worship the One Sole and Eternal God, and none besides Him.

"2. To be conscientiously governed in his or her doings and omissions in life by God's laws, ordained for the child and image of the Father and Maker of all, the sanctified son or daughter of the divine covenant.

"3. To adhere in life and death actively and faithfully to the sacred cause and mission of Israel, as marked out in Holy Writ."

The conference has published, in addition to the eleven year-books and the two volumes of the Union Prayer-Book, a Union Hymnal, and a volume entitled "Sermons by American Rabbis." One-half of the income from the sale of the Union Prayer-Book is placed to the credit of the fund for superannuated ministers; and a number of worthy rabbis, incapacitated from active service by age or physical infirmity, have been assisted by donations from this fund.

At present (1902) the conference has 149 active and four honorary members. Its constitution declares that "all active and retired rabbis of congregations, and professors of rabbinical seminaries, shall be eligible for membership." In March, 1900, it suffered the loss of its founder and president, Isaac M. Wise, in whose honor the meeting at Buffalo in July of that year largely assumed the character

of a memorial meeting. At this meeting Joseph Silverman of New York, who had been first vice-president, was elected president of the body.

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D. P.

Conventions of the Union of Orthodox Congregations of the United States and Canada: The great influx of Orthodox Jews—that is, of those who follow the rabbinical ordinances of Judaism besides the prescriptions of the Bible—within the last twenty-five years in America has made a union imperative.

The first real attempt to effect a union of Orthodox congregations was made on June 8, 1898, when a convention met in New York, in which fifty congregations were represented. H. Pereira Mendes was elected as president, and as vice-presidents Ph. Klein, Meldola de Sola, and H. W. Schneeberger.

The following principles were agreed to:

"This conference of delegates from Jewish congregations in the United States and the Dominion of Canada is convened to advance the interests of positive Biblical, rabbinical, and historical Judaism.

"We are assembled not as a synod, and therefore we have no legislative authority to amend religious questions, but as a representative body, which by organization and co-operation will endeavor to advance the interests of Judaism in America.

"We favor the convening of a Jewish synod specifically authorized by congregations to meet, to be composed of men who must be certified rabbis, and (*a*) elders in official position (cf. Num. xi. 16); (*b*) men of wisdom and understanding, and known among us (cf. Deut. i. 13); (*c*) able men, God-fearing men, men of truth, hating profit (cf. Ex. xviii. 21).

"We believe in the Divine revelation of the Bible, and we declare that the Prophets in no way discountenanced ceremonial duty, but only condemned the personal life of those who observed ceremonial law, but disregarded the moral. Ceremonial law is not optative; it is obligatory.

"We affirm our adherence to the acknowledged codes of our Rabbis and the thirteen principles of Maimonides.

"We believe that in our dispersion we are to be united with our brethren of alien faith in all that devolves upon men as citizens; but that religiously, in rites, ceremonies, ideals, and doctrines, we are separate, and must remain separate in accordance with the Divine declaration: 'I have separated you from the nations to be Mine' (Lev. xx. 26).

"And further, to prevent misunderstanding concerning Judaism, we reaffirm our belief in the coming of a personal Messiah, and we protest against the admission of proselytes into the fold of Judaism without 'milah' and 'ṭebilah.'

"We protest against intermarriage between Jew and Gentile; we protest against the idea that we are merely a religious sect, and maintain that we are a nation, though temporarily without a national home; and

"Furthermore, that the restoration to Zion is the legitimate aspiration of scattered Israel, in no way conflicting with our loyalty to the land in which we dwell or may dwell at any time.

It was determined that the object of the organization, to be known as the "Jewish Congregational Union of America," should be the promotion of the religious interests of Orthodox Jews. Questions of Orthodoxy in connection with the admission of members should be decided by a sub-committee of five. H. Pereira Mendes was elected permanent president. The objects of local unions were stated to be:

"1. To strengthen congregational life, but not to interfere in congregational autonomy.

"2. To advance the interests of local Judaism by the appointment of committees on congregational membership; civil legislation; Jewish presentations; city religious work (mission, circuit preaching); to devise uniform methods in Hebrew and religious schools; a union to send out rabbis for propaganda under the direction of the executive committee.

The convention held in New York Dec. 30, 1900, under the presidency of H. P. Mendes, represented 104 congregations.

K. H. P. M.

CONFESSION OF SIN (ידוי).—Biblical Data: The Scriptures repeatedly prescribe confession of sin as a means to expiation and atonement. "It shall be that when he is guilty of any one of these things, he shall confess that he hath sinned in that thing" (Lev. v. 5). "Aaron shall . . . confess over him [the scapegoat] all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins" (*ib.* xvi. 21). "When a man or woman shall commit any sin that men commit . . . they shall confess their sin which they have done" (Num. v. 6, 7).

Its Effect.

The effect of confession is remission. Thus the Bible states, "And David said unto Nathan, I have sinned against the Lord. And Nathan said unto David, The Lord also hath put away thy sin; thou shalt not die" (II Sam. xii. 13). Elihu says, "God looketh upon men, and if any say, I have sinned, and perverted that which was right, and it profited me not [or, "I have not been requited"]: He will deliver his soul from going to the pit, and his life shall see the light" (Job xxxiii. 27, 28); and Jeremiah declares, "The Lord said to me . . . go and proclaim these words toward the north, and say, Return, thou backsliding Israel, saith the Lord; and I will not cause mine anger to fall upon you: for I am merciful, saith the Lord, and I will not keep anger for ever. Only acknowledge thine iniquity that thou hast transgressed against the Lord thy God" (Jer. iii. 11–13). Elsewhere the prophet says, "Take with you words, and turn to the Lord: say unto him, Take away all iniquity, and receive us graciously. . . . I will heal their backslidings, I will love them freely" (Hos. xiv. 2 *et seq.*; see ATONEMENT).

Confession may be individual, that of a person repenting backslidings; or it may be national, when the public at large humble themselves before God. As examples of the former may be cited the confession of Cain (Gen. iv. 13), of Jacob (*ib.* xxxii. 9), and of David (II Sam. xxiv. 10; Ps. xli. 4, li. 3, lxix. 5); of the latter, that of the Israelites in the wilderness (Num. xiv. 40); in the dispersion (Lev. xxvi. 40); at Mizpah, when admonished by Samuel (I Sam. vii. 6); and again at Gilgal, after choosing their first king (*ib.* xii. 10). National confessions are sometimes made through national representatives, as by Moses, after the Israelites worshiped the golden calf (Ex.

xxxii. 31), by the high priest on Atonement Day (Lev. xvi. 21), by Ezra (ix. 6, 7, 15), and by Nehemiah (i. 6, 7; ix. 2, 33–35).

—**In Rabbinical Literature:** Here repentance is likened to a door which, if man opens only as much as the eye of a needle, God opens as wide as a gateway (Cant. R. to v. 2), for whoso is willing to cleanse himself is assisted from above (Shab. 104a; Yoma 38b); and confession may be said to be the opening wedge, or the hinge on which repentance turns. Accordingly the Rabbis teach that Samuel, interceding for Israel (I Sam. vii. 5 *et seq.*), addressed to God the following argument in favor of his people's salvation: "Lord of the universe! Dost Thou ever require of man more than that he utter, 'I have sinned'? Now, the Israelites do plead, 'We have sinned' [*ib.* 6]: forgive them" (Midr. Sam. to vii. 6; Yer. Ta'an. ii. 65d). Elsewhere this doctrine is

Formula in the Talmud.

sinneth, it shall die," rabbinical lore (with reference to Ps. xxv. 8 and Amos v. 4) teaches that God Himself says, "Let him repent and he shall be pardoned" (Yer. Mak. ii. 31d; Pesiḳ. xxv. 158b; compare Soṭah 7b; Sanh. 43b).

No formal confession is prescribed in the Scriptures; time and circumstances suggested the penitent's thoughts or utterances (compare "Yad," Tefillah, i. 1; Kesef Mishneh *ad loc.*). Post-Biblical literature, however, contains some formulas. Of these, that embodying the phrase "I have sinned, transgressed, and rebelled" חטאתי עויתי ופשעתי, seems to be the oldest, having formed part of the high priest's confession in the course of the Temple service on the Day of Atonement (Yoma iii. 8, iv. 2; Tosef., Yoma, ii. 1; Sifra, Aḥare, i. 2). It is based on similar expressions

Jews Confessing Their Sins on the Day Before the Feast of Pentecost.
(From Bodenschatz, "Kirchliche Verfassung," 1748.)

presented in another form (Yalḳ., Ps. c. 1; Pesiḳ. xxv. 159a). Citing the Scriptural verse (Prov. xxviii. 13), "He that covereth his sins shall not prosper; but whoso confesseth and forsaketh them shall have mercy," the Rabbis remark, when a man is charged of crime before a human tribunal, as long as he denies his guilt he has a chance for escape, but when he admits his guilt he receives punishment; not so before God: unless man confesses, he receives punishment, but when he confesses, he receives remission, provided he confesses with the determination to forsake his sins. According to another Midrash, even Balaam knew of the insuperable power of repentance and confession when he said (Num. xxii. 34), "I have sinned." He knew that nothing may avert heavenly visitation except repentance, and that over one who has sinned and then says, "I have sinned," the messenger of retribution has no power (Tan., Balaḳ, 10). Hence, although Solomon declares, "Evil pursueth sinners" (Prov. xiii. 21); and Ezekiel (xviii. 4, 20) says, "The soul that

used in Biblical times (I Kings viii. 47; Ps. cvi. 6; Dan. ix. 5), and is considered the principal of all confessions (Sifra, *l.c.*; "Yad," Teshubah, i. 1; compare Pesiḳ. R. 35, 160b). A rabbi of the fourth century recommends the following to be recited on the eve of the Day of Atonement: "I confess all the wrong I have done before Thee. I have indeed stood on the way of evil; but as I have done I shall do no more. May it please Thee, O Lord my God! to forgive all my errors, to remit all my offenses, and to pardon all my transgressions" (Lev. R. iii. 3; compare Yer. Yoma viii. 45c). A formula somewhat older, used by some daily, and by others only on the Day of Atonement, is the following: "My God! Before I was formed I was worthless, and now that I am formed I am as if not formed: I am dust while I live; how much more so shall I be when dead. Behold, I am before Thee as a vessel full of shame and disgrace. May it be Thy will, O Lord my God and God of my fathers! that I shall sin no more, and what I have sinned before Thee blot out

in Thy abundant mercy, but not through sufferings and serious diseases" (Ber. 17a; Yoma 87b).

The alphabetic confessions אשמנו ("We have incurred guilt"; see ASHAMNU) and על חטא שחטאנו לפניך ("For the sin which we have committed before Thee") are first mentioned in the literary productions of geonim of the eighth century, the former by Simon Kahira ("Halakot Gedolot," ed. Berlin, 1888, "Hilkot Yom ha-Kippurim," missing in ed. Warsaw, 1874), the latter by Aḥai of Shabḥa ("She'iltot," clxvii.). The Talmud, however, explicitly says (Yoma 87b), "When one utters the simple expression, 'Verily we have sinned,' he need say no more"; and this is also the opinion of the casuists ("Hal. Gedol." *l.c.*; "Yad," Teshubah, ii. 8; Ṭur Oraḥ Ḥayyim, 607). One nearing death, or even when first taken ill, should be exhorted to make confession (Shab. 32a; Sanh. vi. 2, 43a *et seq.*), as were all those about to be executed for crime (see ATONEMENT; CAPITAL PUNISHMENT). If one is unable himself to frame a confession, he is prompted to say, "May my death prove an atonement for all my sins" (Sanh. *l.c.*).

Later Formulas.

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E. C. S. M.

——**In Hellenistic Literature and in the Liturgy:** Ever since the return from the Exile (see Ezra ix.; Dan. ix. 4–20), confession of sins has formed an integral part of prayer, and verses selected from such passages as the penitential Psalms, xxxii., li., lxxxvi., were used in the liturgy. An example of elaborate confession of sins, composed in the second century B.C., is presented in the Apocrypha under the name of "The Prayer of Manasseh," and in all probability it formed originally a part of a Midrashic addition to II Chron. xxxiii. 19 (as may be learned from Apostolical Constitutions, ii. 22; see DIDASCALIA). A characteristic feature of this confession is the reiteration of certain formulas: "I have sinned, O Lord; I have sinned"; "Forgive me, O Lord, forgive me." Another example of a confession of sin is contained in the prayer of Asenath, xii. (see JEW. ENCYC. ii. 173):

"I take refuge with Thee, Lord, my God, from now; to Thee I cry, O Lord, and before Thee I confess my sins. Spare me, O Lord, spare me! for I have greatly sinned; I have transgressed and done evil. I have spoken harsh words before Thee that should not be spoken. . . . I have sinned before Thee, O Lord; I have sinned, knowingly and unknowingly."

With these words Asenath begins her prayer while repenting of her idolatrous life, thus offering to proselytes an example of due preparation for admission into the Jewish fold. Confession of sins preceded baptism (Mark i. 5; compare Soṭah 12b) and was made the condition of admission into the Christian Church, as may be learned from Didache iv. 14, xiv. 1 (compare James v. 16).

The common formulas for confession of sins in the Christian Church being in the main exactly like those of the Synagogue, the conclusion is to be drawn that they go back to pre-Talmudic times. The words "Forgive, remit, pardon, O God, our offenses, voluntary and involuntary, committed knowingly or in ignorance, by transgression or through omission," in the closing prayer of propitiation in the liturgy of James (Hammond, "Eastern and Western Liturgies," p. 54), as well as the formula still found in the common prayer of the Episcopal Church: "We have left undone those things which we ought to have done; and we have done those things which we ought not to have done," are nearly identical with the closing words of the Atonement-Day confession: "O God of forgiveness, forgive us, pardon us, grant us remission . . . for the violation of mandatory and for the violation of prohibitive precepts, for sins known or unknown to us."

In the time of Rab and Samuel in Babylonia and R. Johanan in Palestine the confessions of sin in the Day of Atonement liturgy was fixed by tradition, as is proved by the fact that these amoraim of the beginning of the third century refer to the liturgical portions containing these confessions as familiar and known by their initial words (Yoma 87b). The quotation of the confession of sins in Pesiḳ. R. (ed. Friedmann, xxxv. 160b; see note) also shows that the whole portion of the "Widdui" was known and familiar to all, and was included in the Talmudical reference in Yoma, אבל אנחנו חטאנו. See LITURGY.

The alphabetical enumeration of sins in ASHAMNU and 'AL ḤEṬ may also be traced to pre-Talmudic times, as the catalogue of sins in Rom. i. 29, with its number of twenty-two, seems to be based upon an alphabetical confession of sins used in Paul's time (see J. Rendel Harris, "The Teaching of the Apostles," Baltimore, 1887, who refers to Shab. 55a: "They that observe the Law from Aleph to Taw").

The confession of sins is recited during bathing in preparation for the Day of Atonement, by the bridegroom before his wedding, and by the sick who prepares for the approaching end. For a still larger catalogue of sins, see "Kiẓẓur Shene Luḥot ha-Berit, Seder Widdui," pp. 126b, 127, Amsterdam, 1683. K.

CONFIRMATION, THE RITE OF: Solemn form of initiation of the Jewish youth into their ancestral faith. The rite is mentioned officially for the first time in an ordinance issued by the Jewish consistory of the kingdom of Westphalia at Cassel in 1810. There it was made the duty of the rabbi "to prepare the young for confirmation, and personally to conduct the ceremony." At first only boys were confirmed, on the Sabbath of their BAR MIẒWAH, and the ceremony was performed at the home or in the schoolroom. In Berlin girls were confirmed for the first time in 1817, in Hamburg in 1818. The rite was at first rigidly excluded from the synagogue, because, like every innovation, it met with violent opposition. Gradually, however, it found more favor; classes were confirmed together, and confirmation became a solemn and impressive celebration at the synagogue. In 1822 the first class of boys and girls was confirmed by Dr. Kley at the Hamburg Temple, and in 1831 Rabbi Samuel Egers, one of the most prominent rabbis of his time

Earliest Confirmations.

and a man of unquestioned orthodoxy, began to confirm boys and girls regularly at the synagogue of Brunswick.

While in the beginning some Sabbath, frequently Sabbath Ḥanukkah or Passover, was selected for confirmation, it became more and more customary, following the example of Egers, to perform the ceremony at the synagogue on Shebu'ot, because this festival is peculiarly adapted for the rite. As it celebrated the occasion when the Israelites on Sinai, of their own free will, declared their intention to accept the obligation of God's Law, so those of every new generation should follow the ancient example and declare their willingness to be faithful to the religion transmitted by the Fathers.

Confirmation was introduced in Denmark as early as 1817, in Hamburg 1818, and in Hessen and Saxony in 1835. The Prussian government, which showed itself hostile to the Reform movement, prohibited it as late as 1836, as did Bavaria as late as 1838. It soon made its way, however, into all progressive congregations of Germany. In 1841 it was introduced in France, first in Bordeaux and Marseilles, then in Strasburg and Paris, under the name "initiation religieuse." The first Israelitish synod in 1869 at Leipsic adopted a report by Dr. Herxheimer on religious education, the thirteenth section of which contains an elaborate opinion on confirmation, recommending the same to all Jewish congregations.

In America the annual confirmation of boys and girls was first resolved upon by the congregation of Temple Emanu-El of New York on Oct. 11, 1847; and the first confirmation at that temple took place on Shebu'ot, 1848. A confirmation had been held two years before at the Anshe Chesed Synagogue of New York. The ceremony has since gained so firm a foothold in America that there is now no progressive Jewish congregation in which the annual confirmation on Shebu'ot is not a regular feature of congregational life and one of the most inspiring ceremonies of the whole year.

Grätz ("Gesch." xi. 374) blames Israel Jacobsohn for having introduced, among many other synagogue reforms, the confirmation of boys and girls, which, he says, "has no root in Judaism." In the opinion of reform Jews confirmation, like the organ and other innovations traceable to non-Jewish associations, lends an impressiveness to the initiation of the young into their ancestral religion which the bar miẓwah institution had lost, owing to the unfamiliarity of the children with Hebrew. Besides, there was no provision for a solemn consecration of the Jewish maiden to her religious duties. Confirmation was the first step toward the official recognition of woman as a member of the Synagogue. While many Orthodox leaders object to confirmation on the ground that it has been borrowed from the Protestant Church, where also it is but a recent development and not at all characteristically or typically Christian (see "Confirmation," in Herzog-Hauck, "Real-Encyc."), or because it contradicts the principle that the Israelite is pledged by the covenant of Sinai by his birth (מושבע ועומד מהר סיני Shebu. 22b), there is nothing in the rite which is not thoroughly in harmony with the spirit of Judaism. It does not mean initiation into the faith, or admission into the Jewish community, but is a solemn declaration of the candidates, after having been sufficiently instructed in their duties as Jews, and being imbued with enthusiasm for their religion, to be resolved to live as Jews and Jewesses. For this purpose, after their religious sentiment has been awakened and strengthened, and their minds have been prepared for their becoming faithful members of the Jewish congregation, of society, and of the state, confirmation comes as the solemn graduation from the school of religious and ethical instruction, and is intended to consecrate the young to their duties as Jews. It appeals not only to those confirmed, but to the entire congregation, and thereby becomes for all a renewal of the Sinai covenant. In order to produce this lasting effect it is becoming customary to delay the rite until the sixteenth or seventeenth year.

Objections to the Rite.

In Harmony with Judaism.

With the freedom and self-government universally prevailing in Jewish congregations, it is natural that the confirmation services should differ according to the subjective views and to the tastes of the rabbis. Thus some introduce a formal confession of faith, while others prefer a statement of principles. But the essential features are everywhere about the same, and may be stated as follows: The act is preceded by a public examination in the history, doctrines, and duties of the Jewish religion, held either in connection with the celebration or on some day during the preceding week. The sermon preached at the exercises refers to the importance of the epoch which the young people have reached, and closes with an impressive address to them. Thereupon follows a prayer, either a profession of faith or a statement of principles by members of the class, and in conclusion is invoked the blessing of the candidates by the rabbi. The rite is accompanied by impressive music.

Essential Features.

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K. M. Lan.—K.

CONFISCATION AND FORFEITURE.—1. Confiscation: Appropriation of private property to the public use or treasury. Confiscation of the property of peaceable aliens in Palestine who belonged to a nation at war with Israel, is not mentioned in either Biblical or rabbinical literature. Biblical history, on the contrary, records instances where such people as chose to remain in Israel's midst were left unmolested in possession of their estates, paying only the usual tribute to the country (Josh. xvii. 13; Judges i. 28 *et seq.*). Nor is confiscation, in the sense of appropriation to the use of the state as a judicial punishment for the violation of law, known in the history of Israel's first commonwealth. The case of Ahab and Naboth (I Kings xxi.; see Ahab), which some cite in support of the contrary view (Michaelis, "Mosaisches Recht," i. 261; Mayer, "Rechte der Israeliten," i. 218, iii. 132),

is not considered as a criterion in rabbinical law. Tradition asserts that Ahab was his victim's cousin, the son of the brother of Naboth's father; and in the absence of nearer agnates, he was Naboth's legal heir (Tosef., Sanh. iv. 6; Sanh. 48b). Such confiscation came into vogue in the early days of the second commonwealth, and was an importation from Persia. In the rescript which Artaxerxes gave to Ezra (Ezra vii. 12–26), and the authenticity of which is proved by E. Meyer ("Die Entstehung des Judenthums," pp. 60 *et seq.*), "confiscation of goods" is decreed as one of the punishments of those who failed to "do the law of . . . God and the law of the king." This decree was adopted by Ezra; and in a proclamation subsequently issued by him he threatened, "Whosoever would not come within three days, according to the counsel of the princes and the elders, all his substance should be forfeited" (Ezra x. 8).

There is, however, a controversy in the Talmud as to the right of confiscation of the property of executed criminals, and the decision is a compromise: "The property of criminals executed by order of the king [for treason] lapses to the king; but the property of those executed by a verdict of a regular court [for other crimes] descends to their legal heirs" (Tosef., *l.c.*; Sanh. *l.c.*; Maimonides, "Yad," Ebel, i. 9; see Capital Punishment). Private property may be seized for the personal needs and conveniences of the king, or for the advancement of public safety; but for all such property the state must remunerate the owner (Sifre, Deut. 161; Sanh. i. 4; B. Ḳ. 60b; "Yad," Melakim, iv. 3 *et seq.*). This royal prerogative was greatly abused by some kings, particularly in fulfilling literally Samuel's prediction (I Sam. viii. 14): "He will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your olive-yards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants" (compare *ib.* xxii. 7; Ezek. xlv. 7, 8; xlvi. 16–18), which probably suggested the comparatively late homiletic remark, "As soon as one is promoted to leadership in Israel he becomes rich" (Yoma 22b; Yalḳ., Sam. 119). Rabbinical law, therefore, restricts this right of confiscation to the actual needs of the king and his court and army (Sifre, Deut. 158 *et seq.*; Sanh. ii. 4; "Yad," *l.c.*).

2. Forfeiture: A penalty for misconduct, crime, or breach of duty. Pentateuchal and rabbinical laws prescribe specified amounts as forfeitures for certain crimes or misdemeanors (Ex. xxi. 32; B. Ḳ. 43a; Deut. xxii. 19; Ket. 46a; Deut. xxii. 29; Ket. 33a). These will be found detailed under Damage, Fines and Forfeiture, or in the articles treating of the respective causes.

Among the purely rabbinical enactments, one prescribes the forfeiture of rights where, through them, injury may accrue to innocent parties. For example: Where a bond bears a date antecedent to the day of actual execution, its holder forfeits the right of levying on the debtor's property, if otherwise encumbered, even where that encumbrance dates posteriorly to the delivery of the bond (Sheb. x. 5; B. M. 72a; "Yad," Malveh, xxiii. 1; Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 43, 7). Also, where the amount denominated in a bond includes usury, and it can not be ascertained how much of that amount is principal, the creditor forfeits the principal as well as the usury (B. M. 72a; Yoreh De'ah, 161, 11; Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 52, 1). A forfeiture of ten gold pieces ("zehubim") is also prescribed for depriving a person of the privilege of discharging a religious duty, when that person is fit and willing to discharge the duty himself (B. Ḳ. 91b; "Yad," Ḥobel, vii. 14; Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 382, 1).

J. SR. S. M.

CONFISCATION OF HEBREW BOOKS: The first known decree directed against Hebrew literature is one of the emperor Justinian (553) forbidding the Jews to use "what is called by them 'The Second Edition'" (*Secunda Editio*, δευτέρωσις). Apparently this term was used to designate the Midrashic, traditional interpretation of the Scriptures. To what extent the decree was enforced is not known. Entirely unauthorized and without definite purpose was the action of the Crusaders six centuries later, when, in their march through Germany, they confiscated all the Hebrew books they could find in the various cities, and left behind them piles of burning Talmuds and prayer-books to mark their path.

In the thirteenth century France was the center of a series of deliberate attacks directed against Hebrew books. The typical order of procedure in nearly all such movements was as follows: the bringing of charges against the Talmud by a converted Jew; the issuing by the pope of a decree for its confiscation; the carrying out of the decree by the Inquisition; a disputation of the charges, including a defense of the work by the rabbis; finally, the condemnation and public destruction of the Talmud by burning. Very often other books were confiscated along with the Talmud.

Confiscation in France.

In 1232 Jewish scholars in France were divided into two hostile camps, consisting respectively of the followers and opponents of Moses ben Maimon's philosophy. Solomon ben Abraham of Montpellier was at the head of the latter—the Orthodox—party, and looked upon his opponents as heretics. In an evil moment he carried the quarrel outside the Jewish ranks, and invited the Dominican and Franciscan inquisitors, then busied with the enemies of the Catholic Church, to proceed against Jewish heretics also. In Provence his request met with an eager response; the papal cardinal-legate gave the command, and in Montpellier a house-to-house search was made for Maimonidean writings. All such as could be found were brought together, and in Dec., 1233, the first public official burning of Hebrew books took place.

This action on the part of Solomon ben Abraham led to results which he had not expected. The Inquisition did not long restrict its activity to the writings of Maimonides, and the Talmud itself soon became the object of attack. A little more than a month after the affair of Montpellier a public burning of Talmudic and other kindred works was held in Paris, at which 12,000 volumes were destroyed together. In 1239 the baptized Jew Nicholas (Donin) brought the charge against the Talmud that it insulted Christianity, and Pope Gregory IX. sent a general order on the subject to the temporal and ecclesiastical rulers in France, England, Castile, Aragon, and Portugal. He decreed that the Domin-

icans and Franciscans confiscate all copies of the Talmud, submit them to the heads of the two orders for examination, and, should the charges prove to be true, cause them to be destroyed (May, or June 1239). In Paris the decree met with a ready response from King Louis IX. and the Dominican Henry of Cologne. The Jews were forced, under threat of death, to surrender their books; and a commission was appointed to hear the defense of the rabbis. The Talmud was condemned to the flames; but a stay was secured and a second hearing accorded, in which R. Jehiel of Paris headed the defense. The Talmud was, however, again condemned (1240). Three years later the decree was carried out, under urging from the new pope, Innocent IV. A general confiscation took place throughout France, and on one day fourteen wagon-loads were brought into Paris. Later, six more wagon-loads were added, and all the books were publicly burned on June 17, 1244.

Similar confiscations took place in Rome about the same time; again in Paris, four years later, under the cardinal-legate Odo; in Barcelona and Tarragona under Pope Clement IV., the Archbishop of Tarragona, and the apostate Pablo Christiano of Montpellier, King James of Aragon, though he had at one time ordered the confiscation of Nahmanides' writings, showing himself now somewhat more liberally inclined; in Paris under Philip the Fair, in 1299, and again in 1309, when three wagon-loads of books were burned; in Toulouse, under the inquisitor Bernard Gui, aided by officials of King Louis in 1319. Before this last burning the books were carried through the streets of the city, while royal officers proclaimed publicly that their condemnation was due to the insults to Christianity which they contained. In 1320 the Archbishop of Bourges received orders from Pope John XXII. to confiscate all copies of the Talmud in his city. Finally, in Rome during the Feast of Weeks, 1322, occurred a confiscation and a burning of the Talmud, accompanied by robbery and murder on the part of the mob.

Polish Bishop Throwing Confiscated Hebrew Books into the Flames.
(From Jacob Emden's "Sefer Shimmush," 1762.)

From the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century.

In the fifteenth century three confiscations were ordered: (1) of the Talmud in southern France, by Pope Alexander V., carried out by the inquisitor Pons Feugeyron, 1409; (2) of the Talmud and other "anti-Christian writings like the 'Marmar Jeshu,'" (Toledot Yeshu?) in Spain, by the anti-pope Benedict XIII., 1415 (never carried into effect, owing to the pope's deposition); (3) of all Hebrew books in Portugal, 1497.

One of the most important of anti-Talmud movements occurred in Germany at the opening of the sixteenth century. Two converts, the Dominicans Victor of Carben and Johann Pfefferkorn, brought the customary charges against the Talmud, whereupon King Maximilian in 1509 authorized the confiscation of Hebrew books throughout Germany, and the destruction of such as contained anything contrary to the teachings of the Bible or of Christianity. In Frankfort, Worms, Lorch, Bingen, Laufen, Mayence, and Deutz such confiscations were held; that in Frankfort taking place on Sept. 28, when all books found in the synagogue were seized. A house-to-house search was to have been made on the following day; but the archbishop Uriel of Gemmingen forbade this, and together with several other Christians who showed themselves friends to Jewish literature, succeeded in inducing the emperor to order the return of the books to their owners. Later, this order was revoked; 1,500 books and manuscripts were again seized in Frankfort (April 11, 1510). The question in general was then submitted to the scholars of Germany for decision, and men like Reuchlin gave their answer in favor of the Talmud and kindred works, though naturally against Lipman's anti-Christian writings and the "Toledot Yeshu" (History of the Birth of Jesus of Nazareth) —works condemned by the Jews themselves. The weight of opinion, including that of all the large universities except Heidelberg, was against the Talmud, however; and Reuchlin was charged with heresy. After further vacillation on the part of the authorities, Reuchlin's case was carried to Rome, and finally decided against him; but the Talmud question seems to have been dropped for a while.

Action of the Inquisition.

The question was reopened in Italy in 1553 by Cardinal Caraffa, leader of the Italian Inquisition, and from this time on down to the nineteenth century the attacks on Hebrew books continued almost without interruption. The usual apostate charges preceded the confiscation orders issued by Pope Julius III. in 1553, and were eagerly carried out by the inquisitor-general. In Rome the "familiars," dread servants of the Holy Office, forced their way into synagogues and homes, and returned laden with booty to their superiors. A defense was allowed the rabbis, a formality the uselessness of which history had already made evident. On an appointed day all the copies of the Talmud were carried to the Campo di Fiori, and once again, as the flames arose, Rome rang with mingled shouts of glee and cries of anguish (Sept., 1553). And not Rome alone; for the Inquisition's decree had reached all places where the Catholic Church was supreme. Barcelona obeyed first; then Venice, where the apostate Eleazar ben Raphael wished to include many other books in the condemnation, and a commission

finally decided partially in his favor. On a Sabbath the sentence was carried out, and Judah Lerma has narrated that he alone lost 1,500 volumes. Romagna, Urbino, and Pesaro held burnings before the end of the year; and early in 1554 books were burned by hundreds of thousands in Ancona, Ferrara, Mantua, Padua, Candia (an island belonging to Venice), and Ravenna.

In the catalogue of prohibited books ("Index Librorum Prohibitorum") published in 1554 by order of the pope, in Milan and Venice, the "Talmuth" appeared in the list for the first time, and thereafter was prohibited by the indexes published in various parts of the Catholic world, with the modifications, on two occasions, mentioned in the article Censorship. In 1557 the baptized Jew Andrea del Monte directed another confiscation in Rome, sparing not even the prayer-books; and in the following year the inquisitor-general Cardinal Ghislieri ordered still another. In Milan the Spanish general Gonzalo Fernandez de Cordua, after resisting the Inquisition for some time, finally agreed that the Talmud should be burned, and ordered his Spanish soldiers to aid in the work. Other books were not spared, however, and between 10,000 and 12,000 volumes formed a pyre over which Sextus Sinensis presided in April or May, 1559. Other confiscations took place in Cremona and Lodi (July, 1566); Romagna and Bologna (1567); Vercelli, in Piedmont-Savoy (1592); Avignon and neighborhood (1593); Pavia and Lodi (1597); and Rome (1601). In Cremona and Lodi, however, the books were later returned by order of the Senate of Milan

Meanwhile Prague had become the scene of violent anti-Talmud movements. As early as 1560 a confiscation, including even the prayer-books, had taken place under the Dominicans, but the emperor Ferdinand, when appealed to, had ordered the return of the books. Toward the end of the century the movement was carried on even more energetically by the Jesuits, and on Dec. 7, 1693, the Jesuit Father Wolfgang Preissler, charging that the Talmud and kindred works were dangerous to civil and religious authority, secured permission for a confiscation. A search through the Jewish schoolhouse and the synagogues resulted in the discovery of more than 200 works. The movement then spread to other parts, and after the customary charges against the Talmud, a confiscation took place in Friedeberg (Neumark), but King Frederick I. ordered the return of the books seized.

In the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

Fürth, in Bavaria, was the scene of the next confiscation. A certain Mordecai (Marx) ben Moses, who had embraced Christianity, assuming the name "Philip Ernst Christfels," brought charges of blasphemy against Jewish prayer-books (1702). In company with several others he visited some of the Jewish houses in Fürth, and seized eighteen books. Most of these were prayer-books of various editions, but among them were also the Yoreh De'ah and two commentaries to the Earlier Prophets (Abravanel's and the "Leb Aharon"). Christfels made a list of the so-called blasphemous words contained in these works, and this was used at the sittings (March 27–April 4, 1702) of an inquisition appointed by the margrave Georg Friedrich of Brandenburg-Onolzbach to examine into the charges. The head of the commission was Rudolf Martin Meelführer, who took during the trial a position in regard to Hebrew literature very similar to that which Reuchlin had taken; and the commission was discharged without having accomplished anything. A similar result followed in 1712, when the matter was reopened in connection with charges of blasphemy brought against a certain Elkan Fränkel. Meelführer, however, fell into disfavor this time at the court of Georg Friedrich's successor, Wilhelm Friedrich, and was charged with having had a secret understanding with Fränkel in bringing about the discharge of the former commission. About this same time another series of house-to-house searches was instituted in the city of Prague by a permanent Inquisition commission of Dominicans which had been established there. Certain books were found in the homes of forty-two families and were seized (1711). Still another search took place twelve years later under the Jesuit Franz Haselbauer.

During the next thirty years a series of confiscations occurred in Italy. The first took place in Ancona in 1728, though the books seized were afterward returned. In 1731 the Dominican Giovanni Antonio Costanzi directed searches in all the Jewish quarters throughout the Papal States; these searches were repeated in 1738, 1748, and finally in 1753, the last by order of Benedict XIV., who had learned that books were being smuggled into the ghettos in rolls of cloth and by means of other subterfuges. In Rome, on a night in April, after the ghetto gates had been closed, officials entered houses previously marked as suspicious. Outside, at stated distances on the streets, wagons and carts were stationed under escort. As the books were taken from each house they were placed in one of the sacks with which each searching party had been provided, the sack was sealed in the presence of two Christian witnesses, and a tag bearing the owner's name was attached. The books were then conveyed to an appointed official; and in this way thirty-eight carts were filled from the ghetto of Rome alone. Similar confiscations took place in Lugo (Ravenna), Pesaro, Ferrara, Urbino, Ancona, Sinigaglia; and the next year in Avignon, Carpentras, Cavaillon, and Lille.

Trouble arose next in Poland, consequent on the Frankist disturbances in 1757. The charge was made that as a result of Talmudical teachings Jews were accustomed to use the blood of Christian children in their ceremonies. All books except the Bible and the Zohar were confiscated, and about 1,000 copies were thrown into a ditch and burned. The search was then continued, and repeated in Lemberg, but after the leader of the Frankists had been convicted of intrigue and deception the whole movement was allowed to lapse in Poland; and though severe edicts were yet to be issued in Italy (1775 and 1793) the Napoleonic era brought to a general close the history of measures directed against Hebrew books.

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G. W. P.

CONFLICT OF LAWS: A disagreement between the laws of two states with reference to litigation affecting private rights claimed to be subject to their jurisdiction.

The Mosaic law recognizes no distinction between a native and a foreigner (Ex. xii. 49; Num. xv. 15, 16). In questions of ritual and religious practises the Talmudic principle enjoins obedience to local custom. One who comes from Palestine, where the second day of the holidays is not observed, to a land where it is observed, must follow the custom of the country wherein he has settled. If, however, his intention is to return to his former abode in a short time, he must follow the more rigorous observance of either place (Pes. 50a; Maimonides, "Yad," Shebitot Yomṭob, viii. 20; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Oraḥ Ḥayyim, 468, 3, 4, and 496, 3).

Criminal Cases.

In criminal cases the Jewish law has practically abdicated its authority in favor of the law of the land. Forty years before the destruction of the Second Temple, the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem adjourned; and since then the Jewish courts have had no jurisdiction in cases involving capital punishment ('Ab. Zarah 8b; Sanh. 41a, 52b; "Yad," Sanh. xiv. 11, 13). Nor are cases involving pecuniary penalties adjudicated upon by Jewish courts. Only such cases as occur frequently and involve actual loss to one of the parties may now be judged by Jewish courts; but in matters involving no actual loss, as the double payment for theft, or in matters that are not of frequent occurrence, as when one animal injures another, the rabbis of the present day can exercise no authority (B. Ḳ. 84b; Maimonides, *l.c.* v. 8 *et seq.*; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 1 *et seq.*).

In civil cases the following rules were established by the Rabbis.

1. In suits between two Israelites the law of the place where the contract was made governs, or, if the place is not mentioned in the contract, the law of the place where the case is tried rules (B. M. 83a; Ket. 110b; "Yad," Ishut, xxiii. 12; Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 42, 14, 15; Eben ha-'Ezer, 117, 19, Isserles' gloss).

2. In suits between non-Jews the law of the land or the Jewish law—to whichever the parties submit themselves—governs ("Yad," Melakim, x. 12).

3. In matters between a Jew and a non-Jew the suit is decided according to the law of the land or according to the Jewish law, that system being chosen which favors the Jew. In each case, however, the non-Jew should be informed by what system he was judged (B. Ḳ. 113a; Maimonides, *ib.*). If the non-Jew observes the general laws of morality and religion ("ger toshab," Lev. xxv. 35, and elsewhere), the law of the land must govern (Maimonides, *ib.*). A non-Jew who sells a promissory note to a Jew can not afterward absolve the debtor, although the Jewish law permits it; for the law of the land governs. If a Jew sells a promissory note to a non-Jew, it is as if he sold it to a Jew; and the Jewish law holds sway (Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, lxvi. 25). See ASSIGNMENT.

4. Documents of purchase and sale, or promissory notes, prepared in non-Jewish courts and signed by non-Jews, are valid. Documents of gift or of the admission of a debt, where actual delivery of money did not accompany the act, are not valid (Giṭ. 10b; "Yad," Malweh, xxvii. 1; Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 68, 1).

Civil Cases.

Where there is a decree of the government ordering the record of all negotiations, all documents prepared in non-Jewish courts are valid (Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, *l.c.*, Isserles' gloss).

5. It is forbidden by Jewish law to litigate a suit between two Israelites before a non-Jewish court, even when both parties desire it (Giṭ. 88b; "Yad," Sanh. xxvi. 7; Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, xxvi. 1). If one of the parties refuses to appear before a Jewish court, the other must first summon him through the Jewish court; and if he does not heed the summons, permission will be granted to him to sue the defendant before a non-Jewish court (Maimonides *ib.*; Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, *ib.*).

6. Referring to the Persian law, the amora Samuel said: דינא דמלכותא דינא ("the law of the land is the law," Giṭ. 10b; B. Ḳ. 113a). This dictum is particularly applied to cases between Jews and non-Jews. Although according to the Jewish law three years' uninterrupted possession of real estate ("Ḥazaḳah") establishes one's right to land, in Persia, where forty years of uninterrupted possession was necessary, the same law held good also for the Jews of that land (B. B. 55a; see Rashbam's commentary). This principle has been accepted as valid by all well-regulated governments in cases of taxes or of other regulations made for the welfare of the community ("Yad," Gezelah we-Abedah, v. 11-18; Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 369, 6-11). Where, however, the case does not affect the community, and the government derives no special benefit from it—where the law of the land is that the husband does not inherit from his wife—the Jewish law predominates; and the wife's relatives have no claim on her property, if she dies during the life of her husband (Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, *l.c.*, Isserles' gloss; see "Piṯḥe Teshubah" *ad loc.* § 3, and to 248, § 2; "Ḥatham Sofer, Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ," 172). Of course, this could be the case only in those countries where Jewish autonomy is recognized in cases of inheritance. It is not the case in England, America, or western European states, for example.

The tendency of the Talmud and of the later codes is generally toward submission to the law of the land in all civil cases, when such law is humane and the Jews are allowed an equal hearing in the courts with non-Jews. The fact that now the Jewish court has almost entirely lost its power, and the Rabbis, even those of the most Orthodox wing, raise no objection against those who resort to non-Jewish courts, upon whom Maimonides and his followers have pronounced the ban of excommunication (see Midr. Tan., Mishpaṭim, 10; "Yad," Sanh. xxvi. 7), proves that this is the tendency in the progress of the Jewish law. In civil cases, therefore, the law

of the land, even when in conflict with the Jewish law, is now tacitly recognized by all as binding.

The question was frequently raised whether marriage and divorce are religious acts, and must, therefore, be in accordance with Jewish law and custom; or whether they may also be included under civil laws generally and be governed by the laws of the state; or whether they are partly religious and partly civil in their character. This question was discussed in periodicals and in books and at the different conferences of rabbis held during the nineteenth century; but no uniform law has as yet been established in regard to it.

Marriage Laws.

The Assembly of Notables, convened by Napoleon I. in 1806 in Paris, among other matters brought before it, had to answer the question as to the relation between the civil and the Jewish law in matters pertaining to marriage and divorce. The following resolutions were adopted, and were later (1807) confirmed by the Sanhedrin, two-thirds of which consisted of rabbis and one-third of laymen: "That intermarriages between Jews and Christians were to be considered binding, and, although they were not attended by any religious forms, yet no religious interdict could be passed upon them; . . . that divorce by the Jewish law was effective only when preceded by that of the civil authorities; that marriage likewise must be considered a civil contract first" (Graetz, "Hist. of the Jews," American ed., v. 497).

The rabbinical conference held in Brunswick, Germany, in 1844, resolved "that the intermarriage of Jews and Christians, and, in general, the intermarriage of Jews with adherents of any of the monotheistic religions, is not forbidden, provided that the parents are permitted by the law of the state to bring up in the Jewish faith the offspring of such marriage." This resolution entirely abandons the Talmudic standpoint; and when it was brought up for ratification before the second rabbinical convention at Augsburg, even Aub and Geiger, the most pronounced advocates of Reform present at that convention, agreed to have it tabled.

The second Israelitish synod, held at Augsburg in 1871, passed the following resolution concerning civil marriages: "Civil marriage has, according to the view of Judaism, perfect validity or sanction; provided that the Mosaic law of prohibited degrees (*e.g.*, marriage between aunt and nephew) is not violated. The religious solemnization, however, is required as a consecration befitting the dignity of marriage."

The question of the dissolution of marriage by the death of the husband, which has been dealt with so minutely by the Rabbis (see 'Agunah), especially where evidence was necessary to establish the identity of the deceased, has also been acted upon by modern conferences. The rabbinical conference held at Philadelphia in 1869 and the Augsburg synod of 1871 passed resolutions to the effect that "the final decision of the courts concerning the identity of a dead person, and a judicial decision declaring a lost person to be dead, have also sanction for ritual cases."

Divorce Laws.

In cases of divorce the question assumes a still more serious aspect; and the discussions for the last century on this subject have grown very bitter. Although the Jewish authorities readily submitted to the non-Jewish courts questions affecting civil rights and contracts, they refused to recognize their authority in matters of divorce (Giṭ. 88b). In the seventh century of the common era, when Jewish women sought to obtain bills of divorce from their husbands in the Mohammedan courts, the geonim Ḥunai and Mar-Raba introduced many reforms into the Jewish laws of divorce so as to prevent such action on the part of the Jews by making these appeals unnecessary (Graetz, *l.c.* iii. 92).

In more modern times, when the autonomy of the Jewish courts was entirely abolished in most of the European countries, the question assumed greater importance, and was discussed more minutely by rabbis. In most civilized countries—even where the rabbis have the right to perform marriage ceremonies, and the state would recognize their act as valid—they have no authority to enforce a dissolution of marriage when it is required by Jewish law, or to conduct the ceremony of a ritual Get or Bill of Divorce, so long as the marriage has not been duly dissolved by the competent courts of the country. The tendency, therefore, of the modern Reform rabbis is to look upon divorce as a civil act, and thus to submit entirely to the laws of the country; the ritual get is thus considered superfluous. While the German rabbis, in their various conventions, did not pass any definite resolutions concerning this matter, the American rabbis in the Philadelphia conference of 1869 passed the following resolution:

"The dissolution of marriage is, on Mosaic and rabbinical grounds, a civil act only, which never received religious consecration. It is to be recognized, therefore, as an act emanating altogether from the judicial authorities of the state. The so-called ritual get is in all cases declared null and void. The dissolution of marriage, pronounced by a civil court, is also fully valid in the eyes of Judaism, if it can be ascertained from the judicial documents that both parties consented to the divorce. Where, however, the court issues a decree against one or the other party, by constraint, Judaism recognizes the validity of the divorce only when the cause assigned is sufficient in conformity with the spirit of the Jewish religion. It is recommended, however, that the officiating rabbi, in rendering a decision, obtain the concurrence of competent colleagues."

By this resolution the Jewish law of divorce is entirely abrogated, and the law of the land takes precedence.

The great majority of Jews, however, have not accepted these regulations, and still cling to the enactments of the Shulḥan 'Aruk. In cases of marriage and divorce, they still endeavor to maintain the autonomy of the Jewish law; and no conservative rabbi will sanction the second marriage of a woman who has obtained her divorce through a non-Jewish court, unless she has also obtained a ritual get. In order not to come into conflict with the civil authorities of the state, many rabbis are careful not to grant a get unless the courts of the land have previously sanctioned a dissolution of the marriage.

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E. C. J. H. G.

CONFLICT OF OPINION (Hebrew, **Maḥloket**; Aramaic, **Pelugta**): Rarely did an opinion expressed by one of the rabbis of the Talmud pass unchallenged. In questions involving logical reasoning, or the interpretation of some Biblical passage, or an opinion of an earlier authority, there were conflicts of opinion among the teachers of the Talmud. The conflicting opinions were usually represented by different schools; for example, those of Shammai and Hillel, Rab and Samuel, Abaye and Raba. In fact, most of the rabbis of the Talmud, from the earliest tannaim to the latest amoraim, can be grouped into antagonistic couples, one in opposition to the other.

Just as a tanna could not express an opinion which was in conflict with a Biblical passage, so an amora could not contradict a Mishnah or a generally accepted Baraita, unless he was able to produce another Mishnah or Baraita to support his view. Nor could an amora express an opinion which was in conflict with an accepted decision or principle expressed by an earlier leading amora (Beẓah 9a, and Rashi *ad loc.*). Otherwise, every rabbi had a right to his opinion, even though it conflicted with the opinion of the greatest of his contemporaries (B. Ḳ. 43b).

Scattered throughout the Talmud there are various rules by which the Rabbis were guided in deciding cases of conflicting opinions. When the opinion of an individual conflicted with that of the majority, the opinion of the majority prevailed (Ber. 9a *et al.*). If one Mishnah records a conflict of opinion between two tannaim, and a subsequent Mishnah in the same book records the opinion of only one without mentioning any name (Setam), the opinion expressed in the latter Mishnah is to be followed (Yeb. 42b). In laws concerning mourning, the more lenient opinion is usually observed (M. Ḳ. 18a). With a few exceptions, an opinion expressed by the school of Hillel prevails against an opinion by the school of Shammai ('Er. 13b). Because Eliezer ben Hyrcanus was under the ban (B. M. 59b; Shab. 130b), decisions were not, except in a few instances, rendered in accordance with his opinions. Decisions are always in accordance with the opinions of Simeon ben Gamaliel, except in three cases (Giṭ. 38a), and of Rabbi (Judah the Patriarch), when in conflict with any other tanna. In questions involving logical reasoning, the decision is never rendered in accordance with the opinion of R. Meïr when in conflict with the opinions of his colleagues, because his reasoning was too subtle ('Er. 13b; compare Ket. 57a).

Rules of Decision.

In conflicts of opinion between amoraim the following rules were employed. In matters of civil law the opinion of Rab prevails against the opinion of Samuel; in religious laws the reverse is the case (Bek. 49b). The same rule applies to conflicts of opinion between Rab Naḥman and Rab Sheshet. With the exception of six cases, decisions are always in accordance with the opinion of Raba when in conflict with Abaye (B. M. 22b). The opinion of Rabbah generally prevails against that of Rab Judah or Rab Joseph (Giṭ. 74b). In rabbinical institutions the more lenient opinion is followed (Yer. Giṭ. i. 2). In a conflict between earlier and later authorities (those coming after the period of Abaye and Raba) the opinion of the later takes precedence (see Asheri to Sanh. iv. 6; compare B. B. 142b).

These rules were followed by the various codifiers of the Jewish law. Although the law is now fixed in the codes of Maimonides and Caro, many of these rules have still their application, especially the one last mentioned, for it is considered that the later rabbis, who knew of the opinions advanced by their predecessors, were in a better position to decide correctly (compare Aḥaronim; Amora; Authority; Laws, Codification of.

Bibliography: *Meḳo' ha-Talmud*, ascribed to Samuel ha-Nagid, appended to *Berakot* in most editions of the Talmud; Mielziner, *Introduction to the Talmud*, Cincinnati, 1894.

L. G. J. H. G.

CONFLICT OF PASSAGES. See Hermeneutics.

CONFORTE or **CONFORTI, DAVID:** Hebrew literary historian; born in Salonica about 1618; died about 1685. Conforte came of a family of scholars. His early instructors were R. Israel Ẓebi, R. Judah Girasi, and R. Baruch Angel. As a young man he studied the Cabala under R. Jefeth the Egyptian, and philosophy under R. Levi Pasriel. His chief teachers, however, were Mordecai Kalai and Daniel Estroza. Conforte married a granddaughter of Menahem de Lonsano. He journeyed twice to Palestine, once in 1644, alone, and a second time in 1652, when, together with his family, he settled in Jerusalem, founding there a bet ha-midrash. In 1671, however, he was in Egypt, where he occupied the position of dayyan. He is also known to have been in Smyrna.

His chief work is a literary chronicle now known by the title "Ḳore ha-Dorot," which contains the names of all the teachers and writers from the close of the Talmud up to his own day. This chronicle is divided into three parts, the first two of which, referring to the time before the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, are very short. The third part is divided into eleven generations, and is not systematically arranged. Conforte used all the earlier historical works, such as Abraham ibn Daud's "Sefer ha-Ḳabbalah," Zacuto's "Yuḥasin," and Yaḥyah's "Shalshelet ha-Ḳabbalah," especially the first mentioned, from which he cites whole passages. He also gathered material from various printed and manuscript responsa, and was the first to collect the names mentioned in these works. His chronicle is valuable for the literary history of the Jews in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially in Turkey, Italy, Africa, and the near East. Probably it was composed in Egypt, about the year 1683, if Cassel's conjecture be correct. Conforte was a mere compiler, and at times his data are contradictory. The original manuscript was brought from Egypt by R. David Ashkenazi of Jerusalem, who, to judge from a note in his preface, gave it the title "Ḳore ha-Dorot," and had it printed in Venice in

1746, without mentioning the name of the author. This poor edition has been critically reedited, and supplied with notes and index, by David Cassel (Berlin, 1846), who follows the pagination of the first edition. Conforte also wrote a volume of responsa, of the fate of which, however, nothing is known.

Gabriel Confoto, a Turkish Talmudist who is mentioned in the responsa literature of the seventeenth century, was probably a son of David Conforte.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cassel's preface to his edition of Conforte's *Kore ha-Dorot*; Nepi-Ghirondi, *Toledot Gedole Yisrael*, p. 91; Azulai, *Shem ha-Gedolim*, i., No. 45; De-Rossi Hamberger, *Historisches Wörterbuch*, p. 86; Michael, *Or ha-Hayyim*, No. 771.

G.

CONGREGATION: 1. An assembly convoked for a certain time and purpose (קהל = *ἐκκλησία*, I Kings viii. 65; Joel ii. 16; Ps. xl. 10. For מקהלים and מקהלות in Ps. xxvi. 12, lxviii. 26, "assemblies" would be more correct than "congregations" [A. V.]; and מועדיך in Ps. lxxiv. 4 should be rendered "synagogues," not "congregations," as in A. V.).

2. A single community (עדה = *συναγωγή*, Num. xxxv. 23 *et seq.*).

3. The whole body of Israel, called קהל יי ("the congregation of the Lord," Deut. xxiii. 1 *et seq.*; R.V. "assembly" is incorrect); עדת יי, Num. xxvii. 17; עדת ישראל = "the congregation of Israel," Ex. xii. 3; עדת בני ישראל = "the congregation of the children of Israel, Ex. xvi. 1; קהל עדת ישראל = "the assembly of the congregation of Israel," Ex. xii. 6 and Num. xiv. 5; or simply הקהל and העדה used indifferently, Lev. iv. 13 *et seq.*; Prov. v. 14, where עדה is preferably translated by LXX. *συναγωγή*, and קהל, *ἐκκλησία*. To this must be added קהלת יעקב = "the congregation of Jacob," Deut. xxxiii. 4 (R. V. "assembly"; LXX. *συναγωγαῖς*, plural; so also Ecclus. [Sirach] xxiv. 23).

From the Apocryphal and other Hellenistic writings (see Ecclus. xxiv. 2, xliv. 15, l. 12 *et seq.*; I Macc. ii. 56, iii. 13, etc.), and the inscriptions in Schürer ("Gesch. des Jüdischen Volkes," ii. 432 *et seq.*, iii. 40–46), it appears that "synagogue" = *συναγωγή* was the name, corresponding to כנסת, Aramean כנישתא, given to the Jewish congregation as a community, as well as to the place of worship; while the name *ἐκκλησία* (*τοῦ Θεοῦ*, or *Κυρίου* = "assembly of the Lord"; hence *κυριακή* [*οἰκία*] = "church") was chosen to designate the assembly of worshipers.

It was owing to the influence of Paul that *ἐκκλησία* (= "church") became the distinctive name of the Christian communities, while "synagogue" became that of the Jewish congregation, and for some time, also, of the Judæo-Christian congregations (compare Schürer, *l.c.*). See COMMUNITY, ORGANIZATION OF; MINYAN; SYNAGOGUE.

K.

CONGRESS OF JEWISH WOMEN: One of the denominational congresses of the World's Parliament of Religions, held at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Ill., 1893. It was the first delegate body of Jewish women ever called together. There were present 93 delegates from 29 cities of the United States. The congress was organized by (Mrs. Henry) Hannah G. Solomon, chairman, assisted by Miss Sadie American, secretary, and a committee of 25 other Chicago women. Its sessions were held Sept. 4–7, inclusive. Papers were presented setting forth the work and thought of Jewish women in philanthropy and religion. At the final session a resolution was adopted calling for the formation of a permanent organization of Jewish women, to be called the "National Council of Jewish Women" (see COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN). As a souvenir of the congress, there was issued a "Collection of Traditional Jewish Melodies," arranged and edited by the cantors William Sparger of New York and Alois Kaiser of Baltimore, with an introduction by Dr. Cyrus Adler of the United States National Museum, Washington.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Papers of the Jewish Women's Congress* (Jewish Publication Society of America), 1894.

A. S. A.

CONIGLIANI, CARLO: Italian jurist and political economist; born at Modena June 25, 1868; died there Dec. 6, 1901. After studying law at Modena, receiving the degree of doctor of laws in 1889, he was sent by the government to Padua and London for further study. On his return to Modena he became lecturer at the university, being made instructor in finance in 1892. In 1898 he was appointed assistant professor on the faculty of law. He died suddenly on the same day on which he had been named for the full professorship. Conigliani was an earnest student of economics, being attracted especially to the problem of the effect of duties and taxes on the masses. When Minister WOLLEMBORG was planning in 1901 a thorough reform of taxation, with the object of relieving the poorer classes, he called Conigliani into the ministry of finance as scientific adviser, to help him in elaborating his measures. Conigliani was also interested in Jewish communal affairs, and was for a long time a member of the governing board of the Jewish community of Modena.

During the last years of his short life he was the enthusiastic leader of the Zionists in Italy. He founded in 1901 "L'Idea Sionista" for the expression of their views, and acted as its editor until his death.

His works include: "Teoria degli Effetti Economici delle Imposte," Milan, 1890; "Un Nuovo Sistema di Tariffe Ferroviarie," Florence, 1890; "Le Basi Subbiettive dello Scambio," Padua, 1890; "Le Dottrine Monetarie in Francia nel Medio Evo" Modena, 1892; "I Pronostici del Futuro Sociale" and "Per l'Imposta Proggessiva," Turin, 1896; "La Riforma delle Leggi sui Tributi Locali, Studi e Proposte," Modena, 1898; "Ueber das Hausiergewerbe in Italien" (with Ugo Rabbeno); "Gladstone e la Finanza Inglese," Turin, 1898; and many shorter articles contributed to "Riforma Sociale," "Critica Sociale," "Rivista Popolare," and "Giornale degli Economisti."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *L'Idea Sionista*, Jan. 6, 1902.

S. I. E.

CONITZ. See KONITZ.

CONJUNCTIVE. See ACCENTS IN HEBREW.

CONNECTICUT: One of the six New England States, and one of the thirteen original states of the

Union. The first mention of a Jew in Connecticut is apparently that of a certain "David the Jew" in the Colonial Records, under date of Nov. 9, 1659 (i. 343); the records further show that a Jacob Lucena was fined £20 in 1670, probably for Sabbath-breaking, since the court, "considering he was a Jew," reduced his fine to £10, and later, upon petition of Asser Levy, to £5 (Hühner, in "Pub. Am. Jew. Hist. Soc." No. 8, pp. 21 *et seq.*).

In a short history of the New Haven congregation, deposited in the corner-stone of the new temple, and published in the local press of March, 1896, it is stated that about six Jewish families settled in New Haven as early as 1770. According to the recently (1901) published diary of Ezra Stiles, this statement is inaccurate. Stiles was born in New Haven in 1727, continuing his residence there till his removal to Newport in 1755. In an account of his visit to New Haven in 1772 he makes this assertion: "The summer past a family of Jews settled here, the first real Jews (except the two brothers Pintos, who renounced Judaism and all religion) that settled in New Haven." He adds that they were "10 or 8 Souls Jews, with six or 8 Negroes. Last Saturday they kept holy . . . the Family were worshipping by themselves in a Room in which were Lights and a suspended Lamp. This is the first Jewish Worship in New Haven" ("Diary of Ezra Stiles," i. 283). It is quite probable that of the Jews who came to Connecticut up to the year 1840 the greater number left the state, the others amalgamating with the families of other faiths. There are a few Christian families of Connecticut—notably those of an ex-president of Yale College, a former governor of the state, and an ex-minister to Russia—that trace their lineage to these early settlers, claiming relationship with Ralph Isaacs.

Considerable interest attaches to the brothers Pinto. They were doubtless the first Jewish settlers of Connecticut. A building known as the "Pinto Place," in State street near the railroad bridge in New Haven, is still in existence (see Pinto). In the "Roll of the Citizens of New Haven, Feb. 5, 1784, at their first incorporation," are found the names of the Pinto brothers—Jacob and Solomon. The latter was a student at Yale College, graduating there in 1777. He took part in the defense of New Haven against the British July 5 and 6, 1779, and was taken prisoner in that engagement ("Diary of Ezra Stiles," ii.).

New Haven.

New Haven is the most important city of Connecticut, having a population of 108,027 (1900). The number of its Jewish inhabitants is about 5,500. All records having been destroyed by fire, there exist no available data regarding the Jewish congregations of New Haven. The first synagogue, Mishkan Israel, had its origin between 1840 and 1843, as in the latter year a parcel of land in Westville (1¼ acres) was purchased for $50 for a cemetery. The first congregation consisted of twenty Bavarian families, among which were the Adlers, Bretzfelders, Lehmans, Lauterbachs, Milanders, Ullmans, Watermans, and Rothschilds. Milander was the first reader of the synagogue. The congregation worshiped from time to time in the Armstrong Building (at the corner of Fleet street and Custom House square), in the Brewster Building (at the corner of State and Chapel streets), and in Todd's Hall (in State street, near Court street), Meininger, Sternheimer, and Samuel Zunder being the successive readers. In 1854, by the will of Judah Touro, the congregation came into possession of $5,000, which enabled it to purchase the property of the Third Congregational Church in Court street. The new synagogue was dedicated in the following year, the Rev. B. E. Jacobs being minister. In 1855 a mere handful of people formed an Orthodox congregation, under the name "B'nai Sholom." They worshiped from time to time in West Water street, William street, and in Olive street; their present synagogue was built in 1894.

During 1862–64 the Court street congregation introduced a choir and an organ in the services, under the direction of Morris Steinert the Rev. Jonas Gabriel being minister. In 1873 the "Minhag America" was adopted as the ritual, and the first Sabbath-school established, with the Rev. Judah Wechsler as minister. He was succeeded in 1878 by the Rev. Dr. Kleeberg. Regular weekly sermons in German were introduced, the temple was enlarged, and a new organ installed. In 1893 Rabbi David Levy was elected minister. Various changes were made in the ritual, the sermon and a large part of the services being given in English, and the congregation decided to move to a more convenient quarter of the city. In 1896 the corner-stone of the new temple at Orange and Audubon streets was laid, and in March of the following year the new structure was dedicated. Since the Russian and Rumanian immigration there have been established a number of other congregations, among which are Bnai Israel, Bikur Cholim, Bnay Abraham, B'nai Jacob, and Shewath Achim, each having a large membership and being in a thriving condition. Daily religious schools are connected with these congregations.

While the Jewish community of New Haven consists mainly of merchants with large business and manufacturing establishments, it has had distinguished representatives in the legal and medical professions also. Some have been specially prominent, as Max Adler, president of the chamber of commerce; I. M. Ullman, officer on the staff of the governor; Morris Spier, commissioner of charities; Isaac Wolf, member of the legislature; H. W. Asher, president of the board of education; and J. B. Ullman, assistant corporation counsel. A considerable number have held important positions as teachers in the public schools. Maier Zunder (d. 1901) was for twenty years a member of the board of education. In recognition of his services in the cause of public-school education, a prominent school building bears his name. He was for many years, and up to the time of his death, treasurer of the Congregation Mishkan Israel, trustee of the B'nai B'rith Home, member of the board of the Masonic Home, and president of the Savings Bank of New Haven.

During the past twenty years there has been a considerable increase in the Jewish populations of other towns and cities of the state, especially in Bridgeport, Ansonia, Derby, Waterbury, and New

London. Though without a resident minister, they each maintain a cemetery and a Sabbath-school, and hold religious services during the important holidays of the year. The combined population of Jews outside of Hartford and New Haven is estimated to be one thousand. Since 1891 a number of Jewish farmers have settled in various parts of the state (see Agricultural Colonies in the United States).

Hartford.

The capital city of the state is Hartford, with a population of 79,850 (1900), the Jewish inhabitants numbering about 2,000. The first congregation established there was Beth Israel (1843). Among its rabbis have been Deutsch, Mayer, Rundbaken, and the present incumbent, Meyer Elkin. The congregation numbers about 100 members, and is in a flourishing condition. There are two or three other congregations, established by the Russian community within the past ten years, notably Adas Israel and B'nai Israel. Many Hartford Jews have held positions of honor in civic affairs, while not a few have held distinguished places in the medical and legal professions.

A. D. Le.

CONQUE, ABRAHAM BEN LEVI: Cabalist; lived at Hebron, Palestine, in the second half of the seventeenth century. Swayed by his cabalistic studies, Conque threw himself into the Shabbethaian movement, and became one of the most earnest apostles of the pretended Messiah. Even the apostasy of Shabbethai Ẓebi did not shake Conque's belief, and he remained until his death a faithful follower.

Conque traveled, as a collector for the poor of Palestine, throughout Germany and Russia, and everywhere endeavored to win adherents to the movement. At the request of a friend residing at Frankfort-on-the-Main, he wrote, in 1689, an account of Shabbethai Ẓebi's life, which reveals in the author a peculiar state of mind. The account is full of miracles and prodigies, firmly believed in by Conque. It is referred to in Jacob Emden's history of the Shabbethaian movement, "Zot Torat ha-Ḳena'ot." Conque was also the author of the following works: (1) "Abaḳ Soferim" (Dust of Scholars), Amsterdam, 1704, the first part, under the special title of "Em ha-Yeled," comprises homilies on the Pentateuch; the second, "'Uggat Reẓafim," contains Biblical interpretations by himself and others; and the third, "Em la-Binah," consists of nineteen sermons. (2) "Minḥat Ḳena'ot" (Offering of Jealousy), a treatise on jealousy. (3) "Abaḳ Derakim" (Dust of Roads), a collection of sermons. The last two are mentioned by Azulai, who claims to have seen them in manuscript.

Bibliography: Azulai, *Shem ha-Gedolim*, ii., *s.v.*; Zedner, *Auswahl*, p. 178, note 10; Grätz, *Gesch.* x. 228, 306, 422; Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 675.

K. I. Br.

CONRAD (CUNTZE) OF WINTERTHUR: Burgomaster of Strasburg during the Black Death, in 1348. Together with the councilors Goffe Sturm (Schöppe) and Peter Schwarber, he opposed the mob which, believing the Jews had caused the Black Death by poisoning the wells and rivers, demanded their lives. When a deputation of the citizens appeared before the council to insist upon the arrest of the Jews, Conrad energetically refused. They insolently demanded that he divide among the citizens a part of the money he had taken from the Jews for protection; whereupon Conrad arrested the whole deputation. His attitude toward the Jews was the more meritorious in that he exposed himself to the resentment of the populace, knowing clearly the consequences. Conrad and his colleagues were deposed, their property was confiscated, and they were excluded from the council for ten years.

Bibliography: Glaser, *Gesch. der Juden in Strassburg*, pp. 13 *et seq.*; Scheid, *Histoire des Juifs d'Alsace*, p. 36; Grätz, *Gesch.* vii. 336.

E. C. I. Br.

CONRAT, MASE: Professor and writer on Roman law; born in Breslau Sept. 16, 1848. His original name was Cohn, which he exchanged for Conrat in 1882, when he embraced the Christian faith. Conrat attended the gymnasium of St. Maria Magdalena in Breslau up to the year 1867; and then entered successively the universities of Breslau, Heidelberg, and Berlin. At the last he took his doctor's degree in 1870. From 1870 to 1872 he filled the office of referendar in Breslau; he was appointed privat-docent in Roman law at the University of Heidelberg in 1873; and in 1874 he became professor at the University of Zurich. In 1878 he accepted a call as professor in Roman law to the University of Amsterdam.

His early studies lay mainly in the field of ancient Roman law; but afterward, and for twenty years, he turned his attention to the Roman law of the Middle Ages. Besides numerous articles in various periodicals, he is the author of the following works: "De Natura Societatum Juris Romani Quæ Vocantur Publicæ," 1870; "Zum Römischen Vereinsrecht," 1873; "Die Sogenannte Actio de Eo Quod Certo Loco," 1877; "Beiträge zur Bearbeitung des Römischen Rechts," 1880, vol. i.; "Das Florentiner Rechtsbuch," 1882; "Die Epitome Exactis Regibus," 1884; "Pandekten und Institutionenauszug der Britischen Dekretatensammlung," 1887; "Geschichte der Quellen und Litteratur des Römischen Rechts im Früheren Mittelalter," 1891; "Die Christenverfolgungen im Römischen Reich vom Standpunkt des Juristen," 1897. He translated from Dutch into German Asser's "Das Internationale Privatrecht," 1880, and Kappeyne van de Cappello's "Abhandlungen," 1885. S.

CONREID, HEINRICH: American theatrical manager and impresario, born at Bielitz, Austria, Sept. 13, 1855; died at Meran, Austria, April 27, 1909. In 1887 he leased the Irving Place Theater, and introduced German plays there with great success. He succeeded Maurice Grau as manager of the Metropolitan Opera House, New York, in 1903, producing "Parsifal" and "Salome" in 1907. F. H. V.

CONSANGUINITY AMONG JEWS: Owing to their dispersion among populations professing creeds different from their own, Jews have married near relatives more frequently than the rest of the world. The marriage of first cousins and even of uncle and niece is quite legal and usual among them (see Marriage). The limitations on the marriage of those of priestly descent would tend to limit the choice of Cohens to those nearly related to them.

The tendency seems to have begun early, since Abraham is represented as having sought a wife for Isaac in his mother's family. In the Middle Ages it is difficult to ascertain how far the Jews tended to marry within their own families; but the Ghirondi family, to which Naḥmanides, Gersonides (who married his first cousin), and Simon Duran belonged, appeared to have married relatives for several generations (Steinschneider, "Cat. Bodl." cols. 2305–2310).

An attempt has been made to ascertain the proportion of first-cousin marriages among English Jews upon the method invented by G. H. Darwin ("Fortnightly Review," July, 1875), based on the number of marriages in which both bride and bridegroom have the same surname. This method gives a proportion of about one-fifth. Judging by this criterion, the percentage of cousin-marriages in the English peerage was 4.50 among the landed gentry, 3.75 in rural districts, 2.25 in London. Applying the same method to English Jews, Jacobs calculated that 7.52 per cent of their marriages were first-cousin marriages. By another method W. Stieda found that there were 23.02 per cent per thousand consanguineous marriages among the Jews of Alsace-Lorraine as compared with 8.97 among Catholics and 1.86 among Protestants ("Die Eheschliessungen in Elsass-Lothringen," 1872–76, Dorpat, 1878). It would therefore appear that the proportion of first-cousin marriages among Jews is about three times greater than among the non-Jewish population.

It seems that consanguineous unions are more fertile and less sterile than other marriages. In England the ordinary percentage of sterile marriages is as high as 16.03 (Duncan, "Fecundity, Fertility and Sterility," p. 153, Edinburgh, 1856), whereas among a number of Jewish consanguineous marriages only 5.4 per cent were sterile. The children who lived numbered 4.6 on an average as compared with 2.26 among ordinary Englishmen.

It has been contended that the neurotic tendency of Jews is due to these consanguineous marriages. Boudin ("Traité de Géographie Medicale," ii. 140, Paris, 1857) contended that the greater prevalence of deaf-mutism among Jews was due to this cause; but this view is no longer credited among medical men, who regard consanguinity in marriage as aggravating any diathetic tendency in a family, but not as causing the tendency per se.

Bibliography: Jacobs, *Studies in Jewish Statistics*, pp. 1-9, London, 1891; Huth, *Marriage of Near Kin*, p. 244, London, 1875.

A. J.

CONSECRATION or **DEDICATION** (חנכה): The solemn setting apart of a person or thing to a special use or purpose. According to Fleischer (Levy, "Neuhebr. Wörterb." ii. 206), the word "ḥanak" (to initiate) is derived from the "rubbing of the throat" of an infant for the purpose of cleansing it and enabling it to take the mother's milk, and is therefore applied to every form of initiation. It appears, moreover, that the "rubbing" remained for a long time an essential feature of the rite of initiation, for "every consecration in Biblical times was accompanied by rubbing or anointing with oil the object to be consecrated. Thus the pillar at Bethel was anointed (Gen. xxviii. 18; compare the "dedication" of Nebuchadnezzar's image, Dan. iii. 2 *et seq.*). The priests and the vessels of the Tabernacle were anointed with oil (Ex. xxviii. 41, xxx. 26; Lev. viii. 10–12; Num. vii. 13), and by this rite they were "hallowed." "Mishḥat Adonai" is, therefore, "consecration to the Lord" (Lev. x. 7).

Priests and Altar.

In the case of a priest to be consecrated there was also an anointing with the blood of the initiation "sacrifice" (Ex. xxix. 1), the sacrifice receiving the name of מלואים, from מלא את יד, "the filling of the hand" of the priest with the offering which he had to bring in order to be thereby initiated as ministering priest (see Dillmann's and Strack's commentaries on Lev. vii. 37). The anointing of kings with oil (I Sam. xvi. 13, xxvi. 11; I Kings i. 39; II Kings xi. 12) is also a consecratory rite; hence, also, that of prophets (I Kings xix. 16). The consecration of the altar was most essential, and therefore accompanied with special solemnities in the form of sacrificial offerings (see Num. vii. 10, 11, 84–88). The consecration (חנוך) of Solomon's Temple consisted of a dedicatory prayer and a blessing, in addition to the sacrifices (I Kings viii. 15 *et seq.*, 55 *et seq.*, 63 *et seq.*). The consecration of the Second Temple is mentioned in Ezra vi. 16, 17, and for the probable date (25th of Kislew) see Num. R. xiii. 4 (compare Ḥag. ii. 10). It was the consecration of the newly erected altar which gave the feast of the Maccabees the name of Ḥanukkah (I Macc. iv. 53, 59). According to Deut. xx. 5, private houses also were consecrated, and as to the gates of a city see Neh. iii. 1 and Corner-Stone.

The warrior when going to battle was also "consecrated" (Joel iv. 9; Micah iii. 5; Jer. xxii. 7, Hebr.); hence, probably, the name חנוך for the young warrior initiated into war (Gen. xiv. 14). This gave rise to the proverb (Prov. xxii. 6, Hebr.): "Initiate the lad [A. V. and R. V. "Train up a child"] in the way he should go."

In Rabbinical Times.

It was considered the duty of parents to "initiate" the young into every religious practise, and this was a "consecration" to a life of religious duty (מחנכין, Yoma 82a; Nazir 29b). When children were to be initiated into the study of the Law or of the Hebrew language, Hebrew letters or Biblical sentences upon honey-cakes covered with honey were given them to eat, in accordance with Ezek. iii. 3 (see Maḥzor Vitry § 508, p. 628, ed. Horwitz; Zunz, "Z. G." pp. 167 *et seq.*; and compare Soṭah 11b and the symbolical offering of honey and milk as a similar Christian baptismal rite; Tertullian, "De Corona Militis," iii.; and Augusti, "Handbuch der Kirchlichen Archäologie," ii. 445 *et seq.*).

For the consecration of synagogues there is no special form mentioned in Talmudical literature; but the fact that in the beginning of the fourth century the churches had their dedication ceremonies (Eusebius, "Hist. Eccl." x. 4) makes it probable that the synagogues had some such form, as indeed Greeks and Romans also had for their temples (see Pfannenschmid. "Germanische Erntefeste," 1878, pp. 524–530). Mishnah M. K. i. 6 speaks of consecration of family sepulchers (מחנכין את הכובין), and Yer. M.

K. i. 80d of consecration of cemeteries (חנוך בית הקברות). But this does not always imply a formal act, as may be learned from Sheb. 15a: "The vessels of the sanctuary after Moses' time were consecrated by their use without being anointed." Later practise, however, introduced ceremonies of dedication for synagogues, and also for a newly written "Sefer Torah" when given to a congregation. Modern life extended dedication ceremonies to every communal institution of an educational, charitable, or religious character. A fixed form for such dedication exercises does not exist; the Psalms to be read and the prayers to be offered are left to the discretion of the rabbi or officers in charge.

At the dedication of cemeteries a superstitious custom, sanctioned by R. Juda the Pious, was to kill a rooster (גבר, a term used for both man and rooster) and bury it as the first victim of death (see Isaac Lampronti, בית הקברות). For a wise selection of Psalms and prayers at the dedication of a cemetery, see Praeger, "Gebet- und Erbauungsbuch für Israeliten," 1860, pp. 178–181, and M. Silberstein, "Predigten bei Besonderen Veranlassungen," p. 163, Breslau, 1870. For the consecration of a new house see Singer, "Authorized Daily Prayer Book," pp. 300–303, London, 1891. For other dedications see "Liturgies" in Zedner, "Cat. Hebr. Books Brit. Mus."

E. G. H. K.

CONSENT: A voluntary yielding of the will, judgment, or inclination to what is proposed or desired by another. A rational and voluntary concurrence of the parties is necessary in all cases involving a legal act or contract. This principle gives rise to several distinctions in civil law. If a man has been forced to make a gift to another, his act is considered invalid, even though he made no formal protest (B. B. 40b; Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 242, 1). If he has been compelled, however, to sell either personal or real estate, the contract is valid, for it is presumed that, unless he had previously made a formal protest ("moda'a") before two witnesses, he was reconciled on the receipt of the money (B. B. *ib.*; Maimonides, "Yad," Mekirah, x. 1, 6; Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 205, 1).

Minors above six years of age, who show intelligence and an understanding of business, are presumed to be capable of consenting to the purchase, sale, or gift of personal property, but not of real estate (Giṭ. 59a; Mekirah, xxix. 1; Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 235, 1). If a guardian ("apiṭropos") is appointed for them, they can negotiate no business without his consent (*ib.* 235, 2; see "Pithe Teshubah," quoting the opinion that even then his gifts should be valid).

In Business Transactions.

The deaf-mute can enter by signs into contracts concerning personal estate. He must, however, be examined to see that he understands what he is doing (Giṭ. *l.c.*; Mekirah, xxix. 2; Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 235, 17). The mute can sell and buy and give away either personal property or real estate (*ib.* 235, 18). The idiot can make no contract, and the court appoints a guardian for him as for a minor (Ket. 48a; Mekirah, xxix. 4, 20; Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 235, 20).

The consent need not always be expressed. Silence is regarded as voluntary consent (Yeb. 87b; B. M. 37b). Therefore, in marriage contracts, if a man gave a coin to a woman and pronounced the prescribed formula in the presence of two witnesses, and she did not protest immediately, the marriage is valid (Eben ha-'Ezer, 42, 1; see Isserles' gloss). By "immediately" a space of time is meant which would be sufficient for a disciple to greet his master thus: "Peace be with thee, my master and teacher" (B. Ḳ. 73b). If, however, she was under duress, the marriage is invalid (Yeb. 19b; see Rashi's commentary, where the principle of consent on the part of the woman is derived from Deut. xxiv. 2: "She may go and be another man's wife"; Ḳid. 2b; Eben ha-'Ezer, *l.c.*). Authorities differ, however, regarding cases in which the man is under duress in contracting a marriage; some are of opinion that inasmuch as he can divorce her at will afterward, the marriage should be valid (Eben ha-'Ezer, *l.c.*). Since, however, compulsory divorce is now impossible, according to the decree of R. Gershom, the man would be in the same position as the woman, and a forced marriage, whether the man or the woman be the party under duress, would be considered invalid (Mielziner, "Jewish Law of Marriage and Divorce," § 29).

In Marriage Contracts.

Consent being necessary, insane persons or idiots were considered incapable of entering into a marriage contract (Eben ha-'Ezer, 42, 2). If a person who is only weak-minded or temporarily insane has contracted a marriage, it is doubtful whether such a contract could be declared invalid, so that the woman may be allowed to marry again (*ib.* Isserles' gloss). A marriage contracted by an intoxicated person is valid, unless he was at the time of his marriage entirely unconscious, "as the intoxication of Lot" (*ib.* 42, 3). Deaf and dumb persons, being looked upon as idiots, could not contract a marriage according to Biblical law, but the Rabbis sanctioned such a marriage when performed by signs. This being merely a rabbinical institution, it is not as valid as other marriages, and a very serious question would arise were another man to contract a marriage with the woman after she had been married to the deaf-mute (Yeb. 112b; "Yad," Ishut, iv. 9; Eben ha-'Ezer, 44, 1; see Mielziner, *l.c.* §§ 33, 34). Minors are usually classed with deaf-mutes and idiots by the Talmudists, and their marriage is also considered invalid by lack of consent (Eben ha-'Ezer, 43, 1).

Insanity and Idiocy Barred.

While mutual consent is absolutely necessary in marriage, it is, according to the old Jewish law, not necessary in divorce, and the husband can divorce his wife even without asking her consent (*ib.* 119, 6; from Mishnah Yeb. xiv. 1). As in the course of time the act of divorce came under the control of the rabbinical courts, the Rabbis had an opportunity to restrict this law gradually by many regulations, until, in the eleventh century, by a decree of R. Gershom, this arbitrary right of the husband was entirely abrogated. Although Maimonides made no mention of it in his code, this bold regulation was soon adopted by the great majority of the Jews, and a divorce without sufficient cause will not be granted unless the con-

In Divorce.

sent of both parties is obtained (Eben ha-'Ezer, *l.c.* Isserles' gloss; see Amram, "Jewish Law of Divorce," iv.). In certain cases this decree is disregarded—for instance, if the woman commits adultery, or is even denounced as an adulteress by persons in whom the husband has faith (Eben ha-'Ezer, 115, 7); if she conducts herself in a manner unbecoming a Jewish woman (*ib.* 115, 4); if she causes her husband to transgress the religious precepts with regard to food or to cohabitation; if she curses her father-in-law (*ib.* 115, 4); if she contracts an incurable disease (*ib.* 117, 11); if she refuses him connubial rights for a whole year (*ib.* 77, 2, Isserles' gloss). There is a difference of opinion among authorities whether, under the decree of R. Gershom forbidding bigamy, the husband may marry another woman if he can not force his wife to the acceptance of the bill of divorce in the above-mentioned cases ("Pithe Teshubah" to Eben ha-'Ezer, 1, 10, and 119, 6).

An insane person, or one who is intoxicated to the degree of unconsciousness, is incapable of divorcing his wife. A deaf-mute, who became so after his marriage, can not divorce his wife. If, however, he was so when he first married, he may divorce her by signs as he married her by signs (Eben ha-'Ezer, 121, 1, 6).

For questions involving legal rights, see RIGHT OF EMINENT DOMAIN; RIGHT OF WAY; for those involving consent to a crime see ACCESSORIES.

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J. SR. J. H. G.

CONSISTORY: An ecclesiastical court; in Jewish usage, a body governing the Jewish congregations of a province or of a country; also the district administered by the consistory. The term was originally, and still is, applied in the Roman Catholic Church to the College of Cardinals, assembled for deliberation or to hear a solemn declaration from the pope. Similarly every bishop has the right to convene for the purpose of deliberation a consistory composed of priests of his diocese. After the Reformation the Protestant Church adopted this term for the body which governed the ecclesiastical affairs of a country. In the latter sense the Jews in countries under French influence made use of the term in the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the movement for political emancipation demanded the creation of a representative body which could transact official business with a government in the name of the Jews, and when the desire for reform among the educated classes demanded the creation of a body vested with authority to render religious decisions.

France.

The first attempt to create such a consistory was made by Napoleon I. In 1806 he convened the Assembly of Jewish Notables, whose resolutions were confirmed by a subsequently convened Sanhedrin; after which, by the decree of March 17, 1808, he organized a consistory. According to this decree every department containing 2,000 Jews might establish a consistory. Departments having less than this number might combine with others; but none had more than one consistory. Above these provincial consistories there was a central consistory. Every consistory consisted of a grand rabbi, with another rabbi where possible, and of three lay members, two of whom were residents of the town where the consistory sat. They were elected by twenty-five "notables," who were nominated by the authorities. Eligible to become members of the consistory were Israelites who had reached the age of thirty years, who had never been bankrupt, and had not practised usury. The central consistory consisted of three grand rabbis and two lay members. Every year one retired, and the remaining members elected his successor.

Napoleon demanded that the consistories should see to it that the resolutions passed by the Assembly of Notables and confirmed by the Sanhedrin should be enforced by the rabbis; that proper decorum should be maintained in the synagogue; that the Jews should take up mechanical trades; and that they should see to it that no one evaded military service. The central consistory watched over the consistories of the various departments, and had the right to appoint the rabbis.

French Dependencies.

This organization was also introduced in the various countries which were under the sway of France during the Napoleonic era, as Holland, Belgium, and Westphalia. In the last-named country, ruled over by Napoleon's youngest brother, Jerome, a consistorial organization was introduced by the decree of March 31, 1808. It was composed of a president (who could be either a rabbi or a layman), three rabbis, two lay members, and one secretary. It was chiefly the outcome of Israel JACOBSON'S efforts, who hoped to introduce through such a medium his Reform ideas. A circular of this consistory ordered the introduction of confirmation and removed the prohibition against leguminous plants on Passover. None of these organizations survived the Napoleonic era with the exception of that in Belgium, where the consistorial organization still exists as in France.

The following is a list of the original consistories as drawn up by Napoleon for the whole of the territory under his influence, in his Madrid decree of Dec. 11, 1808, with the census of Jews in each consistory and in its chief town (Halphen, "Recueil des Lois . . . Concernant les Israélites," pp. 55–57):

Consistory.	Jews in Chief Town.	Jews in Consistory.	Consistory.	Jews in Chief Town.	Jews in Consistory.
Paris	2,733	3,585	Coblenz	342	4,063
Strasburg	1,476	16,155	Krefeld	160	6,218
Winzenheim	536	10,000	Bordeaux	2,131	3,713
Mayence	1,264	11,122	Marseilles	440	2,527
Metz	2,400	6,517	Turin	1,450	2,614
Nancy	739	4,166	Casal-Maggiore	790	2,929
Treves	261	3,553			

The desire to introduce reforms, and the difficulty of making them popular so long as they were individual decisions, led to various attempts during the middle of the nineteenth century to introduce either a consistory or a synod which should, by an author-

itative vote, settle the difficulties which arose when the demands of the time came into conflict with the traditional law. None of these attempts was successful.

The Present Status.

Since Napoleon's decree of March 17, 1808, various changes have been introduced in the method of electing the delegates, and some of the provisions assigning to the rabbis the rôle of informers were dropped. The most important changes are contained in the laws of Louis Philippe (May 25, 1844) and of Napoleon III. (June 15, 1850, and Aug. 29, 1862), and the law of Dec. 12,18 72, which introduced the system of universal suffrage in the elections of the consistories. There are at present twelve consistories: Paris, Nancy, Bordeaux, Lyon, Marseilles, Bayonne, Epinal, Lille, Besançon, Algiers, Constantine, Oran; each is composed of the grand rabbi of the consistorial district and six lay members, with a secretary. Each consistory has a representative in the central consistory, which therefore is composed of twelve members and the grand rabbi of France; its seat is in Paris. In Alsace-Lorraine the former consistories of Metz, Strasburg, and Colmar still exist, but they are not united under a central consistory, though the establishment of such an organization is now (1903) under consideration. The consistory of Belgium has its seat in Brussels. See Community, Organization of, in Modern Times.

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D.

CONSOLATION.—Biblical Data: Comfort; alleviation of sorrow (נחמה, תנחומים); relief from grief (from נחם, meaning in pi'el form "to remove grief"); words of sympathy and encouragement offered to persons in distress (Gen. xxxvii. 35; II Sam. xii. 24; Job xvi. 2; Ps. cxix. 50, 82). After the burial of the dead, mourners were offered "consolation" by the friends, who made them partake of the mourners' meal and the cup of consolation (see Jer. xvi. 7; compare Ps. lxix. 20; Job xlii. 11). These friends, called "comforters," are frequently mentioned in the Bible (see Lam. i. 2 *et seq.*; Eccl. iv. 1; II Sam. x. 2; Job xvi. 2; Ps. lxix. 20; Nahum iii. 7), and the act of consolation is alluded to in Job xxix. 25, and especially in Isa. lvii. 18 *et seq.*, Hebr.: "I will restore comforts unto him and to his mourners—food for the refreshment of the lips" (the last Hebrew words, "bore nib sefatayim," have been strangely misinterpreted by the commentators, A. V. giving, "I create the fruit of the lips"; see Luzzatto *ad loc.*). Isa. lxvi. 10 *et seq.*, Hebr.: "All ye that mourn over her that ye may suck and be satisfied with the overflow of her consolation," also contains an allusion to this custom (compare Ps. xciv. 19, "thy comforts," and Job xv. 11). Also the interpretation of the name of Noah as the one who shall "comfort" men for their hard toil because of the curse of the earth (Gen. v. 29, זה ינחמנו), alludes to the wine of which he was the first producer (Gen. ix. 20; see Gunkel, commentary, *ad loc.*, and Prov. xxxi. 6). Consolation was especially promised by the prophets of the Exile to the people mourning over Jerusalem (Isa. xl. 1; xlix. 13; li. 3, 12; lii. 9; lxi. 2 *et seq.*; lxvi. 10–13; Jer. xxxi. 12 *et seq.*; Zech. i. 13, 17). Hence the name "Neḥamah" or "Neḥamata" (consolation) given to the prophetic literature as offering comfort to the mourners over Jerusalem by the promise of the advent of "the comforter," either "the Messiah" (see "Menahem" as name of the Messiah, Sanh. 98b) or the "messenger of glad tidings" (see Paraclete; B. B. 14b; Ber. 31b; Yer. Ber. v. 8d).

——**In Rabbinical Literature:** "The consolation of Jerusalem" (see above) is mentioned in the prayer recited at meals (see Grace at Meals); also by the Karaites in the wedding eulogy (see Müller, "Masseket Soferim," p. 273), before the reading of the Haftarah (see "Massek. Soferim," xiii. 12), and particularly in the benedictions recited over the cup of consolation at the mourners' meal. The consolation of Jerusalem is thus brought into connection with that of the mourners over the dead (see Ket. 8b; Siddur R. Amram, i. 55; Ṭur Yoreh De'ah, 379; Shulḥan 'Aruk, 2).

There were two gates in the Temple at Jerusalem, believed to have been built by King Solomon, through one of which bridegrooms marched, through the other mourners and anathematized persons; the former to receive the congratulations, the latter the consolations, of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, who gathered before these gates for the purpose of showing their sympathy. After the destruction of the Temple the synagogue became the place where bridegrooms received the congratulations and mourners the condolences of the people (Soferim, xix. 12; compare Pirḳe R. El. xiii.). Formerly the mourners stood still, and the people offering consolation passed by them; later on, in consequence of rivalry between families claiming rights of precedence on account of higher rank, the people were ranged in lines, and the mourners passed them, receiving consolation (Sanh. 19a). Ten men were necessary to form such a line (Sanh. *ib.*). Where there were no mourners to receive consolation, a congregation of ten men paid the honors to the dead (Shab. 152a, b). If the king was a mourner, the people said to him: "May we be thine atonement!" that is, May we suffer for thy sin! And he rejoined: "May ye be blessed from the Lord!" (Sanh. ii. 1). To the priest in the Temple who was in mourning or in misfortune, the friends standing to the right said: "May He who dwells in this house be thy Comforter!" (Middot ii. 2).

The friends who offered consolation sat down on the ground with the mourners and waited for the latter to speak first (Yer. M. Ḳ. iii. 83a). When Johanan ben Zakkai lost his son his disciples came to offer him consolation. R. Eliezer said: "The first man lost his son Abel, and was comforted; so should you be comforted." R. Joshua said: "Job had many sons and daughters, and lost them all on one day, and was comforted; so should you be comforted." R. Jose referred to Aaron the high priest, who lost his two sons on the day of the dedication of the

Sanctuary, and was comforted; R. Simeon referred to King David, who lost a son and was comforted. But R. Johanan ben Zakkai rejoined: "Your consolations only awaken grief, inasmuch as they recall the evil destiny which befell all these men." Then R. Eleazar b. 'Arak began: "A king gave a precious boon in trust to a man; and, behold, the man was in constant dread lest he might have it damaged or lost; and only when he had returned it safely did he feel at ease. The King of the world gave to thee a son who became a devotee of the Law; and then, having become familiar with all branches of learning, he departed this world free from sins; oughtst thou not be thankful that thou couldst return the treasure to God in such blameless shape?" Whereupon R. Johanan b. Zakkai replied: "Truly, thou, R. Eleazar, hast comforted me" (Ab. R. N. xiv.; compare Beruriah). Judah bar Naḥmani, the meturgeman of Resh Laḳish, spoke at the death of a child to the mourners: "Ye brethren who are afflicted by this loss, ponder upon this bitter lot of man foreordained from the days of creation; many have drunk of this cup, and many will yet drink of it. May the Lord of Consolation console you! Blessed be the Comforter of the Mourners!" To the friends who had come to condole with the bereft he said: "Brethren who practise benevolence, sons of practisers of benevolence, adhering to the covenant of Abraham our father, may the Lord of Recompense recompense you! Blessed be He who recompenseth good deeds!" (Ket. 8b).

In Midrashic literature God Himself is regarded as giving men an example of the "consolation of mourners" (Soṭah 14a, with reference to Gen. xxv. 11: "After the death of Abraham God blessed Isaac"). It is said of consolation that "it is one of those things which bring happiness to man" (Ab. R. N., A., xxx., ed. Schechter, p. 89); and it is declared that "wine has only been created for the cup of consolation" ('Er. 65a, with reference to Prov. xxxi. 6). Regarding the mourners' meal see Funeral Rites and Mourning Customs. K.

CONSOLO, BENJAMIN: Italian Hebraist; born at Ancona in 1806; died at Florence in 1887. He received his elementary instruction from Rabbi David A. Vivanti at the Talmud Torah of his native city, and then took up eagerly the study of secular sciences, though against the wishes of his teachers.

As he was excluded from the schools of Ancona, which were then under papal control, and was too poor to pay private tutors, he encountered great difficulties. He studied Italian with Count Pietro Alety, a student of Dante, and then Latin with Lorenzo Barili, who subsequently became a cardinal. Consolo was appointed secretary of the Jewish community at Ancona, and later of that at Florence. In the latter city he formed a friendship with the litterateur Cesare Scartabelli, whose enthusiasm in behalf of purism and a return to the language of the trecentists he shared. His love for Judaism, together with his interest in Italian literature, induced Consolo to translate Hebrew works into Italian.

His works include: "I Capitoli dei Padri, Trattato Misnico Morale con Commenti," an Italian translation of Abot; "I Doveri de' Cuori," Prato, 1847; "Volgarizzamento del Libro di Job," Florence, 1874; "Volgarizzamento delle Lamentazioni di Geremia"; "Il Salterio o Canti Nazionali del Popolo d'Israele Spiegati e Commentati," Florence, 1885. He was also the author of several shorter essays and poems. The autographs of these works, as well as the manuscript of his comparative treatise on Biblical and Roman law, entitled "Jus Civile," are preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Florence. Consolo's wife, Regine, published an Italian translation of the "Enchiridion d'Egitto." The composer and virtuoso Federico Consolo is his son.

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S. I. E.

CONSOLO, FEDERICO: Italian violin virtuoso, composer, and scholar; born at Ancona in 1841. After studying the violin with Giorgetti in Florence and Vieuxtemps in Brussels, and composition with Fétis and Liszt, he played with great success at almost all the European courts and in the Orient. In 1884, however, he was compelled by a nervous affliction to discontinue violin-playing. He removed to Florence, and devoted himself to composition. His works include a number of Oriental cycles, concertos, and "Shire Yisrael" ("Libro dei Canti d'Israel," Florence, 1891) a collection of Sephardic synagogal melodies and original compositions. He subsequently undertook archeological studies, writing on musical notation, and especially on music in the Bible. He is a knight of several orders in different states.

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S. I. E.

CONSONANTS. See Hebrew Language.

CONSTANCE, DISTRICT OF THE LAKE OF: Region in the northeastern part of Switzerland. Of the Jewish communities designated as belonging to the district of the Lake of Constance, those of Ueberlingen, Constance, Schaffhausen, and Diessenhofen deserve special mention, although many others belong to the same district, as Bregenz, Engen, Aach, Feldkirch, Randegg, Isny, Donaueschingen, and Thiengen. This designation is found also in the "Memorbücher." The cemetery of the Jews at Ueberlingen is mentioned as early as 1226. The earliest Jewish settlement at Constance dates from the beginning of the thirteenth century. Jews of Schaffhausen are referred to in documents in 1299; while those of Diessenhofen are not mentioned until the fourteenth century, although probably some were living there long before that time.

In 1314 the Jews of Ueberlingen paid their taxes to King Frederick and Duke Leopold of Austria; in 1332 they were cruelly persecuted, more than 300 being killed, and their synagogue destroyed. Their synagogue and the Jewish quarter are again mentioned in 1349, when the Jews were completely exterminated by the Flagellants (Feb. 11), while the tombstones of their cemetery were used in building the cathedral and the hospital. Jews were again admitted in 1378. They suffered much under

PROCESSION OF JEWS MEETING POPE MARTIN V. AT THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE, 1417.
(From a manuscript chronicle of Ulrich von Reichthal, in the library of the town hall at Basel.)

King Wenzel's law which canceled all debts owing to them (1385); and in 1429 twelve were banished.

In 1312 many Jews of Constance were burned on a charge of having desecrated the host. They had a synagogue at this time. In 1314 their quarter was destroyed by fire; 330 were killed by the Flagellants in 1349. In 1417 Jews from Constance went to meet Pope Martin V. in solemn procession.

Their synagogue is again mentioned in 1424. The liaison of a Jewess of the community with a member of Emperor Sigismund's family, in 1424, was used by Scribe as the subject of his libretto to Halévy's opera "La Juive." In 1429 and in 1443 all the Constance Jews were imprisoned; and from 1448 to 1533 none lived there.

At Schaffhausen many were slain in 1349 on a charge of having poisoned the wells. Their synagogue is mentioned in 1391; 30 Jews were burned in 1401; and in 1475 the last remaining Jew removed to Winterthur. At Diessenhofen, where they had a synagogue at an early period, they were persecuted in 1349. In 1401 a Jew, accused of having murdered a Christian boy, was burned; and in 1494 the Jews left the city.

In 1547 Charles V. gave Ueberlingen certain privileges regarding usurious contracts with the Jews, which were renewed by Maximilian in 1566. As late as 1853 two Jews who desired to live in Ueberlingen encountered difficulties in so doing; three were living there in 1880, and nine in 1902.

In 1533 it was decreed that but one Jew a week might remain for one night at Constance. Since 1847 Jews have been permitted to live there, though under many restrictions. In 1863 five Jewish families settled in Constance, and in 1866 formed a community that by 1902 numbered 130 families.

At Schaffhausen a Jewish physician, David, with his family of six members, was admitted as a resident in 1535. He was made to suffer many persecutions; and his son Samuel was expelled in 1562. Since 1865, Jews have again settled there, though only two families were resident in 1880.

At Diessenhofen, where, in 1667, six families were living, a Jew received permission to settle in 1865, and ten Jewish families were living in the town in 1880.

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G. A. F.

CONSTANTINE I. (FLAVIUS VALERIUS AURELIUS CONSTANTINUS): Roman emperor; born Feb. 27, 274; died May 22, 337; proclaimed emperor by the army in Gaul on the death of his father, Constantius Chlorus (306). He defeated Maxentius, his rival in Italy, in 312; and after routing Licinius, Emperor of the East (323), became sole ruler. In 330 he transferred his court to Byzantium, thenceforth called Constantinople; but died in the midst of his preparations for a Persian campaign, after receiving baptism from Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea. Being the first Christian emperor, the Church conferred upon him the title of "The Great."

Political and religious considerations dictated Constantine's friendly attitude toward Christianity. As early as the war against Maxentius, his standard bore a Christian emblem; but previous to his victory over Licinius he contented himself with placing Christianity upon a footing of equality with heathendom. As sole ruler he did not go materially beyond the gradual repression of heathenism and the public encouragement of Christianity; he showed his attitude on this question especially by conducting the first ecumenical council at Nicæa (325).

After his victory over Licinius, Constantine inaugurated a more and more hostile policy toward the Jews. It is true that as early as 321 a law was promulgated which made it obligatory for Jews to fill onerous, expensive municipal offices; while on the other hand such Jews as had devoted themselves to the service of their own religion were exempted in 330 from all public services, and those who were already "curiales" were freed from the levying of taxes. In 329, however, the Jews were forbidden to perform the rite of circumcision on slaves or to own Christian slaves; the death penalty was ordained for those who embraced the Jewish faith, as well as for Jews versed in the Law who aided them. On the other hand, Jewish converts to Christianity were protected against the fanaticism of their former coreligionists. Simultaneously with this an edict was issued forbidding marriages between Jews and Christians, and imposing the death penalty upon any Jew who should transgress this law. Some of these enactments were affirmed in 335. Noteworthy is the hostile language of several of these laws, in which Judaism is spoken of as an ignominious or as a bestial sect ("secta nefaria" or "feralis").

The hostile attitude of the Christianized state, which later became more and more accentuated under Constantine's sons, thus owed its origin to Constantine himself; it is even probable that it was Constantine who renewed the law prohibiting the Jews from entering Jerusalem.

Bibliography: Lactantius, *De Mort. Persec.* pp. 24 *et seq.*; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* viii.–x.; Zosimus, ii. 8–39; *Codex Theodosianus*, xvi. 8, 1–6, and 9, 1–2; compare Seeck, *Die Zeitfolge der Gesetze Constantins*, in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-stiftung*, x. (*Romanist. Abtheilung*); Victor Schultze, *Gesch. des Unterg. des Griech.-Röm. Heidenthums*, i. 28–67; *idem*, in *Zeit. für Kirchengesch.* vii. 343 *et seq.*; Brieger, in *ib.* iv. 163 *et seq.*; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyc.* iv. 1013 *et seq.*; Grätz, *Gesch.* 3d ed., iv. 307 *et seq.*, 430; Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt*, Berlin, 1897–1901.

G. H. V.

CONSTANTINE (ancient **Cirta**): City in Algeria; capital of the department of the same name. In ancient times it was the capital of Numidia. Jews lived there as early as the first centuries of the common era, as is attested by epitaphs found in several places in that province. As Constantine remained under the Roman domination until its conquest by the Arabs (710), it is probable that, toward the middle of the fifth century, the greater part of the Jewish inhabitants left it and settled in the neighboring towns under the Vandals, among whom the Jews enjoyed a far greater amount of freedom than they did under Christian Rome.

In common with all Algerian Jews, those of Constantine enjoyed peace from the time of the Arabian conquest until the middle of the twelfth century. Under the Almohad dynasty they were subjected to frequent persecutions. From 1509 until 1555 Constantine was in the hands of the

Spaniards. During this period the Jewish community suffered severely. Under the domination of the Turks, Constantine was administered by beys, almost independent of the deys of Algiers, and under them the state of the Constantine Jews was similar to that of Jews elsewhere in ALGERIA.

Like all Algerian communities, that of Constantine was governed by a "muḳaddam," or president, assisted by a council. Since the French conquest the city has been the seat of a consistory, to which belong the following communities: Ain Beida, Batna, Bône, Bougie, Guelma, Philippeville, Setif, Tebassa. This district counts 6,800 Jews, of which number 3,321 live in Constantine. The rabbis of the last thirty years have been: Netter, Abraham Cahen, Jacques Levy, and Paul Haguenauer, the present incumbent. Until recently there existed in Constantine an important rabbinical school called "Ez Ḥayyim."

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S. I. BR.

CONSTANTINIS, ABRAHAM: Greek manufacturer, and president ("proëdros") of the Jewish community of Athens, Greece. He was born at Zante in 1865. After receiving an elementary education in his native city, he studied at Paris, where he took the degree of doctor of science, and graduated as engineer at the Ecole Supérieure de Télégraphie. He was at first in the employ of the Société Edison of Paris, and afterward in that of the Société d'Entreprises of Athens, in which city he constructed, in 1887, the first electric-lighting establishment, thereby greatly contributing to the popularization in the Greek peninsula of the most recent discoveries in electricity and telephony.

A commission and banking business which he founded has, in less than thirteen years, taken the foremost position in the commercial and industrial affairs of Athens. The emery trade of the island of Naxos is a state monopoly managed by the firm of A. Constantinis, which exports three-fourths of the emery consumed in the world. In recognition of Constantinis' services the Greek government appointed him secretary of the commission in charge of the Athens exhibit in the Paris Exposition of 1900. As president of the Jewish community he uses his influence for the protection of his coreligionists at Athens.

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S. M. FR.

CONSTANTINOPLE (Turkish, **Stambul** or **Istambul**): Capital of the Ottoman empire, situated on the Bosporus; the "Byzantium" of the ancients. The earliest official document hitherto discovered relating to the Jews of Constantinople dates from 390. A decree of that year (Feb. 23) bearing the successive signatures of the emperors Valentinian II., Theodosius, and Arcadius, exempted the Jewish and Samaritan ship- and cargo-owners from sharing the burdens of the society known in that city as the "Navicularii" ("Codex Theodosianus," xiii. 5, 18). Other decrees in favor of the Jews were issued during the reign of Arcadius.

Theodosius II. was the first Byzantine emperor to curtail the civil rights of the Jews. Instigated by the clergy, he expelled the Jews from the city proper, and assigned to them a district at the other side of the Golden Horn, above Galata, called Stenum (the modern Pera). Hitherto they had occupied in the city itself a special quarter known as the "copper market," where they had their synagogue, which was later converted into the Church of the Holy Mother. Instead of being included in the jurisdiction of the municipal authorities, the Jews were placed by Theodosius under that of a special strategus. According to Ibn Verga ("Shebeṭ Yehudah," p. 40), the expulsion from the city proper was really a measure of clemency on the part of Theodosius, who had previously subjected the Jews to more rigorous persecutions in order to force them to embrace Christianity. This statement has, however, no historical basis, as such action was contrary to the policy of Theodosius, who in 412 forbade the disturbance of Jewish services and the appropriation of Jewish synagogues (compare "Novellæ Theod." title iii.).

It was Justinian I. (527–565) who first interfered with the religious customs of the Jews, forbidding them to celebrate the Passover before the Christian Easter. It is said that during his reign the holy vessels of the Temple were brought by Belisarius to Constantinople; but on the remark of a Jew that they would bring misfortune to Constantinople as they had done to Rome and Carthage, they were returned to Jerusalem.

There are no records of the fate of the Jewish community of Constantinople during the reign of Heraclius I. (610–641), who, after he had massacred thousands of Jews in Palestine in the course of his war with the Persians, ordered the remainder throughout his empire to be baptized. It seems, however, that the Constantinople Jews found protectors in the persons of Heraclius' wife, the empress Martina, and her son Heracleonas; for the historian Nicephorus records that, emboldened by their influence, the Jews on one occasion stormed the Church of St. Sophia.

The Iconoclasts.

With the accession of the Iconoclasts the Jewish community of Constantinople, like those of the other cities of the Byzantine empire, underwent terrible persecutions. Indeed, during the reign of Leo the Isaurian—as well as later under Basil I.—it actually ceased to exist, the Jews having been forced either to emigrate or to embrace Christianity. But the Byzantine capital, the greatest commercial center of that time, had such attractions for the Jews that the slightest relaxation in the persecutions brought thither masses of new settlers. No wonder, therefore, that it became the center of Judaism as soon as Leo VI. (886–911) had restored religious freedom to the Jews; although their social condition continued to be intolerable. Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Constantinople in 1176, gives the following account of the Jews there:

"No Jew dwells in the city, the Jews having been expelled beyond the one arm of the sea. They are shut in by the channel of Sophia on one side; and they can reach the city by water only, whenever they visit it for the purpose of trade. The number of Jews at Constantinople amounts to two thousand Rabbinites and five hundred Karaites, who live on one spot;

but a wall divides them. The principal Rabbinites, who are learned in the Law, are Rabbi R. Abatlion, R. Obadiah, R. Aaron Kustipo, R. Joseph Sargeno, and R. Eliakim the Elder. Many of the Jews are manufacturers of silk cloth; many others are merchants, some of them being extremely rich; but no Jew is allowed to ride upon a horse except R. Solomon ha-Miẓri, who is the king's physician, and by whose influence the Jews enjoy many advantages even in their state of oppression. This state is very burdensome to them; and the hatred against them is enhanced by the practise of the tanners, who pour out their filthy water in the streets and even before the very doors of the Jews, who, being thus defiled, become objects of hatred to the Greeks. Their yoke is severely felt by the Jews, both good and bad: they are exposed to beatings in the streets, and must submit to all sorts of harsh treatment. But the Jews are rich, good, benevolent, and religious men, who bear the misfortunes of exile with humility. The quarter inhabited by the Jews is called Pera."

Benjamin of Tudela's Account.

The king referred to by Benjamin was Manuel Comnenus (1143–80), who—probably owing to the influence of Solomon ha-Miẓri—placed the Jews of Constantinople again under the jurisdiction of the municipal authorities.

A new era for the Jewish community began with the fall of the Byzantine empire (May 29, 1453). Mohammed the Conqueror (1451–81), on entering his new capital, granted to the Jews equal rights with all his non-Mussulman subjects, assigning to their chief rabbi a seat in the divan next to the spiritual chief of the Greek Church. Foreign Jews were invited to settle in the suburb of Haskeui, where building sites were gratuitously divided among the newcomers. Two Jews, Ḥakim Ya'aḳub and Moses Hamon, were elevated to high official positions: the former being appointed minister of finance; the latter, physician to the sovereign.

Under the Turks.

The sixteenth century was the golden age of the Jewish community of Constantinople. Sultan Bayazid II. (1481–1512) received the exiles of Spain; and these gave a great impulse to its material and intellectual life. Moreover, thousands of wealthy Maranos, who had been persecuted in Italy and Portugal, sought refuge in Constantinople, where they resumed their former religion. Among these were Joseph Nassi, created Duke of Naxos by Selim II. (1566–74), and Donna Gracia, his mother-in-law, both of whom liberally endowed the community with schools, charitable institutions, and synagogues. According to Stephan Gerlach ("Tagebuch," p. 90), the number of Maranos who settled in Constantinople up to 1574 amounted to 10,000, and the whole Jewish population numbered 30,000. There were 44 synagogues, representing as many separate congregations, each of which retained its own customs, rites, and liturgy.

Under Murad III. (1574–95) and Mohammed III. (1595–1603) many Constantinople Jews became very prominent in the politics of the Turkish empire. In addition to Joseph Nassi, Duke of Naxos, who held a high office, a physician named Solomon ben Nathan Ashkenazi, a native of Poland, held, about 1580, the office of ambassador at Venice. A Jewess named Esther Kiera, widow of Elijah Chendali, was powerful at court, being the favorite of the sultana Baffa, wife of Murad III. No less prosperous was the material condition of the community. The wholesale trade, customs dues, shipping, and coinage were mainly in Jewish hands. As Moses Almosnino relates in his description of Constantinople, Jews owned the largest houses, with gardens and kiosks equal to those of the grand viziers. Many easily earned a livelihood by teaching languages and by acting as interpreters, as is attested by Petrus della Valle, who himself learned foreign languages from a Jew at Constantinople ("Viaggi de Pietro della Valle," i. 71 *et seq.*).

Influential Jews.

An interruption of this happy state of the community took place in the seventeenth century. The ever-growing weakness of the sultans and the increase of the religious fanaticism of the Mussulmans made the Jews the prey of the soldiery, who often set fire to the Jewish quarters in order to plunder during the confusion. Another factor which contributed largely to the intellectual and material ruin of the prosperous community was the Shabbethai Ṣebi agitation. The scenes of disorder of which Constantinople became the theater during the pseudo-Messiah's stay in the city, alienated from the Jews the good will of the sultan, who saw in the movement not a purely religious manifestation, but a rebellion against his authority. Further, their affairs being neglected during the years of this Messianic chimera, the Jews were supplanted everywhere by the Greeks and Armenians; and they had neither the courage nor the power to regain their former position. All these causes combined to make the community a veritable type of the Turkish empire—without strength to live and without desire to die. Misery and ignorance went hand in hand, and annihilated all energy and enterprise in this once industrious and rich population. There were, indeed, from time to time some wealthy and influential families, such as the Agimans, the Gabbais, and the Carnionas, members of which held official positions; but the majority remained in the most abject destitution and ignorance.

Shabbethai Ṣebi.

An endeavor to raise the material and intellectual condition of the community was undertaken with some success in the second half of the nineteenth century, first by Albert Cohn, who in 1854 founded at Constantinople a school patterned after European institutions, and then by the Alliance Israélite Universelle through the numerous institutions which it established there for the instruction of young people.

In 1853 two Jews of Constantinople, Behar Effendi Ashkenazi and David Effendi Cremona, were appointed by 'Abd al-'Aziz members of the council of state; and in 1876 both of them were nominated senators by Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamid.

Persecutions contribute but little to poetry and learning; and during the Byzantine period Constantinople did not produce any noteworthy rabbinical scholars. The Karaites, however, displayed some scientific activity, and counted among their number prominent men like Judah ben Elijah Ḥadassi (1150), author of "Eshkol ha-Kofer"; Aaron ben Joseph ha-Rofe (1290), author of the "Kelil Yofi" and "Sefer ha-Mibḥar"; Aaron ben Elijah of Nicomedia, author of "Eẓ Ḥayyim" (1346).

Literary Productions.

The security and prosperity enjoyed by the Jews under the first Turkish rulers brought about a great

scientific movement; and Constantinople became the focus of Jewish learning. Mohammed the Conqueror followed the custom established by his predecessors in nominating a ḥakam bashi, or grand rabbi, chosen from the Rabbinite Jews. Sambari (Neubauer, "Medieval Jewish Chronicles," i. 153) gives the names of the rabbis of Constantinople who officiated from 1453 to 1672 as follows:

Rabbis.

Moses Capsali; Elijah Misraḥi; Tam ben Yaḥya, author of "Ohole Tam"; Elijah Capsali, author of a historical work entitled "Debe Eliyahu"; Samuel Yafe, author of "Yefeh Toar," etc.; Samuel Saba'; Joseph ibn Leb; Joshua Ẓonẓin, author of "Naḥlah li-Yehoshu'a"; Hananiah ben Yaḳar; Jehiel 'Anabi; Elijah ben Ḥayyim, author of "Torat Mosheh" and responsa; Moses Aruk; Mordecai ha-Kohen; Gedaliah Ḥayyun; David ha-Kohen; Samuel di Curiel; Elijah ha-Levi; Abraham ibn Jamil; Gabriel Alya; Eliezer ben Naḥmias; Shemariah Sharbiṭ ha-Zahab; Ḥayyim Egozi; Abraham Monson; Isaac Ashkenazi; Jehiel Bassan; Joseph of Trani; Jeremiah Mabrogonato (מאברוגנאטו); Salomon Caro; Samuel ben וילייסיר (?); Yom-Ṭob ben Ya'ish; David Egozi; Abraham Allegre; Baruch ben Ya'ish; Baruch ben Ḥayyim; Judah Afna'im; Abraham Sharbiṭ ha-Zahab; Aaron Cupino; Ḥayyim Alfandari; Moses ben Shangi; Baruch Ashkenazi; Joseph ben Shangi; Isaac Ispania ha-Rofe; Zemaḥ of Narbonne; Isaac Sasson; Moses Bassan; Elijah; Meïr Isaac; Eliezer ben Shushin (שושין); Isaiah of Trani; Joshua Benveniste; Ḥayyim Benveniste; Moses Benveniste; Yom-Ṭob ben Yaḳar; Joseph ha-Kohen Ḥasid; Ḥayyim Algazi; Moses Afna'im; Solomon ben Mubḥar; Yom-Ṭob Birbinya; Aaron Hamon; Jehiel Bassan the Younger; Aaron Yiẓḥaḳi; Nissim Egozi; Abraham Ashkenazi; Meïr de Boton; Samuel ha-Levi; and Samuel 'Adilah.

Besides these rabbis, many of whom were equally renowned for their great Talmudical knowledge and for their proficiency in the secular sciences, there were in the second half of the fifteenth century and during the sixteenth a succession of brilliant writers and scholars, such as Mordecai Comtino, Shabbethai ben Malkiel, Solomon Sharbiṭ Zahab, Joseph ibn Verga, and Moses Pizanto. The characteristic feature of that period was the scientific intercourse between the Karaites and the Rabbinites. In spite of some obscurantists, who attempted to interrupt these relations by excommunications and other violent measures, Rabbinite scholars instructed the Karaites in rabbinical literature and the secular sciences; and this circumstance had a salutary effect upon the Karaite community, which had hitherto been immersed in ignorance. A series of brilliant writers and scientists, such as the Bashyaẓis, Caleb Afendopolo, Abraham Bali, Moses Bagi, and Joseph Rabizi, arose within it and became illustrious in various branches of knowledge.

Printing-Offices.

The impetus to learning was much furthered by the establishment in Constantinople of Hebrew printing-offices, the first of which was opened in 1503 by David Naḥmias and his son. In 1530 the renowned printer Gerson Soncino established another; and a third was opened in 1560 by the Ya'abeẓ family. Authors who could not afford to publish their works found at Constantinople Mæcenates who were willing to defray the necessary expenses. Thus Esther Kiera paid the cost of publication of the "Sefer ha-Yuḥasin" of Zacuto in 1566; Nathan Ashkenazi, the son of the ambassador, published at his own expense the responsa of Moses Alshech. In 1579 the duchess Regina Nassi established a printing-office in her palace at Belvedere, where authors without means were sure of assistance. See CONSTANTINOPLE (TYPOGRAPHY).

The retrogression in the political and economic conditions of the community extended to the literary movement. After the Shabbethai Ẓebi agitation Constantinople ceased to be a focus of Jewish learning, and during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it could not boast of a single name of importance. The rabbis of this period were:

Abraham Rozanes (c. 1727); Samuel Moohas (1790); Abraham Levy (1835–36); Samuel Ḥayyim (1836–39); Moses Fresco, called "Rab ha-Zaken" (1839–41); Jacob Behar David (1841–54); Ḥayyim Cohen, called "Rab Cahana" (1854–60); Jacob Abigdor (1860–63); Yaḳir Geron, called "Rab Preciado" (1863–72); Moses Halevy (1872).

The leading rabbinical writers of this period were:

Abraham Soncino (1703); Eliezer ben Sanche (1720); Elijah Alfandari (1720); Tobias Cohen (1729); Jacob Kuli (1733); Elijah Palombo (1804); Moses Fresco and Abraham Abigdor (1827); Raphael Shacky (1839); Jacob Rofe (1849); Solomon Ḳimḥi (1862); Joseph Alfandari (1868); Ḥayyim Menahem Frangi and Hezekiah Medini (still living in 1902).

In 1853 Leo Ḥayyim de Castro founded the first Jewish periodical in Judæo-Spanish, entitled "Or Yisrael; ō La Luz de Israel," which was followed by "Jornal Israelit" (1860); "Sefat Emet, ō El Luzero" (1867); "Sharkiye" (The Orient), in Turkish, with Hebrew characters (1869); "El Tiempo" (1871); "El Sol" (1879); "El Radio de Luz" (1885); "El Amigo de la Familla" (1886); and "El Telegrafo." Of these papers two only are still in existence; viz., "El Telegrafo," a daily, and "El Tiempo," a biweekly.

Population and Constitution.

There are about 55,000 Jews in a total population of 1,000,000, distributed in the following quarters: Haskeui, 20,000; Balata, 15,000; Ortakeui, 7,000; Kuskunjuk and Daghamam, near Scutari, 6,000; Pera and Galata, 5,000; Stambul, around the Sublime Porte, and Maḥmud Pasha, 1,000; various suburbs along the Bosporus — Arnaut-Keui, Pasha Bagtche, and Buyukdere—300; Haidar Pasha and Kadi Keui, 700. Ritually they are divided into three classes; viz., Sephardim numbering 51,000; Ashkenazim, 3,000; and Karaites, 500.

In conformity with the "Constitution of the Jewish Nation" granted to them in 1865 by the Ottoman government, the Jews of Constantinople are governed by a ḥakam bashi, or chief rabbi, and two assemblies, the civic communal council, Mejlis Jasmani, and the spiritual council, Mejlis Ruḥani, each council being elected for three years by an assembly of notables. The former numbers among its members the majority of the Jewish officials employed by the government; while the latter is composed exclusively of rabbis well versed in the Talmud. The Jewish settlement in each quarter has in addition a spiritual leader, who is consulted on all sorts of religious questions, and who presides at the administrative council of every synagogue. In every quarter there is a Jew bearing the title "Kehaya," whose duty it is to notify the city government of Jewish births, deaths, and transfers of real estate. In the three populous suburbs of the city there are three rabbinical courts, which, however, decide only in divorce cases, all other legal matters being under the jurisdiction of the state. The rabbinical court of

Rabbinical Courts.

Balata has at its disposal a prison called "Ḥakan Khane."

The annual budget of the consistory amounts to 111,692 francs, being revenue from the tax on meat, cheese, wine, brandy, and unleavened bread, from a poll-tax paid by the rich notables, and from taxes on marriage certificates, passports, and transfers of real estate.

There are in Constantinople 40 synagogues and 4 batte midrashim. None of the synagogues is very old, all having been burned down and rebuilt. Those of Istipol and of Galata seem to be the oldest. In 1453 the physician to Mohammed the Conqueror, Moses Hamon erected a house of prayer at Haskeui, and called it by his name, "Kahal Ḳadosh Hamon." Other synagogues, notably that of the Exile ("Gerush"), were built after 1492 by Spanish exiles and others.

The Alliance Israélite Universelle supports 11 schools at Constantinople: 6 for boys and 5 for girls, with a total attendance of 3,000. More than 1,000 children attend the Talmud Torah; and there are about 30 private schools. In 1898 a Jewish seminary was founded under the direction of Abraham Danon. Some young Jews attend the higher schools of the state, for the study of medicine, law, pharmacy, fine arts, agriculture, etc.

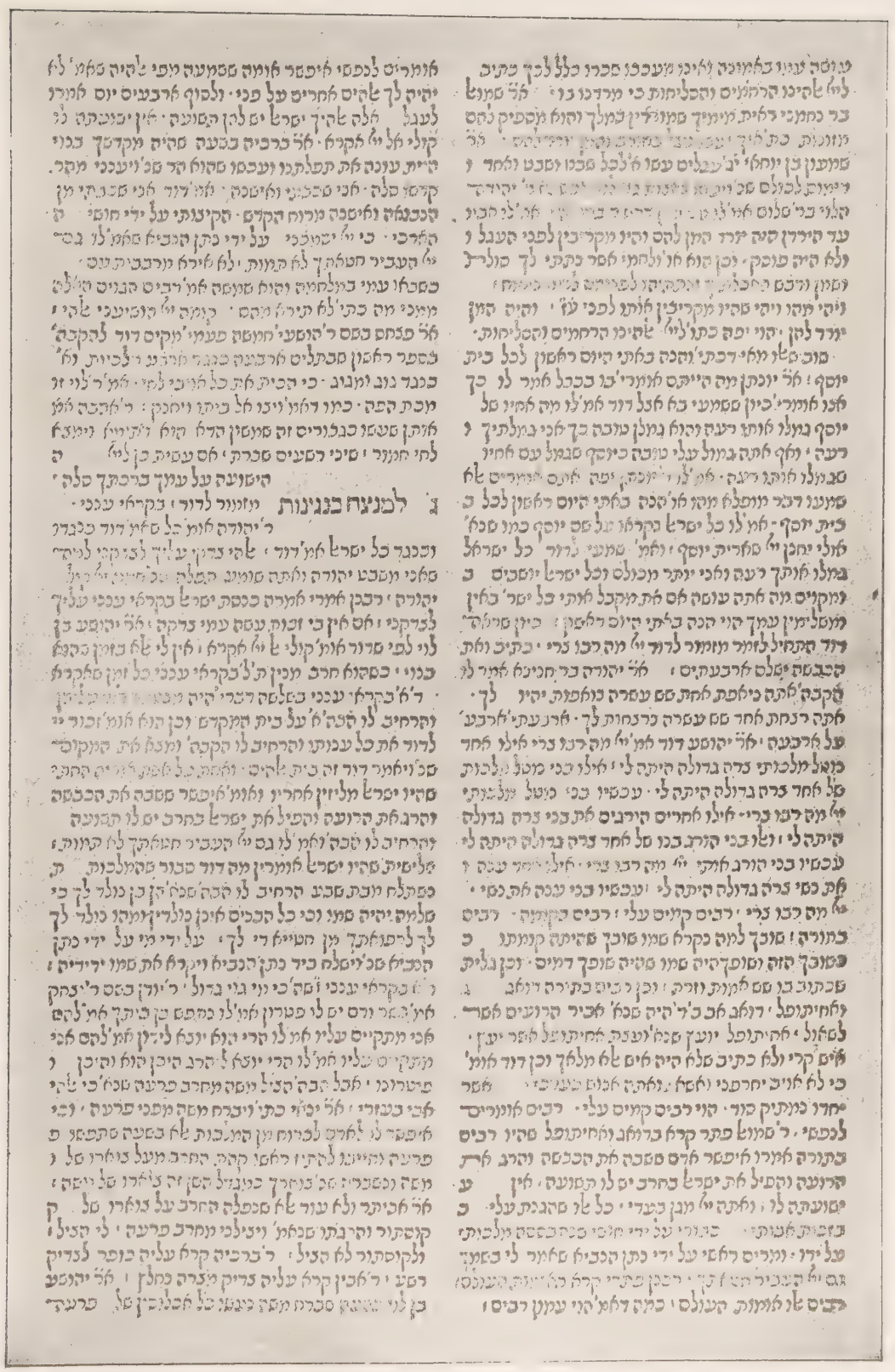
The community possesses the following twelve benevolent agencies:

Benevolent Institutions.

(1) The Society of Jewish Women of Pera and Galata, founded in 1893, to assist lying-in women, widows, the sick, and the poor; (2) Ahabat Ḥesed, founded by young men of Pera and Galata, to provide clothing for poor children of the Jewish schools; (3) Bruderverein, founded in 1875, to assist the poor and the sick of the Ashkenazic congregation; (4) Jungbundsverein, founded in 1897, to provide meals for poor children of the German Talmud Torah; (5) the Society of German Women, founded in 1897, to establish a hospital and to maintain an asylum for the aged; (6) the Society of Jewish Young Women of Pera, founded in 1894, to feed the poor pupils of the girls' school at Galata: it clothes 150 children every year, besides furnishing medicine and relief to the poorest; (7) the Society of Jewish Women of Haskeui, founded in 1895, to aid lying-in women; (8) Or ha-Ḥayyim of Balata, founded in 1885, to establish and maintain a Jewish hospital, which latter was inaugurated Sept. 1900 in a handsome new building on the shores of the Golden Horn; (9) Society Meḳor ha-Ḥayyim of Haskeui, founded in 1895, to aid the poor and to provide pecuniary assistance to young men studying in the government colleges; (10) Society Zeror ha-Ḥayyim of Haskeui, founded in 1896, for a similar purpose; (11) Society Ha-Ḥemlah of Balata, founded originally under the name "Ha-Tiḳwah," for mutual financial aid; (12) Society 'Ozer Dallim of Kuskunjuk, for the same purpose as the preceding. There is also a ḥebra ḳaddisha in each quarter.

THE JEWISH HOSPITAL AT CONSTANTINOPLE.
(From a photograph.)

The majority of the Jews of Constantinople are poor, and are engaged in petty trade, in pedling, or as porters, fishermen, and boatmen. A small industry peculiar to the Jews is the cutting of cigarette-paper. Still, there are among them rich wholesale merchants and bankers of the second or third rank. A dozen Jewish banks are connected with



PAGE FROM MIDRASH TEHILLIM, PRINTED AT CONSTANTINOPLE, 1512.

(In the Columbia University Library, New York.)

the stock exchange of Galata. At Pera four or five large Jewish houses manufacture novelties known as "articles de Paris." The principal houses for ready-made clothing are conducted exclusively by Jews from Vienna. A Jew from Salonica named Modiano owns the glass-works at Pasha-Bagtche, the only one of its kind, which furnishes glass to the whole of Turkey.

Present Conditions.

Many Jews (almost all the Karaites) are goldsmiths, jewelers, and money-changers. Through the Alliance Israélite Universelle, Jewish young men are taught various trades, as carpentery, turning, goldsmithery, cabinet-making, type-setting, upholstery, etc. But the Alliance prefers to have them employed as secretaries or accountants in European companies: banks (Ottoman Bank, Crédit Lyonnais), insurance societies, water-works, gas companies, wharves, etc.

A number of Jews are employed in the government offices. The first secretary of the Imperial Divan, who collects all the reports of the Turkish foreign ambassadors and translates them into Turkish, is the Jew David Molho Pasha. Elias Cohen (known as "Elias Pasha") is physician to the sultan.

Jews are found in the civil list of the ministry of public instruction and in consular offices. There are among the 55,000 Jews of the city 20 physicians, and as many druggists, all educated in the government schools, some of them having completed their studies at Paris, Berlin, and Vienna. See Byzantine Empire.

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J. I. Br.

——Typography: In the year 1503 David Naḥmias, a descendant of an old Spanish family, established, in conjunction with his son Samuel, the first printing-office in Constantinople. According to Steinschneider, the first work published by the Naḥmias firm was the Ṭur, of which edition only one copy, now in the Oppenheim collection (No. 521 F) in the Bodleian Library, is extant. At the death of David Naḥmias in 1511, the press fell under the direction of Samuel, in conjunction with Astruc of Toulon and Judah ben Joseph Sasson. Together with Samuel Rikonim, Astruc of Toulon established, in the same year, an independent press, from which, however, the former withdrew two years later. Astruc continued the office until 1513.

In 1518 another printing-office, in existence only five years, was established by Solomon ben Mazzal-Ṭob. About the same time new presses were established by Joseph ben Ajid al-Ḳabiẓi, Yom-Ṭob Sichri ben Raphael, and Moses ben Samuel Facilino. In 1526 the well-known printer Gerson Soncino entered the field. After his death, in 1530, the business was continued by his son Eliezer until 1547, when it became the property of the physician Moses ben Eliezer Parnas, who held it until 1554. From 1560 typography in Constantinople began to decline; and in the last years of that century there was no press in the city. Printing was then carried on at Belvedere, where the widow of Joseph, Duke of Naxos, had established presses. In 1593 these presses were transferred to Kura Chesme, a village near Constantinople. In 1639 printing was resumed in Constantinople by Solomon Franco and his son Abraham, which concern was still in existence at the end of the century. The leading printers of the eighteenth century (some books appearing at Ortakoï, a suburb) were Jona Ashkenazi (with Naphtali ben Azriel) and his son Nissim Ashkenazi. The following list of the principal publications issued during the sixteenth century will give some idea of the activity of the Constantinopolitan presses during that period. It should be remarked that several of the prints are without the printers' names, some without place of origin, and a few without either.

1503. Arba' Ṭurim.
1505. I. Abravanel's "Rosh Amanah."
1505. Torah, Megillot, and Haftarot.
1505. I. Abravanel's "Zebaḥ Pesaḥ," etc.
1505. I. Abravanel's commentary to Abot.
1506. David ibn Yaḥya's "Leshon Limmudim."
1509. Maimonides' "Mishneh Torah."
1509. Alfasi.
1510. (?) "Hanhagat ha-Deber."
1510. (?) Isaac of Corbeil's "'Ammude Golah."
1510. Yosippon.
1510. Naḥmanides' "Hassagot."
1510. Abraham Levi ha-Zaḳen's "Mashre Ḳiṭrin."
1510. Joshua Levi's "Halikot 'Olam" and Samuel ha-Nagid's "Mebo."
1510. Siddur Romania. See "Zeit. für Hebr. Bibl.," iii. 72.
1511. Jonah Gherondi's "Sha'are ha-Teshubah."
1511. Nathan b. Jehiel's "'Aruk ha-Ḳazer."
1511. Collection of Talmudic Haggadot.
1511. "Haggadot ha-Talmud."
1511. Jehiel b. Yekutiel's "Bet Middot."
1512. (?) Midrash Mishle.
1512. "Bereshit Rabbah."
1512. Midrash Tillim.
1513. Abudirham.
1513. D. Ḳimḥi's "Shorashim."
1514. Baḥya's "Shulḥan Arba'."
1514. Pirḳe R. Eliezer.
1514. I. Aboab's "Menorat ha-Ma'or."
1514. Naḥmanides' "Perush ha-Torah."
1514. Jacob b. Asher's "Perush ha-Torah."
1514. Abr. ibn Ezra's "Perush ha-Torah."
1514. Abraham Sabah's "Zeror ha-Mor."
1515. Jacob b. Asher's "Ḳiẓẓur Piske ha-Rosh."
1515. "Petaḥ Debarai."
1515. Solomon ibn Gabirol's "Azharot."
1515. Baḥya's "Kad ha-Ḳemaḥ."
1515. Mekilta.
1515. Samson of Chinon's "Sefer Keritut."
1515. Makir's "Abḳat Rokel."
1516. Solomon b. Adret's "Teshubot."
1516. (?) Abr. Ḥayyun's "Amarot Ṭehorot."
1516. "Halakot Pesuḳot."
1516. Torah, without vowels.
1516. Seder 'Olam.
1516. Abraham Zacuto's "Sodot."
1516. Moses' Midrash, "Eldad ha-Dani," etc.
1516. Benveniste's "Meliẓat le-Maskil."
1516. Yeruḥam b. Meshullam's "Toledot Adam we-Ḥawwah."
1516. (?) "Sefer ha-Yashar."
1517. Maimonides' "Sefer ha-Miẓwot."
1517. (?) "Mishpeṭe ha-Ḥerem."
1517. "Dine de Garme."
1517. "Pirḳe Ḥallah."
1517. "Hilkot Ṭerefot."
1517. Elisha b. Abraham's "Magen Dawid."
1517. Midrash Shemu'el.
1517. Asher b. Jehiel's "Teshubot."
1517. Baḥya's "Perush ha-Torah."
1518. (?) Solomon Almoli's "Pitron Ḥalomot."
1518. Esther, with commentary of Isaac Arama.

TITLE-PAGE FROM BAḤYA BEN ASHER'S "KAD HA-KEMAḤ," PRINTED AT CONSTANTINOPLE 1520.
(In the Columbia University Library, New York.)

1518. Isaac Caro's "Toledot Yiẓḥaḳ."
1518. Abr. b. Ḥisdai's "Ben ha-Melek."
1518. (?) Solomon Halevy's "'Abodat ha-Lewi."
1518. Naḥmanides' "Torat ha-Adam," "Sha'ar ha-Gemul."
1519. (?) "Otiyyot Shel R. Akiba."
1519. Ben Sira, Midrash Wayasha', etc.
1519. Abr. Yarḥi's "Sefer ha-Manhig."
1519. Solomon Almoli's "Halikot Sheba."
1519. Kol Bo.
1519. David b. Yaḥya's "Leshon Limmudim."
1520. Joshua ibn Shu'aib's "Derashot."
1520. Midrash Ḥamesh Megillot.
1520. Joseph Bekor Shor's "Perush ha-Torah" (?).
1520. (?) I. Campanton's "Darke ha-Talmud."
1520. (?) Moses ibn Ḥabib's "Marpe Lashon."
1520. Elijah Mizraḥi's Tosafot to "Semag."
1520 (1540 ?). Maimonides' "Teshubot Sha'alot Iggeret."
1521. Abr. Bibago's "Derek Emunah."
1522. Torah, with commentary, etc.
1522. Midrash Tanḥuma.
1525. I. Aboab's "Bi'ur Perush ha-Rambam."
1529. Abr. ibn Ezra's "Yesod Mora."
1530. Abr. ibn Ezra's "Safah Berurah."
1530. Sefer Tefillot.
1530. Elijah Bashyazi's "Aderet Eliyahu."
1530. Judah Bolat's "Kelal Ḳazer."
1530. Sol. Almoli's "Me'assef le-Kol ha-Maḥanot."
1532. Hai Gaon's "Musar Haskel" and Ezobi's "Ḳa'arat Kesef."
1532. Almoli's "Sha'ar Adonai he-Ḥadash."
1533. Jos. Ya'beẓ's "Ḥasde Adonai."
1534. El. Mizraḥi's "Sefer ha-Mispar."
1534. D. Ḳimḥi's "Miklol."
1535. Imm. b. Solomon's "Maḥberot."
1536. David Vidal's "Keter Kehunnah."
1536. Jehiel b. Ruben's "'Eser Yeri'ot."
1536. Judah Khalas's "Sefer ha-Musar."
1537. David Kohen's "Teshubot."
1538. I. Aboab's "Nehar Pishon."
1539. Abr. Shalom's "Neweh Shalom."
1539. Jacob B. Asher's Arba' Turim.
1539. Jacob of Illesca's "Imre No'am."
1540. Al-Ḥarizi's "Taḥkemoni."
1543. Judah ben Isaac's "Milḥemet ha-Ḥokmah weha-'Osher."
1543. Judah ben Isaac's "Minḥat Yehudah Sone ha-Nashim."
1544. Gedaliah ben Yaḥya's "Shib'ah 'Enayim."
1546. Barfat's "Teshubot."
1546. "Torat Adonai" (polyglot).
1547. Moses of Coucy's "Miẓwot Gadol."
1548. Nissim Gerundi's "She'elot u-Teshubot."
1549. Solomon ben Melek's "Miklol Yofi."
1550. Baḥya's "Ḥobot ha-Lebabot."
1553. Isaac ben Reuben's "Sha'are Dura" or "Sefer ha-She-'arim."
1559. Elijah Mizraḥi's "She'elot u-Teshubot."
1560. Judah Zarḳo's "Leḥem Yehudah."
1560. (?) Judah Nathan Provençal's "Or 'Olam."
1561. Solomon Alḳabeẓ's "Shoresh Yishai" (on Ruth).
1562. Saadia's "Ha-Emunot weha-De'ot."
1565. Naashon of Babylon's "Re'umah."
1565. (?) Isaac Arama's "Yad Abshalom" (on Proverbs).
1566. Joseph ibn Leb's "She'elot u-Teshubot."
1566. M. Zacuto's "Sefer ha-Yuḥasin."
1567. Moses ben Ḥayyim's "Ner Miẓwah."
1567. Simeon ben Zemaḥ's "Yesha' Elohim."
1570. Joseph Ḥayyim's "Mille de-Abot."
1572. (?) Mattathiah Zacuto's "Zebaḥ Todah."
1573. Joseph Nasi's "Ben Porat Yosef."
1575. "She'elot u-Teshubot ha-Geonim."
1575. Moses Najara's "Leḳaḥ Ṭob."
1575. Samuel Aripol's "Leb Ḥakam."
1576. David Messer Leon's "Tehillah le-Dawid."
1576. Eliezer Ashkenazi's "Meḳor Baruk."
1577. Isaac Onḳeneira's "Ayummah ka-Nidgalot."
1578. Al-Ḥarizi's "Taḥkemoni."
1581. Judah Chelebi's "Sha'are Yehudah."
1581. Aaron ben Joseph's "Kelil Yofi."
1583. Isaac Ya'abeẓ's "Ḥasde Abot."
1585. (?) Isaac ibn Laṭif's "Perush 'al Ḳohelet."
1585. Aaron Abraham's "Iggeret ha-Ṭe'amim."
1586. Ḳohelet, with commentary by Samuel Aripol.
1593. Moses Alshech's "Torat Mosheh."

During the nineteenth century a few Hebrew books were printed at Ortakeui or Constantinople; *e.g.*, Abraham Abigdor's "Zeker le-Abraham" (1824), Isaac Farḥi's "Marpe le-'Eẓem" (1830), Abraham Zaki's "Shemen Rosh" (1839), and Joseph ha-Rofe's "Shemen ha-Ṭob" (1849). But a very large number of books in Judæo-Spanish, and not a few journals, have been issued, a list of the latter being given in the article CONSTANTINOPLE. Karaite books have been published in the nineteenth century by Irab Oglu & Sons.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cassel and Steinschneider, *Jüdische Typographie*, in Ersch and Gruber, *Encyc.* section ii., part 28, pp. 37-40, 63.

J. I. BR.—G.

CONSTANTINOV, VOLHYNIA. See STARO-KONSTANTINOV.

CONSTANZA (until 1878 **Custendje**): Rumanian town in the province of Dobrudja. During the Russo-Turkish campaign of 1828 some Jewish purveyors came with the Russian army to Constanza, and, settling in the place, formed the nucleus of a small community. A separate community was founded later by some members of the Sephardic (Spagnioli) communities of Asia Minor. In 1853, during the Russo-Turkish campaign, the community was further increased, and a cemetery was laid out. Sir Moses Montefiore, visiting Constanza on his journey to Jerusalem in 1868, gave £200 to the president, Ilie Avram, for the purpose of building a synagogue. At present (1902) there are about 1,000 Jews in Constanza; of this number about 400 persons are Sephardim (Spagnioli), and form a separate community. The majority of the Jews are engaged in trade, but there are also some tailors, shoemakers, tinkers, watchmakers, etc. There are two religious schools for boys, one Sephardic, conducted in Spanish, and the other where German is used. There are the usual philanthropic institutions. Aaron Leib Feigenbaum is rabbi of the Ḥobebe Ziyyon, and Ḥayyim Solomon Donaufeld of the Bene Ziyyon.

E. C. M. BUJ.

CONSTELLATIONS: Clusters of stars. The number of constellations named in the Biblical writings is small. In view of the extensive astronomical attainments of the Assyro-Babylonians, it is safe to predicate of the Hebrews larger knowledge of the starry heavens (compare Ps. viii.) than appears from references actually embodied in Biblical literature; and there is no necessity for accepting Stern's explanation that only such celestial bodies were regarded with interest by the Hebrews as were of importance for calendric purposes in ushering in the seasons (Stern, in Geiger's "Jüd. Zeit." iii. 258; Friedrich Delitzsch, "Hiob," p. 169; see also ASTRONOMY).

The Great Bear.

"'Ash" or "'Ayish" is mentioned twice in Job (ix. 9, xxxviii. 32, R. V.), and has been identified with the Great Bear, though this identification has been rejected by many Biblical scholars. The Arabs certainly knew this brilliant cluster of stars by the name of "Na'sh" (the Bier); and the three stars in the tail they designated as "Banat Na'sh" (the Daughters of the Bier); *i.e.*, the "followers," an appellation still in vogue in modern Syria. A legend is connected therewith, according to which Gedi (the

pole-star) slew Na'sh, whose children now are intent upon avenging the murder; while "Suhail" (Canopus) would rush to the slayer's aid (Wetzstein, in Franz Delitzsch, "Hiob," 2d ed., p. 501). The assumed etymological affinity between "'Ash" and "Na'sh" is more than doubtful. Still, in Job xxxviii. 32 the "children" are also introduced, while it would be strange if this most brilliant group were omitted from Job ix. 9.

The vocalization "'Ayush" is proposed by Hoffmann (in Stade's "Zeitschrift," iii. 107); "'Iyush," by Brown-Briggs (Gesenius, *s.v.*); and "'Esch," by Friedrich Delitzsch (in "Hiob," xxxviii. 32), who previously identified it with "Moth," a star known as such to the Assyrians ("Assyr. Handwörterb." *s.v.* "sāsu"), but in his "Hiob," in ix. 9, translates by the German equivalent of "Great Bear." Luther renders "Wagen" (Wagon), and in this has been followed by Ideler ("Sternnamen," pp. 21 *et seq.*), Hirzel, Ewald, Franz Delitzsch, Hitzig; and R. V. Stern (*l.c.*) maintains that the Pleiades are meant—a view accepted by Schrader, Nöldeke (Schenkel's "Bibel-Lexikon," iv. 370), and G. Hoffmann (*l.c.*). Merx writes "Canopus." Of the old versions, the LXX. in Job ix. 9 has Πλειάς, and in *ib.* xxxviii. 32, Ἕσπερος. The Vulgate and A. V. in ix. 9 have "Arcturus," and "Vesperus" and "Arcturus" respectively in xxxviii. 32. Targum in the former verse gives the Hebrew word; in the latter renders by the Aramaic for "hen" (= Pleiades). The Syriac has "'Iyuta" (= Aldabaran; see Merx, in xxxviii.) or the Hyades, which Jensen (*l.c.*) also suggests. Of this Syriac word, the Talmudical יותא (אתא in some manuscripts), Ber. 58b, is the East Aramaic form. According to Levy, the latter is the seven-starred (Little) Bear; but in the passage itself R. Judah explains it as the *tail* of the Ram, if not the *head* of the Wagon or, according to Rashi, of the Bull. Kohut ("Aruch Completum," *s.v.*) derives it, as Stern and others before him, from the Greek Ὑάδες, and explains it as a cluster of seven stars in the head of Taurus. Of medieval Jewish commentators, Saadia identifies it with the Bear; ReDaK, again, in his dictionary, under עש, explains זנב טלה as the tail of the Ram. Ibn Ezra merely states that עש = "seven stars." Gersonides locates it as a constellation "within the sphere of the fixed stars."

"'Ash."

What terrestrial being עש is, is not known. Ewald thinks of the Arabic "'ayyath" (lion), and says that the Hebrews called the group the "Lioness and Her Whelps."

Orion is undoubtedly designated by the Hebrew "Kesil" ("Fool"; see below) in Job ix. 9, xxxviii. 31; Amos v. 8; Isa. xiii. 10. Of the ancient versions, the LXX. has "Orion" in Job and Isaiah, while Targum and Peshiṭta render by "Giant." In this there is a reminiscence of an ancient, perhaps pre-Semitic, myth—also current in variants among the Greeks—concerning a giant bound to the sky, whom the Hebrews, with characteristic reflection upon his presumption to resist and defy heavenly power, labeled "Fool." Nimrod was associated with this "Fool" by later folk-lore. The question in Job about loosening the bands (xxxviii. 31) has reference to this, and not, as Dillmann contends (commentary, *ad loc.*), to the rise and fall of the stars according as the "rope with which they are drawn" is tightened or slacked.

The Jewish medieval commentators hold the "Kesil" to have been either the Arabic "Suhail" (= Canopus) or Sirius. On the plural, in Isa. xiii. 10, see Jensen, *l.c.* (note also his suggestion that "Kesil" is a generic name for "comet").

"Kimah" (Job ix. 9, xxxviii. 31; Amos v. 8) is the "Hen" (Luther) with her brood. Etymologically, the name signifies "a heap," and is thus very appropriately descriptive of the cluster, now known as the Pleiades, in the zodiacal sign of the Bull.

Stern (*l.c.*) argues that "Kimah" is Sirius. In the Talmud occurs this statement: "But for the heat of Kesil, the world could not endure, on account of the excessive cold of the Pleiades, and vice versa" (Ber. 59a; B. M. 106b). "Kimah" is qualified as a planet (מזל; Ber. 58a); the etymology כמאה כוכבים = כימה is, of course, fanciful. The setting of the Pleiades is said to have been the cause of the Flood (Yer. Ta'an. i. 64a, at foot). According to Abu al-Walid, "Kimah" is the Arabic "Al-Thurayya" (= Pleiades). Ibn Ezra reports that his predecessors held it to be a group of seven stars in the tail of the Ram, but he believes it to be a single star, "the left eye of Taurus."

Pleiades.

In Job xxxviii. 31 A. V. occurs the puzzling phrase "the sweet influences of Pleiades" (R. V. "cluster of the Pleiades"; margin, "chain"); מעדנות, as shown by the parallelism with the "bands of Orion," and the expression "canst thou bind," is a transposition of מענדות ("chains" or "fetters"). Some mythological allusion is probably hidden in the expression.

Kimḥi's explanation, that the reference is to the ripening of the fruit ("Kesil"), or the reverse ("Kimah"), is plainly too rationalistic, notwithstanding the Talmudic authority he quotes or the opinion of his father (under קשר).

What "Mazzarot" (Job xxxviii. 32) may be is still unsettled. Perhaps it is identical with "Mazzalot" (II Kings xxiii. 5). If so, it might designate Saturn or the seven planets. Stern (*l.c.*) would have this strange expression denote the Hyades. Ewald, for the passage in Job, claims the reference to be to the Northern and Southern Crowns, corresponding to the "chambers of the South" ("Teman") in Job ix. 9. Others have suggested the constellation of the Southern Ship, characterized in an Arabic translation as the "heart of the South"; others again suggest Sirius. Friedrich Delitzsch leaves the problem open, simply transliterating the Hebrew (see his "Hiob," p. 169, note to verses 31 *et seq.*). It has also been held to designate the Zodiac.

According to Schrader (Schenkel, "Bibel-Lexikon," v. 398), the constellation of the Dragon is mentioned in Job xxii. 13 (R.V. "swift serpent"); but this is very problematic. Winckler has suggested to read for "Nadgalot"; in Cant. iv. 4, 10, "Nergalot"; *i.e.*, the Twins (Gemini; see "Altorientalische Forschungen," i. 293).

Bibliography: Ideler, *Sternnamen*, 1869; the commentaries on Job of Dillmann, Hitzig, Merx, Ewald, Franz Delitzsch; Winer, *B. R.* ii. 526 *et seq.*; Riehm, *Wörterbuch*, 2d ed., ii. 1573 *et seq.*; Hastings, *Dict. Bible*, s.v. *Astronomy*; Schenkel, *Bibelwörterbuch*, iv. 370, v., s.v. *Sterne*.

E. G. H.

CONSTITUTION. See Government.

CONSUMPTION (TUBERCULOSIS): An infectious disease, due to the entrance of the tubercle bacillus into the body. The question of the relative infrequency of consumption among Jews has engaged much attention among physicians and anthropologists. It is well known that dwellers in large cities, particularly those living in crowded and insufficiently ventilated tenement-houses, are generally the first victims of the tubercle bacillus. Tailoring and other sedentary occupations that are favored by Jews tend to raise the percentage of tuberculous patients. Consanguineous marriages, common among Jews, are also a predisposing cause of this disease.

Predisposing Causes.

Accordingly, the Jews, particularly those residing in the congested tenement districts of large modern cities, like New York, London, Vienna, Odessa, etc., suffer from this disease more than others. In fact, the appearance of many a modern Jew would immediately lead one to suspect the presence of tuberculosis. He is more stunted in growth than almost any other European. According to the statistics given by Jacobs (see An-

THROPOLOGY), "the average height of the Jews is 162.1 cm. [5 ft. 3 in.]; span of arms, 169.1 cm. [5 ft. 6⅝ in.]; and girth around the chest, about 81 cm. [31.9 in.]: so that they are the shortest and narrowest of Europeans." The exceptionally narrow girth of Jews gives them what is technically known as the lowest "index of vitality." The Jews are also town-dwellers; four-fifths of the Jewish populations live in large towns, while only one-third of the non-Jewish populations live in cities.

All these conditions, added to their poverty, constant grief, anxiety, and mental exertion, besides the ceaseless persecutions to which they are subjected, tend to make them ready victims to tuberculosis; and when Jacobs attempted to collect statistics on the subject in 1885 ("Racial Characteristics of Modern Jews," in "Journal of the Anthropological Institute," 1885, xv. 23–62) he found only two favorable reports—one by Lombroso in regard to the Jews in Verona, showing a mortality from consumption of 6 per cent as against 7 per cent among Catholics; and the other by Glatter, from a Hungarian district, giving 14.4 per cent for Jews as against 16.9 per cent among Magyars, 16.4 per cent among Slavs and 19.5 per cent among Servians, but as against only 13.5 per cent among Germans. On the other hand, Jacobs has found in London no less than 13.1 per cent among Jews, against 11.3 per cent for the whole Whitechapel district. He further quotes Pruner to show that consumption is very prevalent among the Jews in Egypt, as it is in Algeria, according to Haspel and others, and in South Russia, according to Tchubinsky, etc.

More recent statistics on the subject, however do not bear out the contention that the Jews are more liable to consumption than non-Jews.

In the Russian Army.

Thus, in a paper on consumption in the Russian army, Shtchepotyeff ("Vratch," 1900, viii. 232) states that among a certain number of soldiers, composed of 88.82 per cent Christians, 5.79 per cent Mohammedans, and 5.03 per cent Jews, the percentage of consumption was 88.89 for Christians (527 cases), 7.21 for Mohammedans (37 cases), and 3.98 for Jews (21 cases).

In the evidence taken before a commission in Victoria, Dr. MacLaurin stated that among the Jews of New South Wales, numbering 4,000, and dwelling mostly in towns, but one death from consumption had occurred in three years; whereas, if the disease had been as prevalent among them as among the rest of the population, 13 or 14 would have succumbed. Dr. Behrend says that their "comparative immunity from the tubercular diathesis has been recognized by all physicians whose special experience entitles them to express an opinion"; and it is the more remarkable when the adverse conditions under which the vast majority live are taken into consideration.

Drs. Loane, Gibbon, and Drysdale, medical officers of health in some of the poorest quarters of London, where the bulk of the Hebrew population dwell, have repeatedly commented upon this fact in their official reports. In May, 1897, the Jewish Board of Guardians in London appointed a committee to inquire into the increasing prevalence of consumption among the Jewish poor, with a particular view to the adoption of suitable prophylactic measures.

In London.

The committee in its report arrived at the unexpected conclusion that during the preceding fifteen years there had been no increase in the prevalence of consumption among the Jewish poor, allowance being made for the growth of the Jewish population of the East End of London ("British Medical Journal," July 2, 1898). Dr. Gaster, basing his opinion on the burial returns of the United Synagogue from 1889 to 1893 as compared with those of the registrar-general, states that among the Jews in London there are relatively only about one-half as many cases of consumption as among the non-Jews.

Drs. Tostivint and Remlinger, who have lately investigated the subject in Tunis, state that during the four years 1895–99 the Jews of Tunis lost 2,744 by death, of whom only 34, or 1.24 per 1,000, died from tuberculosis. They further calculate that the average annual mortality from tuberculosis between the years 1894 and 1900 was:

Mussulman Arabs	11.30 per 1,000
Europeans	5.13 " "
Jews	0.75 " "

In the United States, Dr. Bowditch was the first to call attention to the fact that the Jews are less susceptible to tuberculosis than other races. Dr. John S. Billings, in his "Reports on Vital Statistics of the Eleventh Census of the United States," has again drawn attention to this curious fact. He has conclusively shown that the death-rate from consumption per 1,000 deaths among Jews was 36.67 for males and 34.02 for females; while that of the United States (1880) was 108.79 for males and 146.12 for females, and that of Massachusetts (1888) was 129.22 for males and 146.97 for females. Again, in his "Report on Vital Statistics of New York and Brooklyn," Billings has shown (see table below) that in 1890 the mortality from tuberculosis among the Russians and Poles of New York city, who are mostly Jews, was lower than that among any other race.

In the United States.

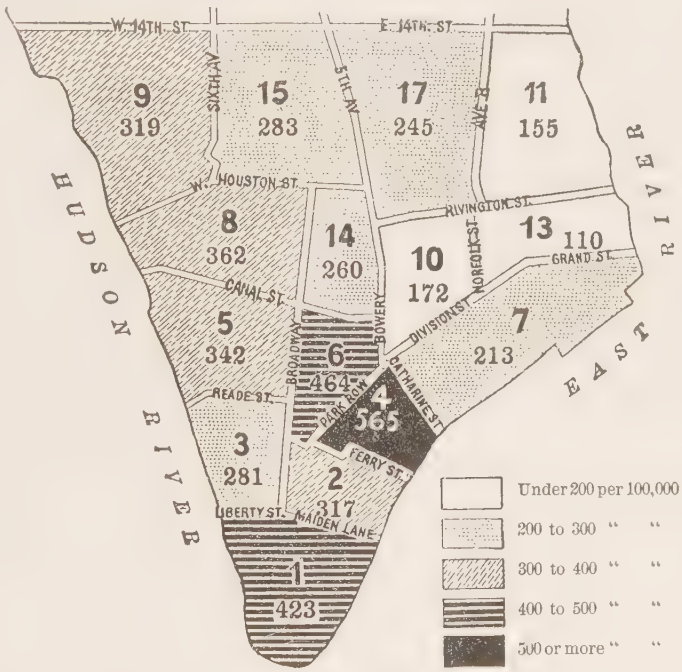
TABLE SHOWING THE DEATH-RATE FROM CONSUMPTION PER 100,000 POPULATION IN NEW YORK AND BROOKLYN DURING THE SIX YEARS ENDING MAY 31, 1890.

Race.	New York.	Brooklyn.
Colored	774.21	531.35
Mothers born in—		
Ireland	645.73	452.79
Bohemia	499.13	347.22
Russia and Poland (*mostly Jews*)	98.21	76.72
Scotland	384.12	269.24
Scandinavia	357.00	218.92
Canada	352.32	266.27
Germany	328.80	295.61
France	394.98	252.82
England and Wales	322.50	233.78
Italy	233.85	123.00
United States (*White*)	205.14	180.79
Hungary (*mostly Jews*)	155.05	120.77

"From these figures," says the census report, "it appears that consumption was most fatal among the

colored, the Irish, and the Bohemians, and least fatal among the Russians and Hungarians; that is to say, among the Jews."

These statistics were objected to by some, on the ground that many of those registered by the census officials as Russians or as Poles, were not Jews, but Catholics. In order to test the validity of the figures, Dr. Maurice Fishberg has collected statistics of the mortality from consumption in the New York ghetto. By computing the mortality from this disease in each ward, approximately correct figures were easily obtained. The reports of the board of health of New York show that during the three years 1897, 1898, and 1899 there occurred 119,226 deaths from all causes, and of these, in the boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx, 15,038 were due to tuberculosis. Of these the proportion for each of the wards in the section of the city below Fourteenth street is indicated in the accompanying map.



Map of New York City South of Fourteenth Street, Showing Average Death-Rates Due to Consumption, During 1897-99.

The average mortality from tuberculosis in the seventh, tenth, eleventh, and thirteenth wards (the Jewish wards) was 162.99 per 100,000 population for the three years 1897, 1898, 1899, while the average for Manhattan and the Bronx was 268.19; while in Manhattan and the Bronx during these three years the deaths due to tuberculosis amounted proportionately to 126 per 1,000 deaths; as is shown by the figures recorded above, in the four Jewish districts referred to the total number of deaths from tuberculosis was 1,419—that is, 99 per 1,000 deaths.

Consumption is undoubtedly on the increase among the poorer classes of Jews living in New York city. Dr. Lee K. Frankel, manager of the United Hebrew Charities, has shown that while in 1895 the ratio of consumptive applicants for relief was 2 per cent, in 1899 it reached 3 per cent, an appalling increase of 50 per cent in four years. Frankel also shows that consumption among the Jews in New York is almost wholly confined to the poorer classes, and that foreign-born Jews who suffer from this disease have contracted it after their arrival in the United States. He bases his deduction on an examination of 10,000 death certificates in the office of the New York City Board of Health, beginning with Jan. 1, 1900. In 888 of these the cause of death was stated to be tuberculosis, 72 relating to Jews. Recalling the fact that the Jewish population of New York city is estimated to be at least 15 per cent of the total population, it will be found from Frankel's figures that if consumption were as prevalent among the Jews as among the general population, the number of deaths due to this cause would have been 133. As it is, only 72 were recorded—a little over one-half the rate for the city at large. It is also to be noted that of these 72 cases, 39 died in tenement-houses, 23 in institutions, and only 1 in a private house. This tends to show that the well-to-do Jews are even less liable to consumption than the unfortunate poor, who are huddled together in congested tenements, in poverty and in want, and are exposed in every possible way to infection.

Increase in New York.

Causes of Relative Immunity.

For this comparative immunity of the Jews from tuberculosis different causes have been assigned. Lombroso attributes it to the fact that the Jews are usually engaged in occupations which require no exposure to the vicissitudes of the weather, this conclusion being strengthened by the fact that other pulmonary diseases, particularly pneumonia, are also infrequent among them, their lungs being consequently in a condition to resist infection by tubercle bacilli. Tostivint and Remlinger do not think it likely that ethnic differences afford the explanation. Nor are they able to discover the reason in deficient nourishment, lack of clothing, etc. The poor Jews in Tunis occupy a portion of the town in common with the Mussulmans; while the few rich Jews live in the European quarter. There is, however, one cause which has been selected as affording a probable explanation. Jews abhor the dusting-brush. They wipe all dusty surfaces with damp cloths, in some instances several times daily. By this means less dust is raised, and the risk of inhaling air laden with tubercle bacilli is lessened. Moreover, the Tunisian Jews use less furniture than their

French and Italian neighbors, and the opportunities for the settlement of dust are correspondingly diminished.

Behrend, with many others, is of the opinion that the relative immunity of the Jews is due to the careful inspection of their meat, examination being made particularly as to disease of the lungs and pleura, and bovine tuberculosis being thereby intercepted. More frequent house-cleaning is another reason given. Of all the causes assigned, however, the most probable are the careful selection of carcasses in Jewish slaughter-houses and the infrequency of alcoholism among Jews. It has been repeatedly shown that the flesh of tuberculous cattle sold for food is responsible for many cases of tuberculosis, and the rigid inspection of meat practised by the Jews has, therefore, the effect of checking to a very great extent the ravages of the disease.

In regard to the infrequency of alcoholism among Jews (see ALCOHOLISM), it may be said that the deleterious effects of alcohol as a predisposing cause of consumption are now recognized by all authorities. Alcohol lowers the vitality of the tissues of the body, and thus enables tubercle bacilli to develop more readily.

In view of what has been said on the infrequency of consumption among the Jews, the conclusion that their comparative immunity from the disease is not due to any racial characteristic of a purely physiological nature, but to kasher meat and the non-abuse of alcohol, may be considered as established.

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J. M. Fr.

CONTEMPT OF COURT: Disrespectful demeanor before, or disobedience of, a public authority. Courts of justice must be treated with respect, and their orders must be obeyed; therefore they have in all countries the power to punish acts of disrespect, and to enforce their orders by punishing disobedience.

The judges may punish any disrespect, or any annoyance of their messenger while he is in the exercise of his office (Ḳid. 12b), by infliction of stripes or by the lesser excommunication (M. Ḳ. 16a). When the disrespect is shown to the judges, the guilty party is subject to the law against insults to the learned (Shulḥan 'Aruk, Yoreh De'ah, 342). But the service of a process of contempt for disobedience to the court's orders, and as a means of enforcing obedience, is the more important branch of the subject. An offender is not warned; he is bidden to appear and submit to the court. If he does not he is guilty of disobedience; he has violated a high duty; and so, when the court's messenger reports that he summoned the defendant, and that he refused to appear, the court puts him under the lesser ban (שמתא or נדוי). But if the defendant, being summoned, simply does not appear on the day set for hearing, the ban is pronounced on the day following (B. Ḳ. 112b, 113a). The defendant is in contempt, and can clear himself only by submitting to the jurisdiction of the court and paying the cost of the writ of excommunication.

The notion arose as early as the tenth or eleventh century (see historic examples in Bloch, "Die Civilprozess-Ordnung," p. 27) that the court might bring the pressure of the community to bear on the renitent by suspending public worship in the synagogue which he attended, at first on work-days only, and then, this step being insufficient, on Sabbaths also.

After judgment rendered, if the condemned does not obtain a stay of proceedings, or show by oath his inability to pay, and no property of his is in sight, though the judges feel assured of his ability to pay, some maintain that a process of contempt in the shape of imprisonment can be awarded (Isserles' gloss to Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 97, 15; see Ket. 86a). If he declares that he will not obey, he should be put under the lesser ban at once; if he still fails to comply with the judgment, he must first be warned, and may then be put under the ban; and if he remains obdurate for thirty days, he is then subject to the greater excommunication ("ḥerem"—see Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 19, 3; Sanh. 25, 11).

Although it is the duty of those who know disputed facts to come forward and testify (Lev. v. 1), yet rabbinical jurisprudence has not provided a writ to call for the attendance of witnesses at the instance of a litigant, like the subpœna of English and American law. Hence the process of contempt most frequent under that law, the attachment against the body of a witness who fails to appear when called, is not known to the Jewish codes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bloch, *Die Civilprozess-Ordnung nach Mosaisch-Rabbinischen Rechte*, pp. 24-27.

L. G. L. N. D.

CONTRACT: In law a formal agreement recognized as constituting an obligation to do or not to do a particular thing. Both Bible (Prov. vi. 1-5; perhaps also Deut. xxiii. 23 and Ps. xv. 4) and Mishnah (B. M. iv. 2) attach great sacredness to a promise, and rebuke a breach of promise, even where the courts of law can not enforce its observance. From the above-cited passage in Proverbs and from other passages in the same book, it seems that at one time "striking hands" over a promise, like the "Handschlag" in German law, gave special force in the courts to a promise or contract. In the Talmud this ceremony carries only a moral or religious sanction. There is no one word, either in Bible or in Mishnah, which, like the Latin "contractus" or "pactum," or the English "contract," covers all agreements from which a liability or change of rights may arise. Different kinds of contracts, whether executed or executory, are denoted by their own special names. As to some of these the article on DEED may be consulted; in which article it also appears that greater force is given to a contract by the formality of drawing it up in writing and by having it attested by two competent witnesses. In the article ALIENATION AND ACQUISITION it has been shown that the executed contract of sale, conveyance, or gift can take effect only by the actual delivery of an article, and not by the assent of the parties alone.

Contract by Deed.

An undertaking, in the course of judicial proceedings, to pay a stated sum—for instance, an undertaking by a friend of the defendant to become surety for him in order to postpone execution on a judgment—has in all respects the same force as an attested bond (this doctrine is deduced by the codifiers from Mish. B. B. x. 8; see references in "Be'er ha-Golah" to Shulḥan 'Aruk, Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 129, 6); just as in common law a recognizance in court becomes a "debt by specialty" as much as a bond under seal.

Revocation by Contract.

The law, written or oral, has established certain rules which govern the ordinary relations of life and the contracts growing out of them; such as the relations between the owner and bailor, and the bailee or keeper of goods (see Bailments). In most cases it is competent for the parties to change the implied rules by express contract. He who exacts or stipulates for such special terms is called "matneh" (מתנה), and while the Mishnah (B. M. vii. 11) lays down the rule, "Whoever stipulates against what is written in the Torah finds his terms void," this is but one of those opinions of R. Meïr which form the undistinguished text of the Mishnah, but are not always good law; while, according to the Gemara (B. M. 94a), the opinion of his contemporary, R. Judah ben 'Illai, prevailed; viz., that in mere matters of money, stipulations contrary to the Torah were admissible. In the case of marriage it seems that all are agreed that a stipulation not to pay the wife the minimum of a jointure in case of the husband's death, or of divorce, being altogether contrary to the policy of the Law and to the dignity of the daughters of Israel, must be deemed void as well as immoral (see Ketubah). A contract for the payment to a fellow Jew of interest on a loan is, of course, void; for the Mosaic law forbids by its own terms the debtor's promise as well as the creditor's exaction of interest. For like reasons, it seems that an agreement to keep alive a debt (at least one arising from a loan) beyond the year of release would have been deemed ineffectual but for Hillel's institution ("taḳḳanah") of the Prosbul.

Conditional Contracts.

The rule as to conditions precedent, found in the same section of the Mishnah, has, at the end of the article on Alienation, been explained by a quotation from Maimonides applicable to cases where the fulfilment of the condition is to lead to the transfer of property. The Shulḥan 'Aruk (Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 207, 11, 12) shows how in other cases promises to take effect upon the fulfilment of a future condition are ineffectual, even where the promisor, to give effect to his promise concerning a bond or deed, puts it into the hands of a trustee ("shalish"). It seems to have been the policy of the sages to exclude everything like complication in contractual dealings between man and man.

Under the Jewish law an executory contract had to rest upon a consideration; but this need not go to the personal benefit of the obligor. There is a consideration for the promise of the surety, in a loan or forbearance given to the principal debtor, provided the surety binds himself at the time the debtor receives the benefit (see Deed, referring to B. B. x. 8); while a subsequent promise by the surety would be without consideration (see Asmakta).

But while, generally speaking, a consideration is necessary to support a promise, a person may, with his eyes open, bind himself by bond, or by a promise in the presence of witnesses, to pay to another a sum of money, though he does not owe him anything whatever, just as he may make to another a deed of gift of land; which principle is derived from B. B. 149a, "to acquire by acknowledgment," and from Ket. 101b (see Maimonides, "Yad," Mekirah, xi.; also Shulḥan 'Aruk, Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 40). But where the bond or promise is made under a mistaken belief by the obligor that he owes, or is liable for, the sum named (see, for an illustration, Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 126, 3), such bond or promise may be avoided upon a showing of the true facts and of the mistake committed, just as a mistaken purchase may be set aside. For, as at common law "fraud vitiates everything," so, to a great extent, does mistake.

Date of Contract.

Where a contract is made on a Sabbath or a day of festival, although the parties should be punished for breaking the custom which forbids trading on the Sabbath and on festivals, yet the contract is good; for the act giving effect to it, such as the handling or moving of a bought chattel, or occupancy of a bought parcel of land by the purchaser, is not generally a breach of the Sabbath under the Mosaic law; and, after the day closes, the contract may be reduced to writing (Mekirah, xxx. 7; Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 235, 28).

For different kinds of contracts see Alienation and Acquisition; Bailments; Broker; Deed; Loans; Master and Servant; Suretyship.

J. SR. L. N. D.

CONTROS. See Kontres.

CONTROVERSIAL LITERATURE. See Polemics and Polemical Literature.

CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY: Conversion is the Biblical term for the turning of the sinner from his evil ways to God (תשובה). "Sinners shall be converted unto thee" (Ps. li. 13; compare Isa. i. 27, and Jer. iii. 12, 14, 22, where the A. V. has "return"; Ecclus. [Sirach] v. 7, xvii. 24–26, xviii. 13, xlix. 2). There can be no conversion without change of heart and conduct; that is, repentance of sins committed (Deut. xxx. 2; Isa. lv. 7; Jer. xxiv. 7; Ezek. xviii. 27 *et seq.*; Joel ii. 13; see Repentance).

Conversion of the heathen nations to a belief in God is one of the fundamental Messianic expectations (Isa. lxvi. 19–23; Zeph. iii. 9; Zech. xiv. 9), and it is based upon the conception of an original revelation of God common to all men, wherefore heathen sinners are also expected to repent and turn to God (Jonah iii. 3; Sibyllines i. 129, iv. 169). For the sake of converting the heathen, idolatry was denounced by the seer of the Exile (Isa. xli.–xlvi.), and individual heathens were in fact won over (Isa. lvi. 6). The whole Hellenistic propagandist literature, foremost in which are the Sibylline Books,

had the conversion of the Gentiles for its object, though its intention was to make them rather observers of the Noachidic laws, which included the worship of God as the Only One, than members of the Abrahamitic covenant; that is, full proselytes. A prayer for the conversion of the heathen is offered at the close of every service in the synagogue (see 'Alenu). In pre-Christian times very determined efforts were made toward proselytizing the heathens (see Matt. xxiii. 15: "Ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte"; compare Gen. R. xxviii. and Cant. R. i. 14: "The annual conversion of one heathen saves the whole pagan world"); but as soon as the Church took up the task, following the methods of Paul, who was eager to let "the fulness of the Gentiles come in" (Rom. xi. 25), the zeal of the Jews diminished, and "the conversion of the Gentiles," which "caused great joy unto all the brethren" (Acts xv. 3), became obnoxious to the Synagogue (Yeb. 47b; see Proselytes and Proselytism).

Conversion of the Heathen.

No sooner had the Roman world been conquered by the Church than the conversion of the Jews became its ever present aim, much against the intention of the founder of Christianity (Matt. x. 6); and henceforth conversion assumed a new meaning. It was no longer a return to God in repentance, but the adoption of a new faith—not always from inner conviction, but under the influence of a ruling and threatening outward power. No barbarity seemed too cruel to be used as a means of enforcing the conversion of the Jews (see the letter of Bishop Severus concerning the Jews of Magona [island of Minorca], in Grätz, "Gesch." 3d ed., iv. 363; compare v. 47, 49, etc.), although Pope Gregory I. (*ib.* v. 41), Bernard of Clairvaux (*ib.* vi. 151), and other prelates deprecated such measures (see Ersch and Gruber, "Encyc." section ii., pp. 57, 62, 68, 77, 124, 151 *et seq.*, 221 *et seq.*, 230 *et seq.*). Even when, for the sake of keeping up the semblance of conversion by arguments, "disputations" were held between Jews and Christians in the presence of potentates, prelates, and the people, the defeat of the Jews was a foregone conclusion, and renewed persecution the unfailing sequel. Strangely enough, Jewish apostates acted as the most unscrupulous defamers of Judaism with the view of converting their former brethren (see Apostasy). The conversion of the Jews formed at all times an object of ambition of the Roman pontiffs, who compelled the Jews to attend at least once a year the Catholic service, for the purpose of listening to a conversionistic appeal. This practise was also followed in England, where the legal enactment forbidding Jews to disinherit their baptized children (see Disabilities) was enforced. In 1550 Pope Paul III. founded an institute for the conversion of Jews. England had its Hospital of Converts and House of Converts in London and Oxford as early as the thirteenth century (see "Missionen unter den Juden," in Herzog-Hauck, "Real-Encyc." 2d ed.).

Conversion of the Jews.

As to the results of such efforts Luther's utterance is characteristic: "It is as easy to convert Jews as to convert the devil himself" (quoted by Heman in "Missionen," in Herzog-Hauck, *ib.*). More typical is the story related of Everard, a highly respected Christian convert of the thirteenth century (see Brisch, "Gesch. der Juden in Cöln und Umgebung," i. 76 *et seq.*). After having led a secluded life as canon of the Church of St. Andrew in Cologne, he refused to take the sacraments in his dying hour, but gave orders to have a dog, a cat, a hare, and a mouse—animals which he had for years kept penned up in his courtyard—brought before him in the presence of all his friends; no sooner were they let loose than the dog seized the hare and the cat the mouse. "Behold," he then said to his assembled friends, "these four animals, which have never seen one another before, but have always been kept apart, acted simply in obedience to the instincts of their nature. Yet as little as the dog will ever cease running after the hare, and the cat after the mouse, so little will the Jew ever become a true Christian." Soon after, he breathed his last.

Futility of Conversionism.

For medieval conversions to Christianity see Apostasy and Apostates.

The modern era of culture and reason greatly changed the attitude of the Christian toward the Jew. No longer did the broad-minded Jewish man of affairs, such as the Spanish period produced, look down with disdain upon his intellectually inferior Christian antagonist. The breadth of view and the larger knowledge were now on the side of the Christian, while in the narrow ghetto the mind of the Jew had become cramped, and his whole life and thought were circumscribed by the Talmud. It was frequently from sincere pity that Christian statesmen and religious leaders looked for the day when, as the Church believed, "the veil of Moses" would be taken from the Jewish people, so that they should no longer appear "as a mere wreck and ruin of the past, a mummy preserved by the centuries only to testify to the living truths of Christianity." Their conversion was one of the motives which led men like Cromwell (Grätz, "Gesch." x. 104; Blunt, "Status of the Jews in England," p. 30) and Vane (see O. S. Straus, "Roger Williams," p. 172) to grant liberty and civil rights to the Jews. Others, again, were moved by the same motives to oppose such concessions (see "Juden-Emancipation," in Ersch and Gruber, "Encyc.").

Modern Conversionism.

In his turn the Jew came to regard Christianity in a different light, especially where a return to the simple teachings of the New Testament became the aim of many Christians, and where the growth of friendly relations disclosed to both Jew and Christian the fact that they had many more interests to unite them than differences to keep them apart. To Jews ambitious to obtain worldly success, the temptation came in many forms to remove the barrier of creed by a few drops from the baptismal font, willingly bestowed by the ruling Church; and many a descendant of Abraham, eager to eat of the fruit from the tree of modern knowledge, forbidden to him in the ghetto, was perplexed by the question whether he might not don the garb of Christianity in order to participate in its culture. The Protes-

tant Church was quick to perceive her opportunity, and organized her efforts toward the conversion of the Jews, being in many countries supported by the government in its dealing with the Jews as citizens. Still the spirit of loyalty held the Jew within the fold, and only a few, and those rarely of the best elements, yielded to such influences.

Strange to say, Great Britain, with her liberal policy toward the Jews, presented at the close of the eighteenth century the first large list of secessions from the Jewish camp. The descendants of those who bravely resisted the storms of persecution in Spain were ready, when the sun of prosperity smiled on them, to sacrifice the pride of their ancestral heritage to the blandishments of fortune and fame offered to the converts (see J. Picciotto, "Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History," pp. 196 *et seq.*, and Converts, Modern).

In America, too, the same fate befell a number of Jewish families scattered throughout the country. Without organization and the strength of conviction, they were lost in the various churches; only occasionally features and names betray their Jewish origin (see "Publications Am. Jewish Hist. Soc." i. 98, ii. 91, iv. 197; Kohut, "Ezra Stiles and the Jews," pp. 37–49, 85, 111; Wise, "Reminiscences," pp. 62–70, 272; Lowell, in "Atlantic Monthly," Jan., 1897; Kohler, in "American Hebrew," Jan., 1892).

Christian Missions to Jews.

The first attempt to organize the work of converting the Jews was made in Holland at the synods of Dordrecht, Delft, and Leyden (1676–78). The example was followed in other Protestant countries. In Hamburg Esdras Edzard, a disciple of John Buxtorf, founded an institute for the conversion of the Jews, and the municipal laws of Hamburg, which forced the children of the Jews to attend the Christian schools, greatly aided him in obtaining converts. In Hesse-Darmstadt, where the Jews in the sixteenth century were, as elsewhere, compelled to attend the church once a year to listen to conversionist addresses, there existed also an institute for the conversion of the Jews. In 1736, "400 erring sheep were admitted into the Christian fold, and 600 impostors were refused admission," naively says the official record (see Herzog-Hauck, *ib.*). The next to take up the work of converting the Jews were the Moravian brethren in the middle of the eighteenth century, and the Pietists of Halle, whence the Callenberg Institute (1728–92) sent forth its missionaries over the world. But all these efforts were of little avail. Lavater's attempt to convert Mendelssohn showed the futility of such endeavors (see Mendelssohn, Moses).

Conversions from Worldly Motives.

The tidal wave of cosmopolitan enlightenment achieved for the Church more than all her conversionists could. Captivated by the liberal thought of the age which beheld in creeds the work of priestcraft and superstition, the upper classes of Jews in Germany, Austria, and France gradually broke away from their ancestral religion, which appeared to them as a shackle and a misfortune, and felt no scruple in taking a step which was the only means of freeing the Jew in the eyes of the Christian world from the yoke and the shame of centuries. Not from conviction, but attracted by the hope of brilliant careers or grand alliances, hundreds of Jewish families in Berlin, Vienna, Königsberg, and elsewhere joined the Church, "fluttering like moths around the flame until they were consumed" (Grätz, "Gesch." xi. 155 *et seq.*).

As Grätz correctly states, aversion to the Christian dogma and a profound attachment to the home life and the traditions of the past kept the majority from following the example. Only one power could really stem the evil of apostasy, and this Grätz ignores—the inner reform of Judaism which would again imbue the Jew with self-respect while disclosing to him his historical mission in the world (see Holdheim, "Gesch. der Entstehung der Jüdischen Reformgemeinde Berlin," pp. 33, 251, Berlin, 1857). The first attempt made by Zunz and his friends failed, and the consequence was despair and new conversions; *e.g.*, that of Eduard Gans, Heine, and others (Grätz, "Gesch." xi. 403 *et seq.*). And when at last a maturer stage was attained by the leaders of Reform, and measures were proposed to improve the religious and social life of the Jew, the governments interfered, preventing and prohibiting, as far as they could, reforms, in order to force the Jew to seek salvation in the arms of the Church. In fact, government and Church, press and people, conspired to render the life of the Jew as miserable as possible, a continual martyrdom, while the strong conviction which produced martyrs in former ages was lacking. And as if to deprive the Jew of every spark of self-respecting manhood, it was made part of the Pharaonic system to declare the Jewish persuasion to be a disqualification for governmental offices and posts of honor in civic life or in the army, and at the same time to bribe Jewish men of letters and learning by offering them promotion in case they would change their faith.

To this was added another factor opening a new field of promise to converts. Inspired undoubtedly by a genuine love for the Jewish nation (see Way, Lewis), "societies for the promotion of Christianity among the Jews" were started at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Great Britain, and spread under various names over the whole earth, sending forth missionaries and publishing tracts, books, and periodicals at an immense cost with the sole purpose of converting the Jews. Insignificant as the results were compared with the amount of labor and money spent by these societies, they have in the opinion of unbiased observers, Jews and Christians (see the opinions of the latter in Brann's "Jahrbuch," 1895, pp. 28–36), done great harm in endeavoring to uproot the faith of a race admired for its steadfast loyalty, and to alienate children from their parents and from domestic traditions which formed the basic element of their morality. Their main acquisitions seem to be the numerous converts in their employ, to whom they chiefly owe their success, if not existence, all of whom might have done far nobler work for the elevation of the Jewish race, had they been encouraged to strive for Judaism rather than against it. No reflection upon their sincerity of conviction or of purpose is necessary. That which offends the Jew in these conversionist efforts is that a premium

should be put on an act of disloyalty as if it were a meritorious one (see Felsenthal, "Zur Kritik des Christlichen Missionswesens," Chicago, 1869; N. Samter, "Judentaufen im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert," in Brann's "Jahrbuch," 1895, pp. 9–48, where the literature is also given; "Missionen," in Herzog-Hauck, *ib.*; De Le Roi, "Gesch. der Evangelischen Judenmission, i. and ii., 1899).

As regards the number of converts, De Le Roi, in his work on missions, has estimated that they run to something like 204,540 during the nineteenth century. Of these, 72,240 have transferred their allegiance to Protestantism, 57,300 to Roman Catholicism, and 74,500 to the Greek Church in Russia (but see CONVERTS TO CHRISTIANITY, MODERN). The exact numbers for the latter country are only known from 1836 to 1897, when they ran up to 58,502, which did not include conversions to Roman Catholicism and Protestantism in that country. Naturally, conversions occur most frequently during periods of persecution; thus while in Prussia between 1872 and 1879 the average was only 65 per annum, in 1888, at the height of the anti-Semitic movement, the number was 348. In the year 1897 they sank to 299. Similarly in Vienna during the seventies the average was only 40 per annum, whereas in 1896 457 were converted, and 468 in 1898 ("Statist. Jahrb. für Wien," p. 346). According to the "Oesterreichische Wochenschrift," Nov. 21, 1902, the figures were: in 1898, 472; in 1899, 565; in 1900, 627; in 1901, 615; and up to Nov., 1902, 555 converts. In the whole of Hungary in 1897 only 220 were converted ("Magyar Statist. Evkönyv," iv. 435). The number of working agents employed by the English and Scottish societies in 1877 was 220, costing £670,000 ("Israel's Watchman," April, 1877, p. 55).

The number of conversions reached their height at the close of the nineteenth century, when under the watchword of anti-Semitism all the medieval fury of Jew-hatred was revived, and the Jews of continental Europe were made to feel that, in spite of their full and hearty participation in the political life and intellectual progress of their country, they were yet regarded and treated as aliens. Having in their worldly pursuits allowed their religious sentiment to fall to the freezing-point, and finding themselves disappointed in all their aims and aspirations, many wealthy Jewish families took that step which opened to them the door of admission into the highest circles. It must be left to the moralist to decide whether conversions caused by mere worldly motives benefit or demoralize society. It must be left to the statesman to decide whether in thus forcing Jewish elements to amalgamate with non-Jewish under the thin cover of a formal profession of creed, anti-Semitism does not rather defeat its own ends. From the Jewish point of view the law of natural selection, which is ever at work weeding out the weaker elements and allowing only those to survive that have the power of resistance, has been fitting the Jew for his highest task even in this crisis, just as Isaiah saw it in the vision of the tree reduced to a "tenth" by storm and fire (vii. 13).

The Berlin Society for Promoting Christianity Among the Jews spent more than 117,152 reichsthaler upon the conversion of 461 Jews during the fifty years of its existence (W. Zichte, "Fünfzig Jahre der Judenmission," Berlin, 1872), while the London Society paid between the years 1863 and 1894 from £600 to £3,000 for the conversion of a single Jew ("Saat auf Hoffnung," 1863, iii. 16; "Friedensbote," 1871, p. 149; "Jeshurun," 1895, p. 274).

The policy of the Roman Catholic Church, though formally prohibiting forcible conversion (Decretals, c. 5, D. 45), has always been to facilitate conversion as much as possible, even when the subject was not of an age to appreciate the gravity of the act. The age did not seem to have been settled till a decision was passed by the Holy Congregation of the Curia (June 16, 1809), which fixed it at seven years. Besides this, children, if in danger of dying or if one of the parents had been converted to Catholicism, might be baptized against the will or without the knowledge of their parents. On Oct. 22, 1587, the Roman Curia decided that a Jewish child, when baptized even against the canonical law, must be brought up under Christian influence. A special house for converts was created at Rome (see CATECHUMENS, HOUSE OF), and many Jewish children were immured in it up to 1858, when the case of Edgar MORTARA drew the attention of the whole of Europe to the method of Roman Catholic propagandism as directed against the Jews at Rome. See also COEN, JOSEF DI MICHELE.

The converts also seem to be destined to do work, though involuntarily, for Judaism. Whatever of mental vigor there is in an offspring of the Jewish race, whatever spark from the fire of Sinai still burns in a descendant of the house of Israel, he can not help, even though he stray far away from his Jewish cradle, contributing a share of the Jewish spirit to the upbuilding of the divine kingdom of truth and righteousness in the larger world which he has entered. Just as it was the religious genius of the Jew that made Saul of Tarsus the great missionary for the heathen, so did the Oriental imagery of Benjamin Disraeli, and the wit and ardent love of liberty of Heine and Börne, carry Jewish elements into the life and literature of the English and the German peoples. To the cosmopolitan character of modern art, literature, and philosophy, Jews, even under the guise of a Christian confession, have contributed very essentially. It is the cosmopolitan idea of humanity which even the disjoined and disloyal members of the Jewish race are bound to proclaim.

Work of Jewish Converts.

Most modern converts, unlike the apostates of former centuries, have retained in their heart of hearts love for the faith and the history of their nation, and in critical hours many have stepped forth in its defense. They are, in the terminology of the Rabbis, מומרים לתיאבן ("such as apostatized for personal motives"), but not להכעיס ("such as apostatized to provoke the wrath of Heaven by any malice of their own") (see 'Ab. Zarah 26a). K.

CONVERSION TO ISLAM. See APOSTASY AND APOSTATES FROM JUDAISM.

CONVERSION TO JUDAISM. See PROSELYTE AND PROSELYTISM.

CONVERTS TO CHRISTIANITY, MODERN: The number of post-Mendelssohnian Jews who abandoned their ancestral faith is very large. According to Heman in Herzog-Hauck, "Real-Encyc." (x. 114), the number of converts during the nineteenth century exceeded 100,000; Salmon, in his "Handbuch der Mission" (1893, p. 48), claims 130,000; others ("Divre Emeth," 1880, p. 47; 1883, p. 187) claim as many as 250,000. For Russia alone 40,000 are claimed as having been converted from 1836 to 1875 ("Missionsblatt des Rheinisch-Westphälischen Vereins für Israel," 1878, p. 122); while for England, up to 1875, the estimate is 50,000 (De Le Roi, "Die Evangelische Christenheit und die Juden," iii. 60).

Modern conversions mainly occurred en masse and at critical periods. In England there was a large secession when the chief Sephardic families, the Bernals, Furtados, Ricardos, Disraelis, Ximenes, Lopez's, Uzziellis, and others, joined the Church (see Picciotto, "Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History"). Germany had three of these periods. The Mendelssohnian era was marked by numerous conversions. In 1811 David Friedlander handed Prussian State Chancellor Hardenberg a list of thirty-two Jewish families and eighteen unmarried Jews who had recently abandoned their ancestral faith (Geiger, "Vor Hundert Jahren," Brunswick, 1899). In the reign of Frederick William III. about 2,200 Jews were baptized (1822–40), most of these being residents of the larger cities. The third and longest period of secession was the anti-Semitic, beginning with the year 1880. During this time the other German states, besides Austria and France, had an equal share in the number of those who obtained high stations and large revenues as the price for renouncing Judaism. The following is a list of the more prominent modern converts, the rarity of French names in which is probably due to the fact that conversion was not necessary to a public career in that country. The names of living converts are not included.

Abrahamson, A. (1754–1811), German stamp-cutter.
Assing, David (1787–1842), German physician and poet.
Bach, Friedrich Daniel (1756–1830), German painter.
Bartholdy, Jacob (1779–1825), Prussian diplomatist.
Benary, Franz Friedrich (1805–60), German philologist.
Benary, Karl Albert (1807–60), German classical scholar.
Bendemann, Eduard (1811–45), German painter.
Benedict, Sir Julius (1804–85), English composer.
Benfey, Theodor (1809–81), German philologist.
Bernays, Michael (1834–97), professor of literature at Munich.
Bernhard, Max Adolf (1799–1866), German professor of music.
Bernhardy, Gottfried (1800–75), German philologist of Halle.
Bloch, Moritz (Ballagi) (1815–91), Hungarian professor of ecclesiastical history.
Börne, Ludwig (1786–1837), German political writer.
Braham, John (1774–1856), English composer and singer.
Breidenbach, Moritz Aug. Wil. (1796–1856), German lawyer.
Büdinger, Max (1828–1902), professor of history at Vienna.
Capadose, Abraham (1795–1874), Dutch physician and writer.
Caspari, Karl Paul (1814–92), professor of theology at Christiania.
Cassel, Paulus (1821–92), German writer and preacher.
Cerf, Karl Fr. (1782–1845), German theatrical manager, of Berlin.
Cohn, Ludwig (1834–71), German historian.
Cohnheim, Julius (1839–84), German pathologist.
Costa, Isaac da (1798–1860), Dutch historian.
Creizenach, Theodor (1818–77), German professor of literature.
Csemegi, Karl (1826–99), president, Hungarian supreme court.
David, Christian Georg Nathan (1793–1874), professor of jurisprudence at Copenhagen.
David, Ferdinand (1810–73), German virtuoso and composer.
Dessoir, Ludwig (1810–74), actor at Berlin.
Detmold or Detmond, John (1807–56), German statesman.
Disraeli, Benjamin (Lord Beaconsfield) (1804–81), British statesman and writer.
Dittel, Leopold, Ritter von (1815–98), Austrian surgeon.
Drach, David Paul (1791–1865), librarian of the Propaganda in Rome.
Eberti, Georg (1812–84), professor of jurisprudence, Breslau.
Edersheim (1825–89), English theologian and writer.
Ewald, F. C. (d. 1874), German divine.
Feinberg, Oscar (1844), artist of Mitau, Courland.
Felix, Rachel (1820–58), French actress.
Fould, Achille (1800–67), French minister of finance.
Fraknoi, Wilhelm (1843), Hungarian bishop; president of Hungarian Academy of Science.
Friedberg, Emil Albert von (1837), German professor.
Friedberg, Heinrich von (1813–95), Prussian minister of justice.
Friedenthal, Rudolf (1827–90), German deputy.
Friedlander, Ludwig (1824), German professor of archeology.
Friedlander, Ludwig Herman (1790–1851), German professor.
Friedlander, Max (1829–72), German-Austrian journalist.
Gans, Eduard (1798–1839), professor of jurisprudence, Berlin.
Goldschmidt, Hermann (1802–66), German astronomer.
Güterbock, Karl Eduard (1830), German professor.
Hahn, Elkan Markus (1781–1860), professor of philology.
Heine, Heinrich (1799–1856), German poet.
Henle, Friedrich Gustav Jacob (1809–85), German anatomist, Göttingen.
Henschel, A. U., professor of botany (1824–37), Breslau.
Herz, Henrietta (1764–1803), German authoress.
Hiller, Ferdinand von (1811–86), German musical composer.
Hirsch, Siegfried (1816–60), professor of history, Halle.
Hirsch, Theodor (1806–81), professor of history, Greifswald.
Jacobi, K. G. (1804–57), professor of mathematics, Berlin.
Jacobsohn, Heinrich (1826–90), professor of medicine, Berlin.
Jacobsohn, Ludwig (1766–1842), professor of medicine, Königsberg.
Jacoby, Heinrich Otto (1815–64), professor of Greek, Königsberg.
Jaffe, Philip (1819–70), professor of history, Berlin.
Joachimstadt, Ferdinand (1816–61), professor of mathematics.
Josephsohn, Jacob (b. 1818), Swedish musical composer.
Kalisch, David (1820–72), German dramatist.
Kalkar, Christian (1803–86), Danish writer and divine.
Klein, J. L. (1810–76), German litterateur.
Kossmann, Heinrich (1813–36), mathematician.
Kronecker, L. (1823), German mathematician.
Lebert, Hermann (1813–78), professor of medicine, Breslau.
Lehrs, Karl (1802–78), professor of Greek.
Lehrs, Siegfried, philologist.
Lessmann, Daniel (1794–1831), German writer.
Levin, Rahel, German social leader.
Lewald, Fanny (1811–89), German authoress.
Lopez, Sir Menasseh (1831), English judge; M.P.
Magnus, Eduard (1799–1872), professor of arts, Berlin.
Magnus, Heinrich Gustav (1802–70), professor of chemistry.
Magnus, Ludwig Immanuel, mathematician, Berlin.
Margoliouth, Moses (1818–81), Jewish historian.
Marx, Karl (1818–83), German socialist.
Mayer, Solomon (1797–1862), German professor of law.
Meier, Moritz Her. Ed., professor of philosophy, Halle.
Mendelssohn, Dorothea (1769–1839), German social leader.
Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Felix (1809–47), German composer.
Montefiore, Lydia (baptized 1858), aunt of Sir Moses Montefiore.
Neander, Johann August Wilhelm (1789–1850), professor of ecclesiastical history, Berlin.
Neumann, Karl Fred. (1793–1870), German Orientalist.
Palgrave, Sir Francis Cohen (1788–1861), historian.
Philippi, Fr. Ad. (1809–82), professor of theology, Dorpat.
Ponte, Lorenzo da (1749–1839), writer and composer.
Ricardo, David (1772–1823), political economist.
Rosenhaim, Johann Georg (1816–87), professor of mathematics.
Rubino, Joseph Karl (b. 1799), professor of history, Marburg.
Rubinstein, Anton G. (1829–89), Russian musician.
Samuda, Joseph d'Aguilar (1813–85), English shipbuilder and Member of Parliament.
Simson, Martin Eduard von (1810), lawyer; president of German Parliament; leader of the conservative party.
Spiegelberg, Otto (1830–81), professor of medicine, Breslau.
Stahl, Fried. (1802–61), professor of jurisprudence.
Strousberg, Bethels Henry (1823–84), German financier.
Wolfers, Jacob Philip (1803), professor of astronomy.
Wolff, Oscar Ludwig (1799–1851), German professor of literature.
Wolff, Joseph (1795–1862), traveler.
Ximenes, Sir Moses (1762), English high sheriff.

G. K.—I. Br.

CONVICTS. See Crime.

COOKERY.—Biblical Data: The preparation of the meal was in ancient times a very simple process. The principal articles of diet were bread and milk, to which were added, as supplementary dishes, fruits and vegetables (compare Baking and Milk). Meat was eaten only on festivals; and many vegetables, such as cucumbers, garlic, leek, onions, etc., were eaten raw. Lentils (Gen. xxv. 29; II Sam. xvii. 28) or greens (II Kings iv. 38 *et seq.*) were boiled in either water or oil. Fruit was often dried and compressed into solid, cake-like masses, making raisin-cake, fig-cake, etc. (I Sam. xxv. 18, xxx. 12; II Sam. xvi. 1, etc.; compare the "ḳamr al-din," or flat cake of compressed apricots, still popular among the Syrians); and a kind of sirup, or Honey ("debash") was sometimes extracted from it. A kind of porridge was made from corn by adding water, salt, and butter ("'arisah," probably the "'arsan" of the Talmud, which was a paste prepared of crushed and malted grain); and from this many kinds of cakes were made with oil and fruits (II Sam. xiii. 6 *et seq.*; Num xi. 8; Ex. xxix. 2, etc.; see the importance of these cakes in later sacrificial ceremonies, as mentioned, for example, in Lev. ii.).

Egyptian Cookery, Showing Processes of Preparing Food.
(After Lepsius, "Denkmaler.")

Meat, in ancient times, was usually boiled, and was consequently thus served at the table of Yhwh (Judges vi. 19; I Sam. ii. 15). The sauce in which it was cooked was also relished ("marak," Judges vi. 19; perhaps also "merḳaḥah," Ezek. xxiv. 10). That the custom of boiling a young lamb or a kid in milk—still prevalent among the Arabs—existed among the ancient Hebrews, is proved by the prohibition of the custom in Ex. xxiii. 19. The word בשל, which may also signify "roasting," is usually applied to cooking in the sense of "boiling." It is reported of the wicked sons of Eli that they preferred roasted to boiled meat (I Sam. ii. 15). The meat of the Passover lamb was usually roasted; and indeed the custom of roasting ("ẓalah") became ever more prevalent. As among all the nations of antiquity, it was effected at the open fire, either by placing the meat directly upon the coals (compare the roasting of the fish mentioned in John xxi. 9), or by using a spit or grate, which appurtenances, though not specifically mentioned in the Old Testament, may reasonably be supposed to have been employed. Even in Genesis (xxvii. 6 *et seq.*) it is stated that Rebekah could prepare the flesh of a kid so that it tasted like venison; and from this statement a certain degree of culinary skill may be inferred. The progress of civilization, bringing about increased importation of provisions, materially contributed to the refinement of the culinary art among the Hebrews (compare Food).

E. G. H. I. Be.

——**Modern Jewish:** It is not surprising that Jewish cookery possesses characteristics of its own which differentiate it from ordinary cookery. The dietary and ceremonial laws to which orthodox Jews conform have naturally evolved a particular kind of culinary art. The institution of the Passover, the distinction between permitted and forbidden foods, the regulations as to butter and meat, and the custom of abstaining from meat at certain seasons, have all contributed to make Jewish cookery distinctive. But the preparation of food for the table is a matter which will always be influenced by local conditions. Every country and district has its favorite dishes, largely dependent upon its particular food products. Hence, Jews have carried with them, wherever they have wandered, the styles of cookery prevailing in the countries from which they have migrated. Thus in England old-fashioned Jews, who retain the customs of the ghetto, are comparative strangers to the plain English roast, boiled, and grilled meats, preferring the more savory dishes of the Continent. From Spain and Portugal they have derived, along with their fondness for olives, their custom of frying fish and other foods in oil. From Germany they have taken the habit of sour-stewing and sweet-stewing meats. To Holland they owe a taste for pickled cucumbers and herrings, and from the same country come such Jewish dainties as butter cakes and "bolas" (jam-rolls). From Poland, on the other hand, Jewish immigrants have brought into their new homes "lokschen" or "frimsel" soup (cooked with goose fat), stuffed fish, and various kinds of stewed fish. In this way almost all varieties of Jewish cookery are reproduced in an English form, to which this article is mainly confined.

Another influence has to be noted. The stringency of the dietary laws has combined with the peculiar domesticity of Jewish life to make cooking the special business of Jewish wives and daughters. It has thus been raised to the character of a fine art, even among the humblest classes. In the ghettos of Jewry no housewife would think of relegating the preparation of meals to a servant. Only by attending to them herself can she satisfy her conscience

that such ritual requirements as the "kashering" of meat, the keeping apart of butter and meat, and the separation of "ḥallah" (the bread-offering) have been duly complied with. The kitchen has, therefore, always been regarded among orthodox Jews as the chief province of a Jewish housewife, and to her supremacy in this region the Scriptural words "The king's daughter is all glorious within" (Ps. xlv. 13) have not inaptly been applied. In times gone by, especially when the facilities of travel were few, the male members of a Jewish family whose vocations took them away from home would be exposed to many privations. Thus the responsibilities of Jewish housewives would be heightened. They would exercise their ingenuity to the utmost so that on the return of the breadwinners their hardships might be forgotten in the enjoyment of appetizing dishes. The influence of the dietary laws and ceremonial customs on Jewish cookery can be further traced in the details of the kitchen.

Passover Cookery.

The institution of the Passover, with its commandment to abstain during the festival from eating leavened bread, has had the natural effect of developing special kinds and methods of cooking appropriate to that period. The unleavened bread is not merely a staple article of food, but an ingredient of almost every Passover dish. "Maẓẓah klös" (dumpling) soup takes the place of lokshen for this week, and an immense variety of sweet cakes and puddings, manufactured from ground maẓẓah meal, replaces the confectionery and pastries of ordinary occasions. Fish, instead of being fried in a batter, is cooked with meal. An excellent flour can be made of potatoes, and Jewish cooks make use of it for pastries during Passover. All dishes which can be made from eggs are in special request, and this accounts for the popularity of almond pudding as a Jewish delicacy. Jews are also debarred during Passover from drinking malt liquor, which has to be replaced by such beverages as sassafras and lemonade.

Fish.

From very early times, as far back even as their sojourn in Egypt (Num. xi. 5), Jews have shown a strong liking for fish, and have developed special skill in its preparation. There are many reasons for this preference: (1) The necessity of abstaining from meat not killed according to Jewish law makes them particularly dependent upon fish. (2) It is not regarded as meat, and can therefore be eaten in conjunction with butter. (3) There are seasons, such as the "Nine Days," when strict Jews abstain from meat altogether. (4) The eating of fish has always been associated with the celebration of the Sabbath. From no orthodox table is fish absent at one or more of the Sabbath meals, however difficult it may be to procure. In inland countries like Poland, Jews are limited to fresh-water fish.

There are several distinctively Jewish modes of preparing fish, and English Jews have paid special attention to their practise. Anglo-Jewish methods of cooking fish were first introduced by Portuguese Jews, and copied by German Jews. Their favorite fish is salmon, which is either fried, white-stewed, or brown-stewed. Fish, white-stewed, with lemon and bread balls, is a specifically Jewish preparation, typical of their fondness for piquant stews in preference to the plain preparation common in non-Jewish families. Smoked salmon is another Jewish delicacy, and this, together with pickled herrings, pickled (yellow) cucumbers, and olives, is often to be seen on Jewish tables as appetizing adjuncts to fried fish.

Preparation of Meat; Butter and Meat.

The principal concern in the preparation of food for a Jewish table is compliance with the ritual requirements for Kasher meat. Orthodox Jews will not partake of meat unless, in addition to having been killed in accordance with rabbinical law, it has been entirely drained of blood. Therefore, before being cooked, it needs to be steeped in water for half an hour. On being taken out it is laid on a perforated board, sprinkled lightly with salt, and left for one hour. At the end of this time the salt is washed off (see Meliḥah). Meat may not be cooked with butter or milk. Oil, and certain portions of the fat of clean animals (the שומן or kasher fat, as distinguished from the חלב, or ṭerefah fat), are the only fats that may be used. So far as cookery is concerned, the distinction between butter and meat necessitates the use of a double set of utensils. Some Jews have two kitchens, one for meat and one for butter; and two separate dressers are common. Jewish cooks are debarred from using butter in pastries, which are to be eaten in conjunction with meats, and from using milk or cream under the same circumstances. For butter, melted fat must be substituted, while cream may be imitated in a variety of ways. One reason why almond pudding is a favorite in Anglo-Jewish households is that it does not require either meat or butter, and can therefore be eaten at any meal.

Sabbath Preparations.

Notice must be taken of the special preparations made for the Sabbath. The Sabbath dish par excellence is the "kugel." Orthodox Jews not being permitted to cook on the Sabbath, their ingenuity has been much taxed to provide hot food for the day of rest. In the height of summer, cold meats are acceptable enough. The difficulty is to provide hot dishes in winter, and it has been overcome by the preparation of a dish known as "kugel." It consists, generally, of meat stewed with peas and beans, and placed in the oven before Sabbath. The fire having been made up, and the oven firmly closed, the dish requires no further attention, and will retain its heat until it is wanted for the Sabbath midday meal. The term "shalet" (see "sholent" in the article Cookery in Eastern Europe) is used in some parts of Europe to designate what has just been described as kugel, while "kugel" is used as the name of a variety of shalet containing much fat; in other parts (*e.g.*, Bavaria) "shalet" is used of a sort of baked pudding; *e.g.*, maẓẓah, apple, nudel, or almond shalet. The form "shulet" also occurs, as in Bohemia, to indicate the "gesetztes essen" called "kugel" in the beginning of this paragraph. "Shalet" is explained by some authorities as a corruption of the German "schul ende," that being the name of a pudding which is prepared on Friday, to be ready when Sab-

bath morning or afternoon service is over. Others derive it from שלן ("that which remains [in the oven] overnight"), the final "t" being the German ending. The real derivation is probably from the Old French "chauld" (warm). The prohibition against cooking on Sabbath explains why fried fish, being primarily a Sabbath dish, is eaten by Jews cold, whereas other people eat it hot. Stewed fish is, of course, also eaten cold.

A prominent feature of Sabbath cookery is the preparation of twists of bread, which are known as "ḥallahs" or, as in southern Germany, Austria, and Hungary, as "barches." They are often covered with seeds to represent manna, which fell in a double portion on the sixth day. One other item remaining to be mentioned is raisin wine. Jews are required to offer over a cup of wine the Sabbath prayer for the sanctification of food. But in many countries wine is too expensive a luxury for the majority of Jewish families. A cheap preparation, made of boiled raisins, is therefore substituted, which, though it is far from resembling wine, satisfies all the requirements of the ritual.

Bibliography: *A Jewish Manual of Cookery*, edited by a lady, Boone, 1826; *Aunt Sarah's Cookery Book for a Jewish Kitchen*, Liverpool, 1872; 2d ed., 1889; Mrs. J. Atrutel, *Book of Jewish Cookery*, London, 1874; May Henry and Edith Cohen, *The Economical Cook*, London, 1889; *Aunt Babette's Cook Book*, Cincinnati, 1890. The last contains a number of Jewish recipes, but is not restricted to Jewish cookery.

J. I. H.

——**In Eastern Europe:** Most of the dishes cooked by the Jews in eastern Europe are akin to those of the nations among whom they dwell. Thus the **kasha** and **blintzes** of the Russian Jews, the **mamaliga** of the Rumanians, the **paprika** of the Hungarians, are dishes adopted by the Jews from their Gentile neighbors. Only on religious and ceremonial occasions do they cook peculiarly Jewish dishes.

The food prepared on Friday for the Sabbath is called **sholent** (the Russian equivalent of "shalet"). The most popular form of sholent is made of potatoes placed in the pot with meat, fat, and water. The potatoes appear on the table on Saturday glistening with fat, and are of a dark, brownish color. Some even consider them not alone palatable, but an excellent remedy for various ills. The commonest form of sholent is the **kugel,** a kind of pudding made of almost any article of food; the **magen-kugel** and the **lokshen-kugel** are two favorite varieties. The former consists of an animal's stomach filled with flour, fat, and chopped meat, peppered and salted to taste. The latter is made of lokshen; often raisins and spices are added. It is cut as ordinary pudding. Other kugels are compounded of rice, potatoes, carrots, etc. Lokshen consists of flour and eggs made into dough, rolled into sheets, and then cut into long strips. Macaroni is an excellent substitute for it. Cut into small squares, these strips are called "farfil." They are usually boiled and served with soup. On the day preceding Tish'ah Be'ab, **milchige lokshen** is eaten. This is ordinary lokshen boiled in milk.

Ẓimes, or compote, consists generally of cooked fruits, such as plums (flaumen ẓimes), or of vegetables, well spiced. The most popular vegetable is the carrot (mehren ẓimes), which is cleaned and cut into small slices, and boiled in water for about three hours. The water is then poured off and mixed with flour, sugar, and cinnamon. The carrot is then replaced, a fat piece of meat, preferably from the breast, added, and the concoction is again cooked for two or three hours. Turnips are also extensively used for ẓimes, particularly in Lithuania. In southern Russia, Galicia, and Rumania ẓimes is made of pears, apples, figs, prunes, etc. It is then somewhat like a compound of stewed fruits.

Another dish for Saturday is called **petshai** in Lithuania, **drelies** in South Russia, Galicia, and Rumania. This consists of cow's or calf's leg prepared in a special manner. The hair is burned off, and the leg is then thoroughly cleaned, and cut into pieces of a convenient size. These are placed in a pot with water, and pepper, salt, and onions are added. Then it is placed in the oven just as are the other sholent dishes. When it is removed from the oven on Saturday morning, it is either served hot, or it is distributed in plates, hard-boiled eggs being sliced into it, and it is put in a cool place. When served in the evening for "shalesh se'udot," it is a semi-solid mass, in which the meat is embedded. Drelies is made by adding soft-boiled eggs and also some vinegar as soon as it is removed from the oven, when it is served hot.

Soups are naturally the great standby of the poor. The best known of these is the **krupnik,** made of oatmeal, potatoes, and fat. This is the staple food of the poor students of the yeshibot; in richer families meat is added to this soup.

Kreplech or **krepchen** is another dish peculiar to eastern European Jews. It is prepared in the following manner: Flour and eggs are mixed into a dough. This is rolled into sheets and cut into three-inch squares. On each square of dough is placed fine-chopped meat, to which salt, pepper, and onions are added. The edges of the rolled dough are then brought together and well pasted. This is then placed in a soup previously prepared for the purpose. This kreplech is eaten at least three times a year by every pious Jew—on Purim, on the day preceding the Day of Atonement, and on Hosha'na Rabbah. On occasions when meat is not eaten, chopped cheese is placed inside the kreplech.

At weddings "golden" soup is always served. The only reason for its name is probably the yellow circular pieces of chicken fat floating on its surface.

The preparations of fish made by the eastern European Jews are famous even among the Gentiles, the most popular being the **gefillte** (filled fish). This is prepared thus: After undergoing the usual processes of cleaning and washing, the fish is cut into two or three parts. The bones are then taken out, the skin is removed, and the meat is chopped fine, eggs, salt, pepper, and onions being added. This mass is then replaced in the skin, dropped into boiling water, and cooked for about three hours.

B. Fr.

Besides the very popular dish of groats called

krupnik, and many other grit soups, which are also common among non-Jews, there are still a number of soups which are more or less characteristically Jewish. The soup into which "kneidlach" (="knoedel," dumplings) are put, is the dish used most often on Saturdays, holidays, and other special occasions, particularly at Passover, when it corresponds to the "mazzah kloes" of western Europe. The expression "Me meint nit di Haggadah nor di kneidlach" (It is not the Haggadah that we like so much as the dumplings) owes its origin to the great favor this soup has attained among the Jews of eastern Europe. The kneidlach in most cases are made by grinding mazzahs into flour, and adding eggs, water, melted fat, pepper, and salt. This mixture is then rolled into balls about one and one-half inches in diameter. The kneidlach are then put into the soup, and it is ready to be served about half an hour after. Often the kneidlach are fried in fat and served apart from the soup. Another kind of kneidlach, made from mashed potatoes put into warm milk, forms a well-liked soup among Lithuanian Jews. The village folk of some parts of eastern Europe have still another form of soup, which is made by putting crisp "beigel" (round cracknel) into hot water and adding butter. Because of its nutritious qualities it is called **michyeh,** a corruption of the Hebrew word "mihyah" (*i.e.*, food *κατ' ἐξοχήν*; compare the Latin "victus"). There are, however, a number of soups in the preparation of which neither meat nor even fat is used. Such soups form the food of the poor classes. An expression current among Jews of eastern Europe, "soup mit nisht" (soup with nothing), owes its origin to dissatisfaction with soups of this kind.

Soups.

There are a number of sour soups, called **borshtsh,** the most popular of which is the "kraut," or cabbage, borshtsh, which is made by cooking together cabbage, meat, bones, onions, raisins, sour salts, sugar, and sometimes tomatoes. Before serving, the yolks of eggs are mixed with the borshtsh. This last process is called "farweissen" (to make white). Borshtsh is also made from the beet-root and "rossel" (the juice derived from the beet).

Gebrattens (roasted meat), chopped meat, and **essig fleish** (vinegar meat) are the favorite forms in which meats are prepared. The essig or, as it is sometimes called, "honnig," or "sauer fleish," is made by adding to meat which has been partially roasted some fish-cake, sugar, bay-leaves, English pepper, raisins, sour salts, and a little vinegar.

Fat of cattle, because of its cheapness, is used in the preparation of a great number of dishes. The fat of geese and chickens is used only on special occasions, but is kept in readiness for use when needed. Fat, being used so freely during Passover, is prepared in quantities long before that feast, in many cases as early as Ḥannukah (in December).

Gribenes, or "scraps," form one of the best liked foods among the Jews of eastern Europe. It is eaten especially on the Feast of Ḥannukah. So much do the Jews share in the belief "that there is no flavor comparable with the tawny and well-watched scraps," that it is often suggested as an inducement to friends to make a visit.

Jews of eastern Europe bake both black ("proster," or "ordinary") bread and white bread, or **ḥallah.** Of great interest are the various forms into which these breads are made; for while the black bread is usually circular in form, the shapes in which ḥallah is baked vary as the different holidays pass by. The most common form of the ḥallahs is the twist ("koilitch" or "kidke"). The koilitch is oval in form, and about one and a half feet in length. On special occasions, such as weddings, the koilitch is increased to a length of about two and a half feet. Some are made in miniature for the small boys, as an inducement to say the "kiddush" (bread benediction) which is required on Friday night.

Bread and Cakes.

The dough of ḥallah is often shaped into forms having symbolical meanings; thus on New-Year rings and coins are imitated, indicating "May the new year be as round and complete as these"; for Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement) the ḥallah, which on that occasion is circular, carries a piece of dough in imitation of a dove, the significance being "May our sins be carried away by the dove." Ḥallah is also baked in the form of a ladder for Yom Kippur, expressing thereby the desire, "May our prayers climb up to heaven"; for Hosha'na Rabbah, bread is baked in the form of a key, meaning "May the door of heaven open to admit our prayers." The **Haman tash,** a kind of a turnover filled with honey and black poppy-seed, is eaten on the Feast of Purim, but probably has no special meaning.

The **mohn kiḥel,** a circular or rectangular wafer having in it a quantity of poppy, forms a part of the Sabbath breakfast. **Pirushkes,** or turnovers, are little cakes fried in honey, or sometimes merely dipped in molasses, after they are baked. The **strudel,** or single-layered jelly or fruit cake, takes the place of the pie for dessert. **Teigachz,** or pudding, of which the kugel is one variety, is usually made from rice, noodles, "farfel" (dough crums), and even mashed potatoes. **Gehakte herring** (chopped herring), which is usually served as the first dish at the Sabbath dinner, is made by skinning a few herrings and chopping them together with hard-boiled eggs, onions, apples, sugar, pepper, and a little vinegar.

Savories and Candies.

Teiglach and **ingberlach** are the two popular home-made candies. The teiglach are made by frying in honey pieces of dough about the size of a marble, the dough being mixed with sugar and ginger. The ingberlach are ginger candies made into either small sticks or rectangles. Jellies are made from all juices of fruits, and are used for different purposes; they are used in making pastry and are often served with tea. Among the poorer classes jellies are reserved for the use of invalids and patients, and so well has the practise of making jelly solely for that purpose been established, that often the words "Allewai zol men dos nit darfen" (May we not have occasion to use it) are repeated before storing it away.

J. I. G. D.

COOKING-UTENSILS: Among the ancient Hebrews cooking was naturally entrusted to the women of the household (compare I Sam. viii. 13), as was also the task of grinding the flour required for daily use, and that of preparing the bread. Even ladies of rank thought it no degradation to cook, and Princess Tamar is said to have displayed especial skill in preparing certain articles of food (II Sam. xiii. 8). The slaughtering and the dressing of meat were done by the men (Gen. xviii. 7; I Sam. ix. 23, ii. 14 *et seq.*), who also understood how to prepare food (Gen. xxv. 29; II Kings iv. 38).

Kitchens were found only in the palaces of the wealthy, a particular room for culinary purposes being scarcely requisite, since the primitive hearth consisted merely of a few stones upon which the pot was placed, and beneath which a fire was lighted on the mud floor (for oven, see BAKING). In later times mention is made of fire-basins, כיור (kiyyor, Zech. xii. 6), and of a species of small, portable cooking-stoves, "kirayim" (Lev. xi. 35; in the Talmud the singular כירה is used); the latter, according to the Mishnah, was so constructed as to afford space for two pots.

Wood (often in the form of charcoal) and dried dung were used as fuel, and a draft was made by means of a fan, "menafah" (Kil. xvi. 7), as in the Orient at the present day. Fire-tongs, "melḳaḥayim" (Isa. vi. 6) and shovels, "ya'im" (I Kings vii. 40), also formed part of the equipment.

In addition to the hand-mill, an indispensable adjunct of the Hebrew kitchen, were two large earthen jugs, called "kad," one of which was for carrying water (Gen. xxiv. 15 *et seq.*; I Kings xviii. 34), the other for storing meal or corn (I Kings xvii. 12). Milk and wine were preserved in goat-skins ("ḥemet," Gen. xxiv. 15, and elsewhere; "nod," Judges iv. 19, and elsewhere); oil and honey, in small earthen or metal jugs, "ẓappaḥat" (I Kings xvii. 12, etc.); fruits and pastry, in various kinds of BASKETS.

The "dud," "kiyyor," "ḳallaḥat," "parur," "sir," and "ẓelaḥah" ("ẓallaḥat") are mentioned as vessels for cooking, but their specific uses are unknown. The sanctuaries were amply provided with these dishes and bowls (Num. lxxi. 3 *et seq.*; I Kings vii. 45, 50), which, as might be expected, were usually of bronze, silver, or gold (Jer. lii. 19); in the homes, however, metal vessels were found in great number only among the wealthy. As these vessels were introduced by the Phenicians (I Kings vii. 13 *et seq.*), whose artisans long continued to supply the Hebrew market, it is safe to assume that their forms were similar to those of the Phenician utensils. Among the common people and for daily use, it was customary to employ earthen vessels (Lev. vi. 21), the receptacle most frequently mentioned being the sir, a pot in which usually the family meal was cooked, and in which occasionally the sacred meat was prepared (II Kings iv. 38 *et seq.*; Ex. xvi. 3; Zech. xiv. 20, and elsewhere). It sometimes served also as a ewer (Ps. lxix. 10). For baking cake, etc., a tin plate ("maḥabat barzel," Ezek. iv. 3; Lev. ii. 5) or a deep pan ("marḥeshet") was used (Lev. ii. 7). Mention is also made of three-pronged forks, which were used, not for eating with, but for lifting the meat from the pot (I Sam. ii. 13). Knives were used for slaughtering animals, and for dressing the meat ("ma'akelet," Gen. xxii. 6, 10).

E. G. H.

I. BE.

COPENHAGEN: The capital of Denmark. Shortly after the opening of Denmark in 1657 to settlement by Jews, a number are known to have resorted to the capital. A few were there even earlier; for there is a record of a Jew having been baptized in 1620. The first room for prayer-meetings was opened Dec. 16, 1684, in which year Israel David, the court jeweler, and his partner, Meyer Goldschmidt, were given permission to hold devotional exercises, provided they took place behind closed doors and without a sermon, that there might be no cause for scandal. The Jews were already in possession of a cemetery, the first interment in which is said to have occurred in 1670. This, the earliest known congregation in Copenhagen, probably followed the Sephardic ritual, since the first Jews permitted to settle in Danish cities were of Spanish-Portuguese extraction (see DENMARK); though they were doubtless soon outnumbered by German Jews who emigrated from Hamburg, northern Germany, Holland, and Poland, either directly or by way of Sleswick-Holstein.

The Copenhagen community is probably first mentioned in specifically Jewish literature in 1691, in which year a number of Jews, bound from Holland to Courland, perished by shipwreck at Marstrand, near the Swedish coast. When the Copenhagen Jews heard of the disaster, they sent two members and the shammash to ascertain the details, according to Jewish law, so that the widows of the drowned men, who were then in Poland, might be enabled to marry again (see 'AGUNAH; compare responsa "Sha'agat Aryeh we-Ḳol Shaḥal," ed. Salonica, 1746, p. 35a). At that time no Jews were living in Sweden.

Social Condition.

The condition and mode of life of the Jews of Copenhagen were, on the whole, similar to those of Jews in other parts of Denmark; but jewelers, agents, manufacturers, and merchants of all sorts had better opportunities for business in the capital than in the provincial towns. They soon increased to such an extent that the rooms hitherto used for prayer-meetings were no longer large enough; and the first synagogue was dedicated in 1729. The community had had rabbis for some time. The first was Abraham ben Salomon; he was followed by Israel ben Issachar Berendt, who had officiated as rabbi in Altona, and whose little book "Ohel Yisrael" (The Tent of Israel), a commentary on Jacob Weil's "Schlachtregeln," was printed at Wandsbeck in 1733, a year after his death. At that time there was no Hebrew printing-establishment at Copenhagen, although Hebrew types were to be found in the common printing-offices. Rabbi Israel died at Fredericia. He was succeeded by Mordecai ben David. Then followed Ẓebi Hirsch ben Samuel Halevy and Gedaliah ben Aryeh, the latter being succeeded in 1793 by his son Abraham, who, in order to accept the post, resigned his rabbinate in Gnesen.

Even in the eighteenth century the community was distinguished for its men of culture. A branch

of the Wessely family, to which belonged Hartwig Wessely, Mendelssohn's faithful coworker, and his brother Moses, the friend of Lessing, was established in Copenhagen. Although Hartwig Wessely, the most eminent of all the Jews of Copenhagen in the eighteenth century, left his native town, he still kept in touch with it, and when, in 1766, a new synagogue was dedicated, he wrote the dedicatory poem and delivered the oration. Another eminent family, the Wallichs, repeatedly intermarried with the Wesselys; but the Euchel family, to which belonged Isaac Euchel, one of Mendelssohn's foremost pupils, is even better known than either of the other families mentioned. Isaac's equally talented brother, Gottleb, was a business man in Copenhagen, and was also successful as a writer.

The Eighteenth Century.

The community grew rapidly in the eighteenth century, notwithstanding the difficulties attendant upon immigration; but a serious calamity befell it when, in 1795, during a conflagration in the city, the principal synagogue was burned. There had been occasional dissensions in this, as in every other old Jewish community. At the end of the century, however, the movement with which Mendelssohn's name is associated had obtained so firm a footing in Copenhagen, and the differences between the older and younger members had become so acute, that an agreement in regard to the building of a new synagogue was impossible; and, accordingly, none was built. Several houses were, however, fitted up and utilized as synagogues. Although, as early as 1804, one of the Progressives, M. L. Nathanson, with the assistance of an Orthodox relative, had organized an excellent parochial school—still (1902) in existence—for poor boys, and though a similar school for poor girls was established a few years later, the members of the Jewish community could not unite in building a synagogue; nor could they do so even when, by the decree of March 29, 1814, civic equality was conferred upon them. The differences between the old Orthodox rabbis, supported by the majority of the community, and the younger, impetuously progressive minority, who were in intimate association with many highly cultured Christians, were too great.

The public schools, as well as the university, were open to Jewish students; and the above-mentioned Nathanson, with his friends, was actively interested in enabling poor but talented children to pursue their studies.

The Nineteenth Century.

The first Danish theologian produced by the community was Isaac Noah Mannheimer, who was appointed teacher in 1816, when only twenty-three years of age. It was his duty to "confirm"—that is, to hold an examination upon the completion of a course in religion; and since there was no public place in which he could preach, his friends and patrons met for devotional exercises at their homes. His activity in his native community, however was of but very short duration. Dissensions, on the one hand, and an eager desire for Danish culture, on the other, added to the impossibility of finding positions, led many Jewish students in the first decades of the nineteenth century to embrace Christianity. While, formerly, Christian missionaries had worked among the Jews without appreciable results—even though Jews were compelled, for a short time in 1728, to listen to Christian sermons, and proselytes thus won were materially favored—there was now an increasing number of conversions, whereby the community was robbed of many among the educated families. Just as in Germany the children of Moses Mendelssohn were baptized, so also in Copenhagen a number of his relations, friends, and followers became converts.

Mannheimer's successor as teacher was the younger and less gifted E. Levison, who continued religious instruction and confirmation, but abandoned the devotional exercises. In 1827 the death of the chief rabbi, Abraham Gedaliah, created a vacancy for which his son, although popular in the community, and possessed of wide Talmudic scholarship, proved unsuitable; for the congregation had learned to demand of its rabbis a wider range of knowledge. Accordingly an endeavor was made to find a chief rabbi who united Talmudic with secular learning; and an invitation was extended to A. A. Wolff, then rabbi in Giessen.

This young rabbi and doctor of philosophy succeeded in drawing both parties together to the extent indicated by the fact that a synagogue was dedicated in 1833. The services, on the whole, were arranged according to the old ritual—even now (1902) all the institutions of the community are conducted in the time-honored way—but Rabbi Wolff, to satisfy the younger members, added choral singing and a weekly sermon. In most respects the community was at peace; but some of the elder members, deeming the service too modern, maintained, in addition to the principal synagogue with the Portuguese ritual, a small private synagogue, which is still in existence. The extreme Radicals however, did not consider the innovations sufficient. They called for a greater number of prayers in the Danish language; and as this was not conceded they absented themselves from the service. Although secessions to Christianity gradually ceased, there was an increasing indifference to the affairs of the synagogue. But the chief inducement to baptism disappeared when, in 1849, the Jews throughout Denmark were accorded equal rights with their fellow citizens (see Denmark).

Struggles for Reform.

The sphere and influence of the Copenhagen Jews were now more widely extended. Many achieved distinction as bankers, manufacturers, and merchants; among them being the Meyers, Goldschmidts, Rubens, Malchiors, Hambroes, Triers, Baron Gedalia, the "etatsraad" Philip W. Heymann, the banker D. B. Adler, and Isak Glückstadt, a bank director and the present president of the community. The merchant Nathanson was prominent also as a statistician, political economist, and journalist.

Among other well-known members of the community mention may be made of the students Abrahams, David, and Lewy; the poet Henrik (Heiman) Hertz, who was baptized; the painters David Monies and Ernest Meyer; Joel Ballin, the etcher; and the musicians Bendix and Rosenfeldt; all of

whom flourished in the nineteenth century. The community has also produced many scientists, including S. Trier, the clinical lecturer; L. Jacobson, the anatomist and practising physician; A. Hannover, the physiologist; H. Hirschsprung, director of the children's hospital; Israel Rosenthal, chief physician of the communal hospital; Salomonson and L. Meyer, university professors; and Goldschmidt and Henriques, lecturers. Especial mention should also be made of L. I. Brandes, philanthropist and physician, uncle of Georg Brandes, and his brother, Eduard Brandes; Siesbye, the classical philologist; Hannover, of the Polytechnic; Fredericia, the historian; David and Rubin (1902), directors of the bureau of statistics; while the two Levy brothers are among many Jews who have held government positions.

Persons of Distinction.

Jews have also been active as politicians in Copenhagen. Among them were the poet Meier Goldschmidt; D. B. Adler, mentioned above; and the educator Herman Trier, vice-president of the Folkething, and chairman of the municipal council (1902).

The community of Copenhagen maintains a number of philanthropic foundations, many of them of considerable age. Their poor and sick are well cared for. The most recent of the many institutions is the Home for the Aged, founded a few years ago by N. J. Fränkel. The communal council holds bequests, exceeding one million dollars, for definite philanthropical purposes, while many societies and institutions hold property of their own. It should be noted that the Jews have also contributed generously to many non-Jewish philanthropies, among the more prominent of those leaving bequests for such purposes being D. A. Meyer and S. A. Eibeschütz. Their own prosperous circumstances have never caused the Jews of Copenhagen to forget their less fortunate coreligionists elsewhere. As early as the reign of Maria Theresa appeals were made to the Danish government to intercede for the suffering Jews of Austria; while in recent times undertakings like the Alliance Israélite Universelle have found prompt support in Copenhagen. In addition to the religious and parochial schools, several lecture societies are engaged in spreading a knowledge of Judaism.

Philanthropic Institutions.

The Jewish community of Copenhagen has never been large. In 1902 it numbered about 3,500, including the neighboring communities, about 1,000 being taxpayers. The affairs of the community are conducted by seven representatives, who, in conjunction with four wardens of the synagogues, constitute the representative committee, at the head of which is the rabbi. At Professor Wolff's death D. Simonsen succeeded to the rabbinate, and occupied it till his resignation in 1902.

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J. D. S.

COPONIUS: First procurator of Judea, about 6 C.E. He was, like the procurators that succeeded him, of knightly rank, and "had the power of life and death" (Josephus, "B. J." ii. 8, § 1; "Ant." xviii. 1, § 1). During his administration occurred the revolt of Judas the Galilean ("B. J." *l.c.*), the cause of which was not so much the personality of Coponius as the introduction of Roman soldiers. Moreover, owing to the reconstruction of the province of Judea then in progress, the census was being taken by Quirinus, which was a further cause of offense. In Coponius' term of office this incident occurred: During the Passover festival, when the doors of the Temple were opened at midnight, it happened that some Samaritans entered by the first door, and scattered human bones along the colonnade of the sanctuary. Shortly after this event Coponius was recalled to Rome, and replaced by Marcus Ambibulus ("Ant." xviii. 2, § 2). Probably it is on account of this occurrence that one door of the Temple bore the name of "door of Coponius" (Mid. i. 3; compare the reading in Parḥi 16a, ed. Edelman). Regarding the personal attitude of Coponius toward the Jews nothing definite is known.

Bibliography: Schürer, *Gesch.* 3d ed., i. 487; Schlatter, *Zur Topogr. und Gesch. Palästinas*, p. 206; Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, ii. 537.

G. S. Kr.

COPPER: The first common metal to come into use, as it is easily obtained and readily worked. Burial-places in which utensils, weapons, etc., of iron are found are ascribed to a later period than are those containing copper or bronze weapons.

The word "copper" is derived from the name "Cyprus," the island from which the ancient Greeks obtained this metal; hence the name *χάλχος κύπριος*, Latin *æs cyprium*, copper. The Hebrew name "neḥoshet" denotes not only copper, but also copper alloy. Since copper is rather soft and very flexible, it was mixed with other metals, especially with tin, thereby becoming almost as hard as steel. Of such a copper alloy, probably, were made the spear-head (I Sam. xvii. 7), the lance (II Sam. xxi. 16), and the bow (II Sam. xxii. 35), and perhaps also fetters (Judges xvi. 21). In the earliest times swords and axes, doubtless, were cast in copper alloy (I Kings vii. 46); later on they were forged in iron (I Sam. xiii. 19; Isa. ii. 4).

Name and Origin.

In Palestine itself there were no copper-mines, and probably none in the Lebanon Mountains, though iron ore was found there; hence the Israelites had to import their raw material either from the Egyptians or the Phenicians. The former in very early times worked copper-mines on the Sinai peninsula; and the ruins of immense works may still be seen in Wadi Meghara and Wadi Nasb. The Egyptian inscriptions found there state that even before the time of Cheops or Khufu, who built the great pyramid at Gizeh, copper was mined by Senoferu, a king of the fourth dynasty. The Phenicians probably mined copper first in Cyprus. But Ezek. xxvii. 13 states that later on they obtained ore also from the Colchian Mountains through the Tibareni and Moschi. The Israelites had commercial relations both with the Egyptians and the Phenicians, but not in very early times. Moses, however, is represented as having made a serpent of brass ("neḥushtan," Num. xxi.

9), which was later on worshiped in the Temple of Jerusalem, and which Hezekiah "brake in pieces" (II Kings xviii. 4); and Bezaleel, while in the desert, is said to have made partly out of brass the vessels for the Tabernacle.

These instances are anachronisms; for it is shown in I Kings vii. 13 (compare II Chron. ii. 12 *et seq.*) that in the days of Solomon the process of casting brass was still unknown to the Israelites, since the king had to send to Tyre for a worker in brass (Hiram). Ex. xxxviii. is also an instance of anachronism, the furnishings of Solomon's Temple being taken as a pattern; while the nehushtan of II Kings xviii. 4, if it actually belongs to early times, must have been imported from elsewhere. That such things were imported may be gathered from the commandment of YHWH in Ex. xxxiv. 17. If a "molten image" (מסכה) is here forbidden to the people, it may be assumed that, in contradistinction to the old Hebrew EPHOD of wood or stone, the imported image of brass was interdicted, and that in Ex. xxxiv. 17 the term "massekah" (מסכה) is to be taken in its specific sense of a brazen manufacture; for in early times idols of wood or stone, plated with gold or silver, were worshiped ("efod" or "pesel"; compare Judges viii. 22 *et seq.*, xvii. 1 *et seq.*). This assumption is all the more probable since there is no longer any doubt that foreign, more especially Phenician, influences affected the construction and furnishing of Solomon's Temple.

Images and Altars of Brass.

In early times the altar of YHWH was built of earth or of unhewn stone (Ex. xx. 24 *et seq.*). The brazen altar in the Temple of Solomon indicates a breaking away from this old Israelitic custom; and Ahaz afterward had a new altar built in the Temple, patterned after an altar he had seen at Damascus (II Kings xvi. 10 *et seq.*). From this time on it probably became the custom in Israel to make their vessels of brass. Unfortunately the costly brazen pillars, calves, vessels, etc., that adorned the Temple since the days of Solomon, were destroyed by the vandalism of the Babylonians, who broke them into pieces and carried the metal to Babylon (II Kings xv. 13 *et seq.*; Jer. lii. 17 *et seq.*). In the Second Temple there were also brazen vessels, but not in such quantities; brazen cymbals are mentioned in I Chron. xv. 28 (compare Josephus, "Ant." vii. 12, § 3). The heaven of brass referred to in Deut. xxviii. 23 does not mean that after a long-continued drought the sky gleams like new molten bronze, since in the parallel passage of Lev. xxvi. 19 the earth also is compared to brass. It means rather that the vault of heaven is closed so tight that no drop of rain can descend, and the earth in consequence is turned into brass; that is, becomes hard and unproductive.

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J. JR. W. N.

COR. See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

COR ASHAN. See CHOR-ASHAN and ASHAN.

CORAL: A genus of polypus known to science as "coralligenous zoophytes"; also the hard structures secreted by these animals. The variety known as the red coral (*Corallium rubrum*) (Pliny, xxxii. 2, 11, and elsewhere) is found in the Mediterranean, and was greatly valued by the ancients. It was used for personal ornament, and also for talismans and amulets. It is not certain that the ancient Hebrews were familiar with the coral. The A. V. translates the Hebrew ראמות "coral" in Job xxviii. 18 and in Ezek. xxvii. 16, while in Prov. xxiv. 7 both the A. V. and R. V. give "too high" as an equivalent for the same Hebrew word.

In favor of a derivation from רום ("to be high") it might be urged that the red coral has a natural upward form of growth. According to Freitag ("Einleitung in das Studium der Arabischen Sprache," p. 332), the coral in use among the Arabs was white, not red. But he confounds glass beads with corals. In Job xxviii. 18 the Septuagint reads *μετέωρα*, Sym. *ὑψηλά*, Vulgate *excelsa*, showing the influence of the etymology from the word meaning "to be high." The Targum renders סנדלכון according to Cheyne = *σανδαράκη*), which is entirely inapplicable here; Jastrow prefers "sardonyx," Levy "sandarachina." Rashi holds ראמות to be the name of a precious stone found in the water. Ibn Ezra gives no explanation, and Gersonides, with the Targum, the paraphrase "costly pearls."

Of modern commentators, Dillmann thinks that "ramoth" (Job xxviii. 18), which Luther simply transliterates, designates something less valuable than "peninim," mentioned in the second half of the verse. Friedrich Delitzsch (in his German translation of Job, 1902) translates it "pearl shells." In Ezek. xxvii. 16 the Septuagint (Alexandrine Codex) has the transliteration *ραμμωθ*, the Vulgate *sericum*, and Targum "precious stones"; Luther, "sammet."

In Prov. xxiv. 7 "ramoth" suggests perhaps a play upon the word (= "too high"), but Bickell suggests a change into דמות, the Septuagint having an altogether different reading. In the margin of R. V. (Lam. iv. 7) "corals," "red corals," and "pearls" are suggested as truer renderings for the Hebrew word "peninim" (Job xxviii. 18; Prov. iii. 15, viii. 11, xx. 15, xxxi. 10). Luther has this translation in Lam. iv. 7; Friedrich Delitzsch in Job xxviii. 18. Gesenius ("Th.") holds "peninim" to be the red coral, and "ramoth" to be another, probably the black, variety. The use of the word משך ("draft") in connection with "peninim" in Job xxviii. 18, appears to recall the method employed in coral-fishing. Coral is broken off from the rocks by long hooked poles, and "drawn out."

Of medieval Jewish lexicographers, Abu al-Walid, in his "Book of Roots," rejects the opinion that "ramoth" signifies "coral." Ḳimḥi, in his dictionary, explains it as a precious stone. See Menahem ben Saruḳ in "Maḥberet," and "Sefer ha-Parḥon."

E. G. H.

CORBEIL (קורבייל or קורביל): City in the department of Seine-et-Oise, France. Jews were settled very early in Corbeil, occupying a special quarter, called the "Juderia." It is mentioned in Tosafot to Ket. 12b, Ḥul. 122b, and is probably referred to in a document of the fifteenth century wherein is mentioned a place "où soulit estre aulterfois l'escholle aux Juifs" (where formerly the school of the

Jews used to be) ("Rev. Et. Juives," ix. 62). In 1184 King Philippe Auguste presented the cleric Pierre with a house that had belonged to the Jew Hélie (Eli). In 1202 special taxes were imposed upon the Jews of Corbeil; and they were obliged to pay into the treasury a sum for affixing seals to the documents relating to their transactions with Christians. The journal of the treasury of the Louvre, 1298, mentions the Jew Hagin, who was a receiver of taxes, and the Jewess Thyerma, whose taxes amounted to 41 livres. In 1306 the Jew Cressant owned a house on the Seine which yielded a rent of 520 Paris livres. This Cressant is probably identical with the "Croissant, nevou Croisant de Corbueil" mentioned in the "Document sur les Juifs du Barrois" ("Rev. Etudes Juives," xix. 250), and with Cressent of Corbeil, one of the commissioners appointed by the king in 1315 to supervise the payment of the debts of his coreligionists (Saige, "Les Juifs du Languedoc," pp. 106, 330).

Many eminent Talmudists lived in this city. Among them were Judah of Corbeil; Jacob the Saint; Joseph, mentioned by Aaron ben Ḥayyim ha-Kohen in his commentary to the Maḥzor, written about 1227; Simson; Isaac ben Joseph; Perez ben Elia; Mordecai ben Nathan; Elhanan, son of Isaac the Elder, of Dampierre.

Bibliography: Delisle, *Cat. des Actes de Philippe-Auguste*, p. 111; *Rev. Etudes Juives*, ix. 62; xv. 234, 245, 248; Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, pp. 559-572.

G. S. K.

CORCOS (קורקוס or קורקוש): A family whose history can be traced back to the end of the thirteenth century, and members of which are still living in Gibraltar and Morocco. The name first appears in Spain; but it was only in the two centuries following the expulsion of the Jews from that country that the family rose to distinction, in Italy, its new home. Here it was considered one of the most distinguished families of the country, owing to the culture, piety, and wealth of its members. Although the family pedigree, as given herewith on the authority of Vogelstein and Rieger, is in some points only conjectural, yet it may still be safely assumed that all who bear the name of "Corcos" in Italy belong to one family. On the other hand, the relationship of these to others of the name in Spain has not as yet been ascertained.

It is alleged that the family originated at a place called "Corcos," which, however, can not be satisfactorily identified. Some scholars therefore think that the name is a corruption of "Carcassonne," a place in southern France. Doubtful, likewise, is the statement made by Christian scholars that one branch of the family embraced the Christian faith in the sixteenth century and attained high distinction.

Bibliography: Bartolocci, *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, iii. 821-827; Berliner, *Aus Schweren Zeiten*, in the *Hildesheimer Jubelschrift*, pp. 162-163; Steinschneider, in *Hebr. Bibl.* xi. 71-72; Vogelstein and Rieger, *Gesch. der Juden in Rom*, ii. 101-108.

1. Abraham Corcos: The earliest known member of the family, father of Solomon Corcos (No. 14). He flourished in Spain in the second half of the thirteenth century.

2. David Corcos: Ancestor of the Corcos family in Italy; went in 1492 from Castile to Rome, where his son Solomon (No. 15) afterward became rabbi (Vogelstein and Rieger, *l.c.* p. 101).

3. Donna Corcos: Daughter of Solomon. About 1585 Lazaro da Viterbo dedicated to her his translation of the "Me'on ha-Sho'alim" (Steinschneider, "Cat. Bodl." col. 1987).

4. Elijah ben Solomon Corcos: Italian financier; flourished about the middle of the sixteenth century. In conjunction with his brother Joshua (No. 9), he opened a banking establishment in Rome June 11, 1537. He took part in the conference held by the Jewish bankers on that day, the object of which was to fix certain business usages which were to form the basis of an arrangement with Christian bankers.

He was an active member of the congregation in Rome, the financial affairs of which, especially in relations with the authorities, were entrusted to him. Thus (July 20, 1558) he engaged to pay to the papal vicariate 1,000 scudi in three instalments, this sum having been imposed as a fine upon the congregation because, a few days after the seizure of the Hebrew books by the officers of the Inquisition, a copy of Ibn Ezra's Commentary to the Pentateuch was found. So likewise the tax upon the congregation, which had been fixed at 360 ducats by Paul III., was paid by Elijah and two other Jewish bankers. Similarly, the tax on the congregation of Benevent, amounting to 35 scudi in gold, was handed to the authorities by Elijah on Jan. 31, 1542.

It seems that Elijah lived to an advanced age; for in 1581 he is still found as one of the delegates of the congregation who were appointed to confer with the tax-farmers of Romagna, Lombardy, and Tuscany concerning the security which the congregation in Rome was to furnish for them.

Elijah was also a rabbinical scholar; whose decisions, in his own handwriting, are still extant ("Revue Etudes Juives," x. 185). His identity with Elijah Corcos, the physician referred to by David de Pomis in the preface to his "Ẓemaḥ Dawid" (fourth line from foot), is, however, doubtful. Elijah had two sons, **Isaac** and **Moses.**

Bibliography: Berliner, *Aus Schweren Zeiten*, in the *Hildesheimer Jubelschrift*, pp. 150-160; idem, *Gesch. der Juden in Rom*, pp. 9-10; Vogelstein and Rieger, *Gesch.* pp. 112-118.

5. Hezekiah Manoah Corcos: Rabbi and Talmudist; born about 1580; died about 1650. In 1620 Hezekiah was appointed rabbi of the congregation in Rome, which position he held till his death. Though he shared his functions with A. di Iscario, D. della Rocca, and S. Castelnuovo, he was the dominant spirit; and it was through him that the rabbinate recovered to some extent its former importance. When, in 1629, an inquisition of Hebrew books was ordered in Modena, Hezekiah addressed a letter to Pelegrin Sanguinetti, calling his attention to the papal brief dated April 17, 1593, and to the decree of the Index Committee issued Aug. 29, 1596 (Stern, "Urkundliche Beiträge," p. 181).

Hezekiah was regarded as one of the foremost Talmudists of his day; and the few fragments of his literary activity found in the contemporary responsa literature show him to have been a very clever casuist (compare, for instance, Shabbethai

Beër in "'Oshek," No. 10). When Nathaniel Trabotti, through his work on ritual baths ("Miḳwa'ot"), called forth a number of controversial articles, it was Hezekiah who allayed the excitement by supporting Trabotti. A daughter of Hezekiah was married to Isaac Corcos, from which union sprang Hezekiah Manoah Ḥayyim Corcos (No. 6).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Berliner, Vogelstein and Rieger, as above.

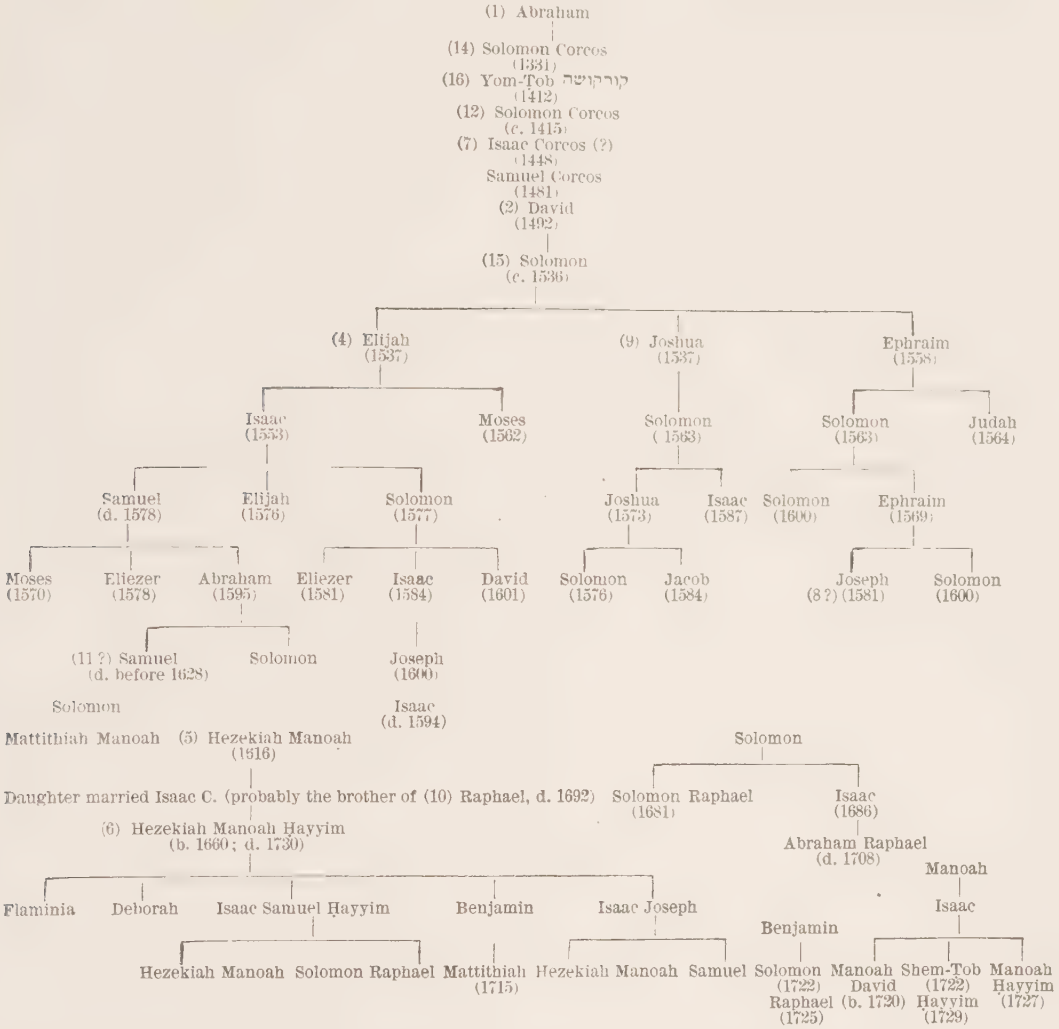
worked untiringly in the interest both of his own congregation and of all the Italian Jews. The honorable title by which he was known, "Leader of the Age," was no exaggeration. Indeed, the history of the Jews in Rome from 1692 to 1730 is the history of Hezekiah Manoah.

His first important act was his stand against the convert Paolo Medici, who delivered anti-Jewish-

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE CORCOS FAMILY.

(From Vogelstein and Rieger, "Gesch. der Juden in Rom," ii. 106.)

Dates, unless otherwise indicated (*i.e.*, b. for "born," d. for "died") are such as are mentioned in documents concerning the respective members of the family.



6. Hezekiah Manoah Ḥayyim b. Isaac Corcos (in Italian, **Tranquillo Vita**): Italian rabbi, physician, and scholar; born in Rome 1660; died there Jan. 13, 1730. Hezekiah, who, on his mother's side, was a grandson of Hezekiah Manoah (No. 5), and, on his father's, a nephew of Raphael Corcos (No. 10), early distinguished himself both as physician and preacher. His activity in the affairs of the congregation began with his election to membership on Aug. 12, 1692. Until the day of his death he

speeches in the churches and in the public squares of Leghorn, Pisa, Florence, and Bologna. In the last-named city these addresses led to bodily assaults. Corcos then published a memorial (Rome, 1692), addressed to the congregation of the Holy Office, refuting the charges of hatred against Christianity brought by Medici, explaining correctly the derided sayings of the sages, and directing attention with special emphasis to the fact that Medici's writings had already been several times suppressed by the

ecclesiastical authorities. Another work by Corcos, written in 1698 or thereabouts, but not printed, was his memorial to the pope regarding the high rents which the Jews in the Roman ghetto had to pay in consequence of the papal edicts; the result of the memorial was that Innocent XII. ordered a reduction amounting to 12 per cent. In his "Informatione" (Rome, 1699) he attempted to show that every Jew had the right to dispose freely of his fortune by will; this right having been disputed by Christians in order to prevent converts being disinherited.

Great excitement was caused in Italy by the arrest in Viterbo (1705) of five Jews on a blood accusation, such charges having never before been preferred in Rome or its vicinity. Corcos came forward with his "Memoriale" (Rome, 1705), addressed to Monsignore Ghezzi, the papal reporter on Jewish affairs, wherein he demonstrated the groundlessness of the accusation. In addition to this, Corcos (*ib.* 1706) wrote a "Summarium," in which he produced documents, relating to the blood accusation, from secular and ecclesiastical authorities; and also a "Memoriale Addizionale," in which he presented additional material concerning the historical treatment of this subject. Of apologetic character is his "Spiegazione" (Rimini, 1713), which was written at the request of the inquisitor-general, and deals with the question whether the "mezuzah" serves superstitious purposes. Corcos, of course, denied this, and advanced instead a theory of angels, which reveals him as an adherent of the Cabala of Luria. This is also seen in his founding various mystical societies for private worship.

Aside from this, however, Corcos' activity in Rome, where he filled the office of rabbi from April 9, 1702, was highly beneficial. In consequence of his petition to the "Tribunal of Grace," the sale of meat in the ghetto was regulated, and the Jews were permitted to sell to non-Jews the meat which was forbidden to themselves. In 1727 he submitted to the Inquisition a memorial concerning Hebrew books. It should also be mentioned that Corcos brought about in 1719 the use of Italian in keeping the communal records, Hebrew having formerly been employed.

Corcos, who in point of secular education had no equal among the Jews of his time, was also considered a high rabbinical authority, as is shown by his decisions in the contemporary rabbinical literature, many of which are still extant. Apart from his works discussed above, in all of which he pursued some practical object, Corcos wrote a philosophic treatise for Purim, "Discorso" (Rome, 1710), in which he develops the pragmatic history of Esther and Mordecai; parts of it were recited by pupils of the academy at the Purim celebration. He left behind him an only son, **Samuel Ḥayyim** (died April, 1731), an active and noted member of the congregation, who wrote an introduction to his father's "Discorso."

Bibliography: Berliner, Vogelstein and Rieger, as above; Steinschneider, in *Monatsschrift*, xliii. 517–529, 563–564; Nepi-Ghirondi, *Toledot Gedole Yisrael*, p. 105; Kaufmann, in *Revue Etudes Juives*, xxvi. 268–270.

7. Isaac Corcos: According to some authorities, the earliest known bearer of the name in Italy. Bartolocci records the Hebrew inscription on his tomb, which is dated Laterna, 1448. This reading must, however, be wrong, as the Corcos family probably did not go to Italy until after 1492; though the name Isaac is frequently found in the family.

8. Joseph Corcos: Spanish Talmudist; flourished at the end of the fifteenth century and in the first half of the sixteenth. Joseph left Spain as a youth, presumably in consequence of the expulsion of the Jews, and settled in Palestine. Here he occupied a high rank among the scholars of the day. David Abi Zimra, Joseph Caro, and Joseph Trani speak of him as a rabbinical authority of the first rank. He wrote a commentary on Maimonides' "Yad ha-Ḥazaḳah," which Joseph Caro had before him when he was writing his own commentary on that work. A small portion of it only has been printed (Smyrna, 1757; reprinted in the Warsaw ed. of the "Yad"), under the title "Hai Safra debe Rab," which work furnishes ample testimony of the author's wide scholarship and critical mind. Some of Joseph's responsa were published by Azulai in his "Ḥayyim Sha'al II.," Leghorn, 1792–95. The treatises containing his detailed studies of the "Yad," to which the Oriental scholars of the seventeenth century had access, seem to have been lost. Corcos must have reached an advanced age; for, as his responsa in Joseph Caro's "Abḳat Rokel" show (No. 200, erroneously ascribed to Caro), he was still living when Caro's "Bet Yosef" appeared. He must have died after 1575, to judge from a remark of Ibn Yaḥya in "Shalshelet ha-Ḳabbalah" (ed. Warsaw, p. 88; compare also Sambari in Neubauer's "Med. Jew. Chron." i. 140).

Not to be confounded with this Joseph Corcos is the Italian of the same name, author of the homiletico-exegetic work "Yosef Ḥen" (Leghorn, 1825), and compiler of a little volume entitled "Shi'ur Ḳomah" (*ib.* 1825?), containing readings taken principally from the Zohar.

Bibliography: Azulai, *Shem ha-Gedolim*, i. 83; Conforte, *Kore ha-Dorot*, ed. Cassel, p. 37a; Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael*, p. 803.

9. Joshua ben Solomon Corcos: Italian banker of the sixteenth century. In conjunction with his brother Elijah (No. 4), he carried on an extensive banking business in Rome, which they had established in 1537. A century afterward Manasseh ben Israel could still point to the great wealth of the firm, which in 1656 represented the sum of 700,000 crowns. Joshua was an active member of the congregation; and as such, on March 16, 1558, acted as the representative of the united synagogues of Castiglione and Zafartine in the drafting with the united synagogues of Catalonia and Aragone of a deed of partnership in the use of certain synagogal utensils. Significant also is the compact drawn up by Joshua between the Jewish and the Christian tailors in regard to the manufacture of certain articles of attire. In more than one respect this document is highly interesting, but especially from the fact that the idea of a tailors' union was suggested by the Christians, who were aiming at common business methods with the Jews.

Bibliography: Berliner, *Aus Schweren Zeiten*, pp. 159–160.

10. Raphael Corcos: Italian rabbi; died about 1692. He seems to have succeeded his kinsman

Hezekiah Manoah (No. 5) as rabbi. After the death of the latter he was the real representative of the Corcos family. This is why his nephew Hezekiah Manoah Ḥayyim held no office in the congregation during Raphael's lifetime, as the presence of uncle and nephew in the same rabbinate would not have been looked upon with favor. Corcos is to be distinguished from his namesake who was rabbi in Padua about 1620. The latter is mentioned by Isaac Cantarini ("Paḥad Yiẓḥaḳ," p. 106) as a noted scholar.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Vogelstein and Rieger, *Gesch. der Juden in Rom*, ii. 106–107.

11. Samuel Corcos: Italian rabbi of the first half of the seventeenth century. He was rabbi at Sinigaglia, where he delivered the funeral sermon at the burial of Mordecai Graziani, father of Abraham Joseph Graziani (Nov. 7, 1643).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jona, in *Revue Etudes Juives*, iv. 113; Kaufmann, in *Monatsschrift*, xxxix. 352–353.

12. Solomon Corcos: Spanish Talmudist; flourished at the beginning of the fifteenth century. A responsum by Zerahiah ha-Levi, a disciple of Ḥasdai Crescas, addressed to Corcos, is included in the responsa collection of Solomon ben Abraham Adret, v. 166 (Halberstamm, in "Hebr. Bibl." xii. 42).

13. Solomon Corcos: Converted Jew, who is said to have embraced Christianity in 1573. Bartolocci states ("Bibliotheca Rabbinica," iii. 821) that, under Pope Gregory XIII., Corcos, together with his son Lazaro, became a Christian, and in consequence received titles and honors. He also identifies them with Ugo and Gregory, who, according to a papal "motu proprio" of the year 1582, the text of which he cites, were raised to the nobility. Proof of the correctness of this assertion, however, is wanting. It is certain that neither Solomon ben David (No. 15) nor his grandson Solomon ben Joshua, an active member of the congregation in Rome as late as 1574, is identical with the convert referred to by Bartolocci.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Berliner, *Aus Schweren Zeiten*, in *Hildesheimer Jubelschrift*, p. 162.

14. Solomon b. Abraham Corcos: Spanish Biblical scholar; flourished in the first third of the fourteenth century. He was a disciple of Judah ben Asher, and wrote in Avila (Aug., 1331) a commentary to Israeli's "Yesod 'Olam," the manuscripts of which commentary are now in the libraries of Munich and Turin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibl.* xi. 71; *idem*, in *Katalog der Hebräischen Handschriften in der Königliche Hof- und Staats-Bibliothek in München*, Nos. 33, 3; 43, 10; 261, 1; Vogelstein and Rieger, as above.

15. Solomon ben David Corcos: Italian rabbi in the sixteenth century. He was by birth a Spaniard, but, owing to the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, went to Rome with his father. As early as 1536 he appears as rabbi; afterward, in 1540, 1542, as משרת דק"ק רומא. The father of Donna Corcos is not identical with Solomon ben David; since Viterbo, in his work "Me'on ha-Sho'alim," which appeared about 1585, speaks of Solomon, Donna's father, as one still living; while Solomon ben David, in a record of March 16, 1558, is spoken of as deceased.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Berliner, *l.c.* p. 159.

16. Yom-Ṭob Corcos: Spanish rabbi; flourished in Monzon at the beginning of the fifteenth century. He was one of the Jewish delegates at the disputation of Tortosa in 1413. Ibn Verga, who reports this fact, writes the name in his "Shebeṭ Yehudah" (ed. Wiener, p. 68) as קרקושה, which is probably only a variant of קורקום (Corcos)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibl.* xi. 71; *Jew. Quart. Rev.* xii. 148.

G. L. G.

CORDOVA: A city in Andalusia, Spain. As early as the eighth century it included Jews among its inhabitants. They lived in a separate quarter or "Juderia," one of the gates of which was called "Bab al-Yahud," now the Almodovar gate. At this gate, later known to the Moslems as "Bab al-Huda," the Jews carried on an extensive trade in silks and slaves. They developed considerably in numbers and importance under 'Abd al-Raḥman I.—whose greatness is said to have been prophesied by a Jew—and under his successors. The Jews were not behind the Moors in their efforts to promote education and culture; and at the Academy of Cordova, founded by the califs, Jews and Moors together received instruction in philosophy, grammar, mathematics, botany, and even in music. One of the graduates from this academy was a Jew named Elias, who is referred to as a poet and as an author of synagogal verses and songs. Mention is also made of a Jewish musician by the name of Manṣur, who is said to have been a great favorite with Al-Ḥakim (Mariano Soriano Fuertes, "Historia de la Musica Española," i. 82, Madrid, 1855).

Bab al-Yahud or Gate of Almodovar. Formerly the Entrance to the Juderia of Cordova.
(From a photograph by Dr. W. Popper.)

In Cordova, as in Mohammedan countries generally, the Jews enjoyed the same privileges and were subject to the same duties as the other inhabitants. They fought in the Moorish army and held government positions. The cleverest Hebrew diplomat was Ḥasdai ibn Shaprut, minister of finance under

'Abd al-Raḥman III. It was he who brought about the visit to Cordova of the proud queen Toda of Navarra with a large retinue, for the purpose of making an appeal to 'Abd al-Raḥman for protection and assistance. Through Ḥasdai's intercession the scholar Moses b. Ḥanok, who had been exiled to Cordova, was liberated. Ḥanok was afterward elected to succeed the chief rabbi, Nathan, who had voluntarily resigned. Ḥasdai founded at Cordova a school entirely independent of the gaonate, and thereby established the study of the Talmud in Spain. Through the efforts of Ḥasdai, who had attracted to himself many scholars, poets, and grammarians, such as Menahem b. Saruḳ, Dunash b. Labrat, and others, Cordova became the seat of Jewish learning.

Ḥasdai ibn Shaprut.

After Ḥasdai's death (about 970) a dispute arose in the community concerning the rabbinical office at Cordova, which, after the death of Moses b. Ḥanok, was filled by his son. Many members of the community, especially the rich silk-manufacturer Ibn Gau, favored Joseph ibn Abitur for the position. The latter belonged to a prominent family of Cordova, and was greatly superior to Ḥanok in learning; furthermore, he was a poet of distinction and a master of Arabic. But the greater part of the community sided with Ḥanok. The dispute lasted for a long time, and was finally brought before the calif, Al-Ḥakim, who, yielding to the will of the majority, decided in favor of Ḥanok. When Jacob ibn Gau, however, received from Mohammed Abi-Amr the appointment of "nasi" and supreme judge of all the Jewish communities of Andalusia, and was elected by the Jews of Cordova as their chief, he removed Ḥanok from office, and, with the concurrence of the members of the community, recalled the banished Ibn Abitur as rabbi. But Ibn Abitur failed to respond to the call; and after the death of Jacob ibn Gau, who had meanwhile been removed from office and thrown into prison, Ḥanok was reinstated as rabbi, and retained his position until his death, which occurred on the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles (Sept. 29, 1014).

Calle de Maimonides, Cordova.
(From a photograph by Dr. W. Popper.)

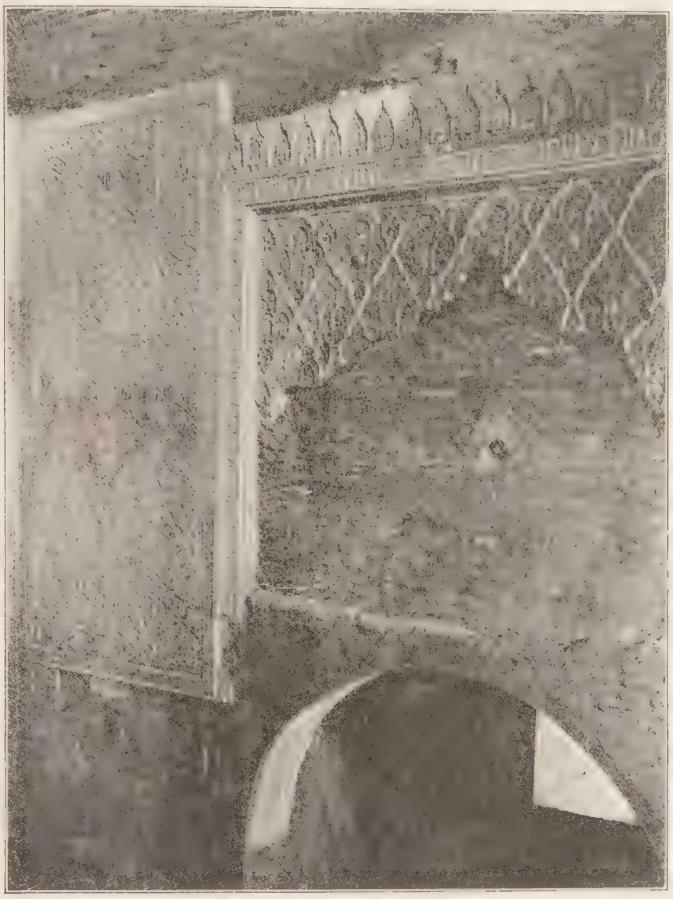
Ḥanok lived long enough to witness the evil that came upon Cordova. After the death of Al-Manṣur a furious civil war broke out. The Berber chieftain Sulaiman, who was ambitious to be ruler, had united with Count D. Sancho of Castile; whereupon Mohammed, his rival, sent a deputation of rich Jews to invoke the aid of Count D. Ramon Borrell of Barcelona, who at once responded with an army. On hearing this, Sulaiman swore to avenge himself upon the Jews; and on April 19, 1013, he broke into Cordova, destroyed their dwellings, burned their storehouses, and drove the Jews from the city; only those living in one of the eastern suburbs being spared. This was the first persecution suffered by the Jews of Spain (V. Balaguer, "Historia de Cataluña," I., book iii., ch. v.). The most noted families of Cordova were reduced to beggary and driven into exile. Joseph ibn Shaprut, the son of Ḥasdai, and the grammarian Jonah ibn Jannaḥ settled at Saragossa; Samuel ibn Nagdelah, at Malaga. In Cordova, where, in 1117, a false Messiah had appeared, there remained but a comparatively small Jewish community; and this was soon subjected to new persecutions at the hands of the fanatical Almohades, whose leader, 'Abd al-Mumin, in 1148, compelled the Jews to choose between Islam and death. Many underwent the formality of conversion to Islam; while many others emigrated. The magnificent synagogue at Cordova, erected by Isaac ibn Shaprut, father of Ḥasdai, the rabbi of which was the scholarly Joseph ibn Ẓaddiḳ, became a prey to insatiate pillage by the fanatics.

Persecutions Under the Moors.

Cordova, the old seat of the califs and the birthplace of Moses Maimonides, was retaken in 1236 by Ferdinand III., "the Saint" of Castile; and the Jews of the city again came under the jurisdiction of the canonical laws. The king assigned to them as their habitation the old Juderia, situated near the cathedral, and next to the fish-market ("la Pescaderia"); the principal street of the quarter being known as the "Calle de los Judios"—now the Calle de Maimonides. This Juderia was surrounded by walls, and dominated by a fort. They were obliged to wear distinctive badges and, in accordance with a decree of Pope Innocent IV., to contribute a tithe to the clergy. As soon as the Jews, in consequence of the privileges which had been granted to them by Ferdinand III. (Fuero de Cordova), again felt certain of protection, they began to build a synagogue, the height and magnificence of which aroused the wrath of the bishop and the chapter, who submitted a protest to the king. As this protest remained unheeded, however, the clergy turned to the pope, requesting him to forbid the completion of so imposing a structure. On April 15, 1250, Innocent IV. issued the desired pro-

Under Castilian Rule.

hibition; but the structure was nevertheless completed in the same year. The papal decree had this effect, however, that thereafter the Jews of Castile and Leon could not erect a synagogue without special permission (Amador de los Rios, "Historia," i. 365 *et seq.*, 556 *et seq.*; "Boletin Acad. Hist." v. 202, 234, 361 *et seq.*; "Rev. Etudes Juives," ix. 157 *et seq.*). Fifty-five years later a new and magnificent synagogue was built by the architect Isaac Meḥab b. Ephraim, in the middle of the Calle de los Judios, between the Place de las Bulas and the Almodovar gate. It was designed in the Moorish style, and had ogives 5 meters long and 6 meters wide. The northern and southern façades were decorated with colored faience, and bore Hebrew inscriptions, consisting principally of verses from the Psalms. The ornamentation of the western wall contained the only Arabic dedication to be found in any synagogue of Spain; while the eastern wall bore, in the form of a square, the following Hebrew inscription:



Decorations on the Walls of the Ancient Synagogue at Cordova.
(From a photograph by E. N. Adler.)

מקדיש מעט ונוה תעודה שבללו
יצחק מחב בן הגביר אפרים
נבנה שנת שבעים וחמש בנין שעה
[קום] אל וחיש לבנות ירושלים

("This little sanctuary and a house of testimony was built in the year 75, by Isaac Meḥab, son of the honorable Ephraim, as a temporary structure: Haste, O God, to rebuild Jerusalem!")

In שעה ("temporary," lit. "of an hour") the year 75 (שנת ע"ה) is again indicated. Since 1722, and possibly from an earlier period, this building was in the possession of the Shoemakers' Gild. The original purposes to which it had been dedicated were unknown. In 1884, however, the origin of the building was discovered by two academicians, D. Fidel Fita of Madrid and D. Romero y Barros of Cordova; and, like the two synagogues of Toledo, it is now set apart as a national monument ("Boletin Acad. Hist." v. 202 *et seq.*; "Rev. Etudes Juives," x. 246 *et seq.*).

The history of the Jews in Cordova differs but slightly from that of those of other communities in Castile. Upon the death of Ferdinand IV., his widow, Queen Constance, decided (Oct. 4, 1312) that a yearly requiem should be sung in memory of her husband; the expenses to be defrayed out of the annual revenue of the slaughter-house at Cordova, aggregating about 4,000 maravedis. For about ninety years the Jews of Cordova enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity, until they, too, became victims of the general persecution of 1391. The clergy, especially the archdeacon Ferrand Martinez, had so persistently instigated the people of Seville and Cordova against the Jews, that in Jan., 1391, an outbreak was considered imminent; and in June of the same year massacres of the Jews spread from Seville to Cordova. The dwellings, storehouses, and factories of the Jews became a prey to the flames; virgins were dishonored; and men, women, and children, without distinction of age or condition, were shockingly murdered. More than two thousand corpses lay in the streets, the houses, and the synagogues. Many persons, through fear of death, decided to embrace Christianity; and the community, once so flourishing, lay desolate. Of the beautiful synagogues, that built in 1315 alone remained. In

Massacres. 1406 these persecutions were renewed. The shops and dwellings of the Jews were plundered or burned, and hundreds of persons were ruthlessly massacred. In consequence of these repeated cruelties the feeble king, Henry, imposed

a fine of 40,000 doubloons upon the city of Cordova. Only 10,000 were paid, as the king died before the negotiations for a diminution of the sum had been completed (De los Rios, *l.c.* ii. 105, 361, 415 *et seq.*; Epistle of Ḥasdai Crescas, in the Appendix to "Shebet Yehudah," ed. Wiener, p. 129). After the massacre many Jews left Cordova and settled at Granada, which was still under Moorish dominion. In 1470 the "corregidor" (governor) of Cordova ordered the few Jews still remaining in the city to be removed from the Juderia, where their ancestors had dwelt for centuries, and to be transferred to the old Alcazar. At the petition, however, of Moses Barchillo, president of the Jewish congregation, this order was abrogated by a decree of Isabella the Catholic (March 16, 1470).

Still more violent was the hatred against the apostate Maranos—a hatred which soon resulted in the formation of two parties; viz., the Old Christians, headed by the Bishop of Cordova and the Count of Cabra, and the Maranos, or New Christians, whose protector was the powerful Alfonso de Aguilar. One of the associations organized by the clergy was the Caridad, a society which excluded all Maranos without exception from membership. The solemn inauguration of this society was celebrated by a procession on March 14, 1473. All the streets through which it passed were strewn with flowers; and all the houses—excepting those of the Maranos, which remained closed—were decorated with flags and costly carpets. As the procession reached the Calle de la Herreria ("street of the smiths"), in the vicinity of the cathedral and the Juderia, the signal for assault was given. A smith, Alonzo Rodriguez by name, seized the torch illuminating an image of Mary, and set fire to the house of one of the richest Maranos of the city—an act which he averred to have committed out of vengeance, because water had been poured from one of the windows of the house in question upon the canopy under which the image was placed. In explanation of this charge it is said that a Marano girl, eight or ten years of age, had indeed inadvertently poured some water from the window. With the cry of "Viva la fé de Dios," the fanatical mob broke into the houses of the Maranos, pillaged and burned them, and mercilessly slaughtered the inmates. In order to terminate this cruelty, the governor, Alfonso de Aguilar, accompanied by his brother, Gonçalo Fernandez de Cordova, and several knights, ordered the smith, who acted as leader, to withdraw with his band. The smith answered with a volley of abuse, while the enraged mob attacked the governor, who thereupon ran the smith through with a lance. The governor's action infuriated the mob to such a degree that it poured into the streets inhabited by the Maranos—the S. Maria de Gracia, La Roperia ("street of the pedlers"), La Curtiduria ("street of the tanners"), La Alcaiceria ("the silk-market"), La Plateria ("street of the goldsmiths"), and many others, all of which soon ran with the blood of the slaughtered. De Aguilar was obliged to withdraw to the Alcazar, which also served as a place of refuge for many Jews and Maranos. After the storm had subsided the governor was obliged to leave Cordova; and he proceeded to Aguilar, whither he was followed by many Jews and Maranos. In 1473 an order was issued prohibiting Maranos from holding public office in Cordova; and this was soon followed by another royal decree prohibiting Jews from residing in that city and in Seville under penalty of death. Nineteen years before the general expulsion, therefore, the Jews were obliged to dispose of their houses in Cordova at any price and leave the city.

Procession of the Caridad.

Cordova and Seville were the first to furnish victims to the Inquisition, which afterward destroyed so many thousands of Maranos in those cities (see Inquisition). The chief autos da fé held in Cordova (and the victims at each) were: June 29, 1665 (Jorge Mendez de Castro and Domingo Rodriguez de Caceres); July 6, 1666 (Diego de Herrera, Juan Nicolas Lopez de la Peña, Catalina de Reyna y Medina, and Antonio Gabriel de Torres); June 13, 1723 (Miguel de Soto y Herrera, Juan Fernandez Dias and Simon de Molina); and April 23, 1724 (Bernardo Philip de Soria de Caceres and Diego de Acosta).

Bibliography: *Boletin Acad. Hist.* vi. 361 *et seq.*, xxxviii. 303 *et seq.*; *Rev. Etudes Juives*, x. 247, xliii. 123 *et seq.*; Amador de los Rios, *Hist.*, iii. 153 *et seq.*, 283 *et seq.*; Jacobs, *Sources*, Nos. 1270, 1695.

G. M. K.

CORDOVA, ISAAC HEZEKIAH B. JACOB: Publisher in the latter part of the seventeenth and the first part of the eighteenth century; son of Jacob b. Moses Raphael de Cordova. After a sojourn in Brazil, he settled in Amsterdam, where, like his brother Abraham, he became a printer. In 1688 he published the Spanish sermons of Joshua de Silva, and in 1706–09 various other works in Spanish and Hebrew. He changed his residence to Hamburg in 1709.

Bibliography: Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* No. 7963; Kohut, in *Hebr. Bibl.* vi. 49.

G. M. K.

CORDOVA, JOSHUA HEZEKIAH DE: Rabbi and preacher in Amsterdam about the middle of the eighteenth century; author of "Sermam Moral que Neste K. K. de Talmud Torah Pregou em Sabb. Bamidbar, 5 Siwan, 5504," Amsterdam, 1744.

Bibliography: Kayserling, *Bibl. Esp.-Port.-Jud.* p. 39.

G. M. K.

CORDOVERO, ARYEH LÖB (also called **Tarcziner**): Rabbi of Zamosz, Poland, at the end of the seventeenth century. He wrote a book called "Pene Aryeh Zuṭa" (The Face of the Lion, the Smaller), Wilhelmsdorf, 1720 (according to some printed also in Sulzbach, *s.a.*); the work is, according to Wolf, an abridgment of his larger work, called "Pene Aryeh Rabbah" (The Face of the Lion, the Larger), an unpublished commentary on the Pentateuch.

Bibliography: Wolf, *Bibl. Hebr.* iii. 134; Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 746; Zedner, *Cat. Hebr. Books Brit. Mus.* p. 192; Benjacob, *Oẓar ha-Sefarim*, p. 486.

L. G. M. Sel.

CORDOVERO, GEDALYAH BEN MOSES: Talmudic scholar; lived at Safed in the sixteenth century. He was a son of the famous cabalist Moses Cordovero, a nephew (on his mother's side) of the cabalist Solomon Alkabiz, and a pupil of Solomon Sagis. He edited three works of his father: "'Abodat Yom ha-Kippurim"; "Or Ne'erab," to

which he wrote a preface (Venice, 1585); "Pardes Rimmonim," also with a preface by him (Venice, 1586). He further edited "Ḥeshek Shelomoh," the work of an anonymous writer (Venice, 1588), and compiled a glossary of all the non-Hebrew words occurring in the Bible, giving their equivalents in Spanish (Venice, 1616). In addition, a responsum by him is mentioned by Yom-Ṭob Ẓahalon, in his collection of responsa (§ 116). See Lonsano, Menahem de.

Bibliography: David Conforte, *Ḳore ha-Dorot*, 36b, Berlin, 1846; Azulai, *Shem ha-Gedolim*, i. 40, No. 7; Wolf, *Bibl. Hebr.* i. 281, No. 452; Michael, *Or ha-Ḥayyim*, p. 304, No. 668; Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 1002, No. 5118; Fürst, *Bibl. Jud.* i. 187.

L. G. M. Sel.

CORDOVERO, MOSES. See Remaḳ (Moses Cordovero).

CORDOVERO, MOSES BEN JACOB. See Moses b. Jacob Cordovero.

COREO DE VIENA ("Vienna Courier"): Judæo-Spanish journal printed in rabbinic characters, published at Vienna since 1870. It was for some years under the editorship of Adolfo de Zemlinski.

G. M. Fr.

CORFU: Most northerly of the Ionian Islands. The native Jews of Corfu fall into three distinct divisions of different origin (Greek, Spanish, and Apulian) and belonging to different epochs. There was formerly also a fourth division, that of the Levantines, the greater part of whom apparently became merged into the Italians.

1. Greek Division: Composed of Jews who came from Thebes toward the end of the twelfth and in the thirteenth century. Benjamin of Tudela, visiting the island in 1147, found only one coreligionist, the dyer Joseph. A large number of Jews came to establish themselves on the island after it had passed from Byzantine dominion to that of the Angevin kings of Naples. Many documents show that there were Jews in Corfu in the thirteenth century, having been carried thither as prisoners by King Roger of Sicily, who conquered Thebes (in Bœotia) and Corfu about 1150, or having voluntarily migrated from Thebes, and perhaps also from Sicily. King Roger had previously sent Theban Jews to the island for the purpose of introducing sericulture, Sicily being at that time under Angevin kings, who favored the Jews. A proof of the Theban origin of the Jews of Corfu is found in the word *σίδα* ("pomegranate"), from the ancient dialect of Thebes, a word used only by them, though their dialect is the Apulian.

Origin.

The Greek Jews (who called themselves "Toshebim" or "Terrieri") differ from the other Jews on the island by various customs—*e.g.*, they celebrate the additional day of Purim (Shushan Purim; see Esth. ix. 18), while the Jews belonging to the Apulian synagogue celebrate only the first day. The former observe on the first day only the religious ceremony at the Temple and the small banquet, reserving the masquerading, the ball, and the grand banquet for Shushan Purim. They have also preserved Greek elegies for the Ninth of Ab (see specimens in "Israelite Chronographos," No. 2, Corfu, July, 1899), and until recently a Greek chant was recited in their synagogue on the day of Pentecost. The first complete Biblical text in modern Greek is a translation of Jonah (twelfth century) made for the Jews of Corfu. The Greek synagogue is the oldest on the island. Until recently it differed somewhat from the others in its liturgy, and the ministers officiating in Greek still preserve that nasal chant peculiar to the Greco-Oriental preachers. The Greek Jews, who were absorbed by the more numerous Apulians, forgot their language, but have retained characteristic words and phrases. Their family names are, or have been, Gesuã, Eliezer, Belleli, Moustaki, Naxon, De Semo, Mazza, Pangali, and Abdalá. At present they possess not only their own synagogue, but also their own burial-ground, called "the Greek cemetery."

2. Spanish Division: Composed of Spanish Jews who had lived for a time in the Two Sicilies, and who emigrated to Corfu at the end of the fifteenth and during the sixteenth century; among their number was Don Isaac Abrabanel. It seems that these few families for a long time preserved the Castilian language, for in a polyglot chant which can not date further back than the beginning of the nineteenth century, there are found Spanish verses, together with Hebrew, Greek, Italian, and Apulian; and it is evident that the author of the production, Dr. Lazarus de Mordo, wished to incorporate into it all the languages or dialects then spoken by the Jews at Corfu. These Spaniards united with the Apulians, who came at the same time or a little later, to form the Apulian or Italian congregation. Their family names, of Spanish origin, are as follows: Aboaf, Gaon, Cherido, Sarda, Razon, Castro, and Sforno; in addition to which there were formerly Abrabanel, De Miranda, Senior, and Coronel. They are few in number.

3. Apulian or **Italian Division:** Composed of Jews who had been driven (1540) from Apulia by Don Pedro of Toledo, viceroy of Naples. They were so numerous that in time they imposed upon their coreligionists not only their Apulian dialect, but also their costume. The fact that they possess their own synagogue and cemetery is attributed to the unfriendly reception which they met with at the hands of their Greek coreligionists. Eventually, however, their suffering must have softened the original ill will. As a matter of fact, the Greeks, who now constitute the majority of the Jewish population, speak the despised Apulian dialect, while the Apulians have generally adopted the more refined Venetian.

Many of the Apulian families have Biblical names: Israel, Nissim, Mattatia, Misan (מישען), Azar, Baruch, Acco (?), Hanen, Ḥayyim, Elia, Levi, and Mordo (Mordecai); also Dente, Osno, Vivante, and Minerbo. The Nahamali and Maurogonato families, who belong to the Italian synagogue, though they apparently should belong to the Greek, probably either came after Corfu had become Italianized, or else left their original synagogue; the latter is known to have been the case with the Mazza family. Elegies in the Apulian language for the Ninth of Ab have been preserved, and it is still a custom, even among the well-to-do classes, who have given up the Spanish dialect, to explain the symbolic

rites in Apulian ("ḳadesh," "u-reḥoẓ," "karpas," etc.) on Passover eve. The population, which to-day (1901) exceeds 3,000 souls, numbered 1,171 in 1760.

Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.

The position of the Jews during the first two centuries of their establishment on the island was enviable, especially toward the end of the Angevin régime, the princes of that house issuing decrees which took the Jews under their protection (1317, 1324, 1364, 1365, and 1370). In 1332 Philip II. of Taranto called the attention of the Corfu authorities to the fact that his previous decrees (*e.g.*, March 12, 1324) in favor of the Jews had not been carried out. These privileges were renewed by his grandson, Philip III., in 1370, and probably also by Robert of Anjou in 1338. Robert's widow, Marie de Bourbon, Empress of Constantinople, especially charged the captain of Corfu to see that the Jews of the island were well treated. The same privileges were confirmed Dec. 18, 1382, by Charles III. (Duras), King of Naples.

Jews were often attachés of embassies sent by the community of Corfu to the King of Naples. In 1386 the island voluntarily sought the protectorate of Venice, remaining under Venetian rule until 1797. Among the six ambassadors sent to that city to conclude the negotiations was a Jew, David de Semo; while another Jew, Johama Mayeha, was a member of a foreign embassy in 1515. The seigniory of Venice, which became possessed of Corfu Jan. 1, 1385, took the Jews under its protection. By a decree issued Jan. 22, 1387, it assimilated the Corfiote Jews with the other citizens in the matter of taxation, and granted them the free exercise of their religion, though still holding them to the distinctive signs in their dress. But the Christian Corfiotes, jealous of the commercial success of the Jews, repeatedly sent delegates to the Senate of Venice to petition for humiliating measures against them; and in time the Senate weakly yielded. It did indeed deny the request for permission to stone the Jews ("de Judeis lapidandis"), made by the embassy of Corfiote patricians that came to Venice in 1406; but in order to satisfy the embassy, it decreed that the Jews should wear thenceforth on the front of their dress a yellow wheel or disk as large as a cake of bread, and the women yellow veils on their heads, under penalty of 300 ducats for non-compliance. It also forbade them to acquire houses or lands outside the city or outside the Jewry.

Jews Protected.

At the instance of a Jewish deputy, the physician Master Angelus, the Senate abrogated this decree in 1408, and in 1423 confirmed to the Jews the proprietary rights in their houses, and, upon the whole, recognized, as had its predecessors, the great services rendered by the Jews to the city. They carried on an extensive commerce and contributed more than their share to works of public utility (construction of walls, fountains, etc.), to the running expenses of the city, and to public loans. Many documents remain, dating from the time of the Byzantine emperors, the kings of Naples, and the republic of Venice, testifying to these acts of patriotism on the part of the Jews. For this reason there was never a ghetto at Corfu, in the exact sense of the word; and when in 1571 the republic of Venice expelled the Jews from its dominions, it excepted those of Corfu. By a strange combination of circumstances the republic of Venice, which, on its accession to power, had apparently awakened among the inhabitants the spirit of hatred and contempt against the Jews, protected these very Jews as soon as it recognized their utility to the state.

Documents are extant which show that the Jews knew how to defend their ancient rights. One of these, dating from 1425, is especially noteworthy. According to this document an attempt was made to force the Jews to tear down their houses, on the pretext of erecting upon the sites new walls for the city; whereupon the Jews reminded the magistrate that at the cession of the island a clause placed them on an equal footing with their fellow citizens, and (adds the document) "dicunt et affirmant se esse cives et habitatores Korphoy." Eventually, however, they were compelled to yield to the demand, and consequently dispersed over the entire city, to the great scandal of the Christians. They lived thus more than a hundred years without being molested.

About 1524 the Corfiote Christians began to protest against this close neighborhood, and sent an embassy to Venice to petition that the Jews be confined to a special quarter. The republic thereupon issued a ducal order to that effect, which, however, for unknown reasons (possibly at the instance of the Jews themselves) remained a dead letter. On Oct. 28, 1578, the brothers Menahem and Aaron Mozza received from the doge, Nicholas de Ponte, a confirmation of the ancient privileges of the Corfu Jews. They were expressly exempted from the levy of 50,000 scudi placed upon the Jews by the Venetian Senate July 12, 1573. Petition followed petition (1532, 1546, 1562, 1592), but only after the lapse of a hundred years (1622) were the Jews restricted to a special quarter (near the old fortifications at the Porta Reale and the Via Schulemburg), which still exists. This was not more of a ghetto than the old quarter had been; for a number of Christians lived there, and, unlike the ghetto at Zante and elsewhere, it had no gates to be closed at night.

Occupations.

The larger number of Jews followed some handicraft, and the rich ones were engaged in commerce, acquiring great wealth. They were devoted to their country, fighting for it and giving freely of their money, as may be seen from the written testimonials they obtained from the Venetian governors when the latter laid down their office and left the island. In 1431 they lent the Venetian Senate 3,000 ducats. In the seventeenth century they aided the Venetian armies with money during the disastrous wars with Crete and the Peloponnesus. But in 1656 the captain of the island levied a tax of 10,060 reals upon them, though they had declared themselves ready to pay 500 ducats a year for military purposes. The Jews protested, and on Oct. 25 the Senate ordered the money to be returned. In 1716 they bravely assisted in defending the island of Corfu against the Turks. Two documents testifying to their exceptional heroism are extant. One of these, written by the Venetian generalissimo

himself, Count de Schulemburg, tells of the remarkable conduct of the Jewish community; the other, prepared by the governor-general of Venice, Count Loredan, is in favor of Mardochée Mordo (Barbanera), who particularly distinguished himself. Furthermore, the aide-de-camp of Schulemburg, the Corfiote strategos, writes that, of all the inhabitants, the Jews rendered the most signal services. This deliverance is solemnly commemorated every year on Aug. 6.

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

In the seventeenth century there were 500 Jewish families at Corfu, and in the eighteenth 1,171 Jews, according to the statistics of the governor Grimani. About this time the Corfiote Christians were greatly excited over the conversion to Christianity of the Jewess Rachel, daughter of the rich merchant Vivante. Notwithstanding all their difficulties, the Jews still enjoyed some rights. Aside from the profession of medicine, which they practised everywhere, they were allowed at Corfu (certainly at a very early time) to practise law. It is true that a decree of May 14, 1637, inhibited the Jews of Venice from practising law; but although the attempt had been made to extend this inhibition to Corfu in 1679, it was withdrawn May 7, 1680. In 1654 Mordecai Cohen was granted a special authorization to defend his coreligionists at the bar. According to an ordinance of 1698, twenty candidates were admitted to the bar in that year, among them being seven Jews; namely, Mordecai Cohen, Elia Cohen di Mordecai, Joshua Forte, Matthew Forte, Solomon Nacamulli, Abraham Pipi, and Abraham Israele. When in 1728 a tax was levied upon the Jews of Dalmatia and of Venice, those of Corfu were again exempted, because of their ancient privileges. They were likewise exempted from the restraints put upon the Venice Jews in 1771. In 1774 orders were sent to Gen. Antonio Renier to remove the Jewish lawyers from the court. Renier's report on the subject was, however, so favorable to the Jews of Corfu that on Aug. 26 he received orders that they were in no way to be further molested.

While Corfu was under French dominion (1797–1799 and 1805–15) the Jews enjoyed all the rights of citizenship, and their rabbi ranked with the Catholic bishop and the Orthodox archbishop. But when, together with the other Ionian islands, it formed a republic under the protectorate of England (1815–1863), the Jews were not only forbidden to practise in the courts, but lost all their rights. When Corfu was annexed to Greece the Jews of the former, as well, as of Chalcis (Eubœa) became entitled to full civil and political rights, for the Grecian constitution makes no religious distinctions. That they entered into the enjoyment of these rights was due in large measure to the initiative of Ad. Crémieux, who in 1864 called the attention of the Ionian Senate to their situation. Since then Jews have figured among the municipal councilors of the island; *e.g.*, Dr. Victor Semo, Joseph Nacamulli, Raphael Gesuă, etc. Elia de Mordo, merchant, was the first assessor; and there have been three notaries and several other Jewish government officials.

In 1891 some evil-minded Christians of the island created a scandal in order to hinder the Corfiote Jews from participating in the elections. A little Jewish girl, Rubina Sarda, was killed, probably by some of these anti-Semites, and the report was spread that a Christian child had been slain for ritual purposes, thereby arousing the opposition of the populace against the Jews. Most of the latter were obliged to leave the place in order to escape a massacre. Although the impartial Greek press disclosed the plot, the instigators, protected, it is said, by high personages, were not punished.

Organization.

Until the annexation the community of Corfu was governed by two councils of administration (one for each congregation), whose decisions regarding communal matters were sanctioned by the government. Each congregation had two syndics ("memunim") and two parnassim. During the Venetian régime the syndics were elected every year by the council in the palace of the governor. They were responsible for order in their district, and occupied the office of conciliators and ediles. They attended the public ceremonies of the governor in their costume of cloth, the costume of the Christian syndics being of silk. Under the British protectorate the interference of the government in communal matters was limited to the presence of a sergeant-at-arms of the municipality at the conferences of the council. The two councils assembled together when questions of general interest were to be discussed. Since the annexation the government has had nothing whatever to do with communal affairs, the rabbis filling the position of civic officials. The two synagogues have been under one administration and one council since 1891.

Rabbis.

Religious studies formerly flourished in Greece, and especially in Corfu. A new impetus must have been given to these studies after the advent of the Apulian Jews, in whose communities they were assiduously cultivated. The paraphrase of the Bible verse "From Bari goeth forth the Law, and God's word from Otranto," is well known. David b. Ḥayyim ha-Kohen, the chief rabbi of Padua in the fifteenth century, was of Corfu. Moses ha-Kohen, rabbi of Corfu, wrote (1580–1600) a poetical version of the story of Esther, entitled "Yashir Mosheh" (ed. princeps, of David Mazza, Mantua, 1612). Mazza calls himself the most humble of the disciples of the chief rabbi Kohen, and in his preface announces the early publication of a work by himself, a commentary on Canticles. The following rabbis have lived at Corfu within the last two centuries: Joseph ha-Kohen, Menahem b. Samuel Vivante (about 1710), Eliezer de Mordo, Mordecai Ḥayyim Elie Mordo, Ḥayyim Shab. Jos. ha-Kohen (about 1744), Elia Menahem ha-Kohen (died 1803), Jeshurun Haï-Penso, Raphael Eliezer Shabbethai Semo, and Abraham Ḥayyim Caliman Ferro (died 1820), all of whom were Corfiotes except, perhaps, R. Penso (probably identical with a physician of the same name known to have lived in Corfu. The last of the native rabbis to officiate was R. Ferro.

Strangers were henceforth summoned to the office, the first of these being the chief rabbi Rabi Shem-Ṭob Amarilio, a native of Salonica, who occupied

the chair of Corfu until 1830. This rabbi, who subsequently went to Larissa, Thessaly, was a great Talmudist, and left a large number of manuscripts, chiefly sermons, which are still preserved at Larissa. He was succeeded at Corfu by the chief rabbi (חסידא קדישא = "the pious sage") Judah Bibas of Gibraltar (or of Morocco), who had a large following there. Bibas left Corfu in 1852, going to Hebron, where he died shortly after his arrival. During the following six years the pulpit of Corfu was occupied by Moses Israel Ḥazan of Jerusalem, distinguished as an orator and writer, after whose departure it remained vacant for about five years, when it was again occupied (1865) for six years by the pious and learned R. Isaac Raphael Tedeschi, an octogenarian, who became later the grand rabbi in his native place, Ancona. An important event during his rabbinate was the official visit of King George of Greece to the Apulian temple, June 5, 1869.

Four years after the departure of R. Tedeschi the pulpit of Corfu was occupied by the grand rabbi Joseph Emmanuel Levi (1875) of Italy, previously rabbi of Mondovi and Cuneo, Piedmont, who held the position until his death in 1887. He founded the girls' school and the institute of arts and crafts, organized lotteries for charitable purposes, and by his virtues won the support of the government and the people. Before his arrival he had written a good French grammar for Italians, and from 1878 to 1885 he published the review "Mosé Antologia Israelitica." At his death the government took charge of his funeral, burying him with the military honors due to a general. He died a poor man. In 1888 the community of Corfu called as rabbi the Rev. Alexander da Fano, then occupying the pulpit at Reggio (Italy), who after four years went to the grand rabbinate of Milan. R. Fano was distinguished by his pious eloquence and his kind heart. He tried in vain to found a kindergarten in Corfu. From 1900 till May, 1902, the pulpit of Corfu was occupied by Nathan Levy, a graduate of the seminary of Paris.

Joseph Emmanuel Levi.

Among the Jewish physicians of note may be mentioned the Cesanas (father and son); Aboaf, the elder; Emmanuel Sipilli, surgeon in the Venetian army; Jacob and Marc Cohen, also army surgeons; Moses Sipilli; Lazarus and Shabbethai de Mordo; and especially Lazarus de Mordo, the younger (1744–1823), a member of the Ionian academy; and Cæsar Usiglio. Of Cypriote origin are the ophthalmologist Maimonides Levi; Victor de Semo, the director of the city hospital at Pisa, and Victor Belleliat Port Said.

The "Cronica Israelitica" (1861–63), a political and literary journal, aimed to bring about the political emancipation of the Ionian Jews. It was edited by Joseph Nahamali (died 1886), who was also the author of a grammar of the Greek language, a translation of the daily prayers, and a Greek translation of the Pirḳe Abot. From 1864 to 1879 he also edited at intervals the Italian weekly review called "Famiglia Israelitica," a periodical devoted to light literature. Nahamali was president of the community, and an indefatigable promoter of education among the people. In 1878 the grand rabbi Levi, began, the publication of "Mosé, Antologia Israelitica" (which was suspended in 1885); and in 1899 the Greek monthly "Israelite Chronographos" was established by M. Caïmi. The purpose of this periodical was to acquaint the Christian population with Judaism and the legitimate aspirations of the Jews and to create a rallying-point for the Greek Jews. Prof. Maimon Ventura of Egypt has published some poems in classical Hebrew; and the former grand rabbi of Corfu, Alexander da Fano, is the author of a volume of prayers, entitled "Preghiere" (1889). Dr. Lazarus Belleli has written (1890) a valuable study on the Greek Bible of Constantinople. Sp. C. Papageorgi and M. Caïmi published the dirges sung in private houses and synagogues in Corfu; and the former presented to the Orientalists' congress at Berlin a Greek hymn at one time used on the Pentecost festival, and originally sung in alternate Hebrew and Greek verses (see "Jew. Chron." July 26, 1901, p. 25). Prof. Dario Levi occupied in 1899 a chair at the Academy of Lacedogna, Italy. Alexander Levi (born 1871), an eminent sculptor, is established at Naples.

Periodicals and Belles-Lettres.

About 1840 a struggle broke out between the Orthodox members of the community and the Reformers, the former calling themselves "Marrochini," from "Morocco," the alleged birthplace of R. Bibas, and the latter "Sabbatini," perhaps after a certain "Shabbethai," one of the leaders of the party. The struggle was bitter, dividing the community into two hostile camps, which carried their differences even into the streets. The reformers founded the Hebrew institute. The pietists eventually obtained supremacy over the Sabbatini, who, it seems, constituted a secret society.

Educational and Philanthropic Institutions.

Two parochial schools for girls and boys have been founded, the expenses for general instruction being defrayed by the government and those for Hebrew by the community, the rabbi himself conducting the advanced class in this branch. The children of the well-to-do class attend the public high school. There is a committee on philanthropy, which derives its revenues from voluntary contributions; this being the only relief society, with the exception of the two burial associations ("gemilut ḥasadim"), one for each congregation. No bequests of any importance have been left to the community, excepting those of Samuel Gaon to the city hospital.

The Apulian congregation has three temples, two of them large and the other small but attractive. In the two larger temples the women's gallery is supported by stone pillars. The large Apulian temple has a very fine mahogany Ark and reading-desk; while the temple of the Greek congregation is an immense structure devoid of pillars on the sides and containing a splendid ancient reading-desk designed in the Corinthian style and constructed of white wood, with well-preserved gildings. The rite of Corfu has in some respects the same peculiarities as has the Roman. Among those who have com-

Synagogues; Rite.

posed liturgic additions to this rite are Mazzal-Ṭob, Isaac ben Abraham, Abraham b. Gabriel b. Mordecai, and Moses ha-Kohen. Joseph b. Abraham, the commentator of the Maḥzor, lived in Corfu in 1554. The details of the Corfu rite may be seen in Bodleian MS. No. 1082 (Neubauer, "Cat. Bodl. Hebr. MSS." col. 275) and in those of the Montefiore Library in London (Hirschfeld, in "Jew. Quart. Rev." xiv. 395 *et seq.*).

Among the customs still peculiar to the Jews of Corfu may be mentioned that of celebrating the third night after a birth, when the Three Fates are believed to visit the child and pronounce its destiny. Gold coins and rue twigs are placed in the linen of the child, and visitors are treated to "kukkudi," a dish made of boiled wheat, pomegranate, and currants. This festival is called "Mire" (Moirai). The game of knuckle-bones ("astragali") has survived in its ancient form among the Corfiote Jews ("Jew. Chron." Sept. 19, 1902), p. 23.

Statistics.

Many Jews of Corfu are dealers in oil and manufactured goods. Others are engaged in manufacturing umbrellas, hats, artificial flowers, shoes, tinware, and jewelry, and a number are employed as grocers, printers, and tailors. The population in 1901 numbered 5,000 Jews in a total of 25,000 inhabitants. On account of adverse business conditions many of the Jews are now (1901) emigrating to Egypt.

Bibliography: M. Franco, in *Rev. Et. Juives*, xxiii. 45; J. A. Romanos, in *Hestia*, Athens, June 16, 23, 30, 1891; reprinted in *Rev. Etudes Juives*, xxiii. 63 *et seq.*; I. Lévi, *ib.* xxvi. 206; Kaufmann, *ib.* xxxii. 226 *et seq.*, xxxiii. 64 *et seq.*, xxxiv. 263 *et seq.*; Zunz, *Ritus*, p. 82; *Bulletin de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle*, 1891, pp. 48 *et seq.*; L. Belleli, in *Jew. Chron.* p. 23, London, 1902.

G. M. C.—G.

CORI (Chore): Village of Campania, Italy, about thirty miles from Rome. There is a small Jewish community there, the origin of which is not positively known, though it is probable that it was formed by settlers from Rome. The community is first mentioned in a document dated 1535, where it is stated that of the Turkish tax imposed upon Rome, the community, as "vicesima," paid about one-eighth (amounting to the twentieth part of all its property). In 1536 the community was granted permission to move its synagogue to another site. Owing to persecutions, the community of Cori, like most of the others in the Papal States, rapidly declined in the next few years, the taxes turned over to the state by the head of the community, Sabatismus Amedei, in 1542 showing a material decrease. In 1566, after the Jews of the pontifical states had lost all their rights by the bull of Paul IV., and after the murderer of Abraham b. Bezalel of Cori had gone unpunished, the community, then numbering about 200 persons, resolved to emigrate to Palestine under the leadership of its rabbi, Michael Gallico, and join the Jewish colony founded at Tiberias by Don Joseph Nasi. The expenses were to be covered by a collection among its Italian coreligionists. It is not known whether the emigration was successfully carried out. In fact, there was still a small number of Jews there in 1569, paying a reduced tax-rate.

Bibliography: Kaufmann, in *Jew. Quart. Rev.* ii. 297; Stern, *Urkundliche Beiträge*, i. 77, 81, 90, 175.

E. C. I. E.

CORIANDER: An umbelliferous plant with white blossoms, which is peculiar to the Mediterranean district (*Coriandrum sativum*). It is widely cultivated in the East, and grows wild in Egypt and Palestine. It is especially abundant in the valley of the Jordan. Its fruits or seeds, which have a distinctly aromatic flavor, are used in the preparation of confectionery and also in ordinary cooking. They are employed medicinally to produce a stimulative effect and to relieve flatulence.

The only allusions to the plant in the Bible are in Ex. xvi. 31; Num. xi. 7, where the seeds are compared to Manna.

The Hebrew name "gad" was thought by Lagarde to be of Indo-European origin ("Gesammelte Abhandlungen," p. 57). It is probably not connected with any Semitic root (compare Löw, "Aramäische Pflanzennamen," No. 155). By some scholars it is identified with "goid," which the Scholiast in Dioscorides, iii. 64 states is the Punic equivalent of κόριον ("coriandrum"). This Greek name is probably derived from κόρις ("bug"), owing to the unpleasant odor emitted by the plant when handled, which is highly suggestive of the effluvium of the bedbug. The Aramaic name "kusbara" appears in modern Greek in the form "kusbaras," which has supplanted the older name.

Bibliography: H. B. Tristram, *Natural History of the Bible*, p. 439.

J. JR. J. D. P.

CORIAT: Jewish family of Morocco. In 1812 there appeared at Pisa a Hebrew work, under the title "Zekut Abot," in which three members of this family collaborated—Judah, his son Abraham, and his grandson Judah. This book contains an account of the religious customs of the Jews of Morocco, and gives their names, as well as the names of the places in Morocco inhabited by Jews.

Bibliography: E. Ḥazan, *Ha-Ma'alot li-Shelomoh*, s.v. *Zekut Abot*.

S. M. Fr.

CORINALDI, DAVID ḤAYYIM: Italian rabbi and author of the first half of the eighteenth century. He was a pupil of N. Pincherle, and rabbi at Reggio, Leghorn, and Triest. He wrote "Bet Dawid" (House of David), on the Mishnah; at the end of his work are diagrams relating to certain halakic points, and showing considerable mathematical knowledge (Amsterdam, 1738–39). Corinaldi also wrote notices on the Shulḥan 'Aruk, part of which were published by Azulai. There is, besides, a manuscript collection of sermons delivered in Triest, and an article, under the title "Dibre Shalom we-Emet," on the short ו found in the word "shalom" (Num. xxv. 12). In this MS. are also some critical notes against David Pardo, author of "Shoshannim le-Dawid," which had caused a conflict between the two rabbis. They were, however, induced to sink their differences by the intervention of the rabbis of Leghorn.

Bibliography: Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael*, p. 253; Preface to the second part of *Shoshannim le-Dawid*; *Ha-Maggid*, xix. 194.

L. G. N. T. L.

CORINTH: A city in ancient Argos, Greece, and the center of the cult of Aphrodite. Jews lived here, as in the other cities of Greece (Philo, "Lega-

tio ad Caium," § 36), although little is known of their history. The apostle Paul preached Christianity in the synagogue of Corinth for eighteen months, and baptized the archisynagogue Crispus (I Cor. i. 14); but he was reviled by the other Jews and accused before the governor, Junius Annæus Gallio (53 C.E.). The latter, however, contemptuously declined to have anything to do with the religious quarrels of the Jews; and the populace maltreated before his eyes the archisynagogue Sosthenes (Acts xviii. 12–17), who was probably the inefficient successor of Crispus.

The occurrence of this scandalous affair in the very presence of the Roman governor shows that there were a large number of Jews at Corinth. They seem to have had a preference for that city; for Aquila and his wife Priscilla, who came originally from Pontus, went to Corinth with the Jews who were driven from Rome. Silas and Timothy, also, went there from Macedonia (Acts xviii. 2–5).

Pharisaic Judæo-Christians were the cause of much dissension in the young Christian community (II Cor. iii. 1, x. 13, xi. 5); for they objected to the celibacy of their Christian brethren (I Cor. vii. 1); and the Christian community was probably obliged to take a stand against the immorality that prevailed in certain circles (I Cor. v. 9–11, vi. 12–19; II Cor. xii. 21). These conditions have given rise to the modern hypothesis that the Jewish Book of Jubilees—which insists upon marital fidelity and condemns unchastity—was directed against the immorality at Corinth (Singer, "Das Buch der Jubiläen," p. 200, Stuhlweissenburg, 1898).

Corinth was a great center of art, and its influence spread as far as Judea. Josephus, in describing the Temple of Solomon, mentions the Corinthian style of architecture ("Ant." viii. 5, § 2). This, however, is an anachronism, and is copied from the description of the Herodian Temple, which had a number of columns in the Corinthian style (*ib.* xv. 11, § 5). There were splendid Corinthian candlesticks in the palace of Agrippa II. at Tiberias (Josephus, "Vita," § 13). The Corinthian bronze that Pliny praises ("Historia Naturalis," xxxiv. 1, § 3) was prized at Jerusalem (Josephus, "B. J." v. 5, § 3), and is also mentioned in rabbinical sources (Tosef., Yoma, ii. 4; Bab. 38a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grätz, *Gesch.* 4th ed., iii. 373; Schürer, *Gesch.* 3d ed., iii. 26; Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, ii. 543, Berlin, 1899.

J. S. KR.

CORMORANT: The translation given in the Bible (Lev. xi. 17; Deut. xiv. 17) of the Hebrew word שָׁלָךְ. In these passages it is specified as one of the unclean fowls. The A. V. (Isa. xxxiv. 11; Zeph. ii. 14) gives "cormorant" as the translation of קָאַת; but the R. V. renders it correctly as "pelican." Tristram, Post, and others agree that the derivation of the word from a root signifying "plunger" indicates the bird known to-day as *Phalacrocorax carbo*, which is abundant on the Mediterranean coast of Palestine and in the valley of the Jordan. Its classification among the unclean birds is due to the fact that it feeds upon fish. Its name indicates its characteristic of plunging into the water to catch its prey. Its habits seem to be similar to those of the tern or gull of Western waters.

E. G. H. I. M. P.

CORN (דָּגָן): The seeds of cereal plants. (1) Barley ("se'orah"), which was and still is the most common grain of Palestine, is the ordinary food of horses, asses, and oxen. (2) Beans ("pol") were also in very general use. They were brought to David on his flight from Absalom (II Sam. xvii. 28), and were one of the ingredients which Ezekiel was commanded to mix with his bread (Ezek. iv. 9). (3) Fitches, or vetches ("kezah"), really the seed of the nutmeg-flower (bot. *Nigella sativa*), were no doubt used as a condiment sprinkled over cakes, as at the present day (see Tristram, "Natural History of the Bible," p. 444). (4) Lentils ("'adashim") were a sort of vetch, grown in poor soil and often mixed with meal for bread. (5) Millet ("dohan"; bot. *Panicum miliaceum*) was and is used in baking certain sweet cakes. Compare Ezek. iv. 9, where the prophet is commanded to use millet in making his bread. (6) Pulse ("zera'im") was a general name including most edible seeds, such as millet, peas, etc. (7) Vetch ("kussemet"; bot. *Vicia ervilia*) is wrongly translated "rye" in the A. V. (see Ex. ix. 32; Isa. xxviii. 25). Rye is unknown in Palestine. (8) The most important grain of ancient times was undoubtedly wheat ("hittah"). Compare the wheat-harvest mentioned in Gen. xxx. 14.

Indicates Various Grains.

The following are the most important terms used in the O. T. in connection with corn:

"Abib," "fresh young ears of corn" (Lev. ii. 14; R. V. "corn in the ear"; "grain of wheat"). "Bar," literally "clean, winnowed corn" (compare modern Arab. "burr," and Gen. xl. 49; Prov. xi. 26). "Belil," "cattle-fodder" (Job xxiv. 6; A. V. "mingled corn, dredge"). "Dagan," as indicated above, was the general term for corn or grain. It is very commonly used with "tirosh," "must, wine" (Deut. xxxiii. 2). It is probably not connected with the god-name DAGON. "Geresh" (Lev. ii. 14, 16), "beaten corn"; R. V. "bruised corn." "Karmel" (II Kings iv. 42), "ears of corn"; better, "fruit, garden-produce." "'Abur" (Josh. v. 11), "old corn"; R. V. in marg. "produce," "corn." "'Aremah" (Ruth iii. 7), "heap of corn." "Kali" (I Sam. xvii. 17), "parched corn." "Kemah," "standing corn" (compare Judges xv. 5, where it is stated that Samson tied firebrands to the tails of foxes and loosed them in the Philistines' standing grain). "Ripot" (II Sam. xii. 19), "bruised corn." "Sheber" (from the root meaning "to break"), perhaps "broken corn," or "that which breaks the hunger" (Gen. xlii. 1), or simply "that which breaks the fast" ("sheber ra'abon"; compare *ib.*, verse 19); from this the denominative "hishbir," "sell corn." "Shibbolet" (Ruth ii. 2; Gen. xli. 5), "ear of corn" (Greek στάχυς, Matt. xii. 1; Mark ii. 23).

Terms for Corn in O. T.

Grain was reaped at about knee-height from the ground, quite near the ear. It was gathered up in the reapers' bosoms and tied into sheaves, which were then carried on pack-animals to the threshing-floor ("goren"), an open space exposed to the wind. Here it was threshed, either by the hoofs of cattle,

which were driven around the floor on the spread-out grain, or by mechanical means. Of the latter the "morag" was the most important.

Reaping and Threshing.

This was a heavy sledge with a rough bottom which was weighted both by stones and by the driver, who stood upon it or else sat upon it on a stool (see AGRICULTURE). The grain was then winnowed by being, for example, thrown into the air both by the "fan" (A.V.), more properly "fork," and by the "grain-shovel." The grain which fell back was heaped up (Ruth iii. 7) separately from the straw, which was reserved for fodder (Isa. xi. 7). The chaff was, of course, blown away.

Very little is known about the nature of the storage-places for grain mentioned in the Old Testament. At the present day grain is kept in underground chambers, which are usually hewn out of the rock, but sometimes dug in soft soil.

J. JR. J. D. P.

"CORNER-STONE." See PERIODICALS.

CORNER-STONE: The laying of the corner- or foundation-stone (אבן פנה, א' מוסדות, or א' מוסד) (Job xxxviii. 4–6; Ps. xviii. 15, xxiv. 2) of the earth by the Creator is a conception borrowed from Babylonian COSMOGONY, the earth being regarded as a huge mountain piled upon the abyss (Job xxvi. 7; "Journal Asiatique," ix. 101; Prayer of Manasses; compare Ps. xviii. 7; Micah vi. 2; Deut. xxxii. 22).

The laying of the corner-stone of a city or of a great structure was the occasion of a solemn rite in ancient times. To the pagan mind it appeared as an undertaking provoking the jealousy of the deity unless some bloody sacrifice was offered to pacify him (see Tylor, "Primitive Culture," pp. 104–108). Henceforth the foundation-stone, or the threshold beneath which the sacrificial blood was shed, remained the seat of the guardian spirit of the edifice, and hence the altar of the household (see H. Clay Trumbull, "The Threshold Covenant," New York, 1896). The finding by Nabunahid, the last Babylonian king (556–538 B.C.), of the foundation-stone of the temple of Istar, built by Sargon I. 3800 B.C., is related as a triumph in his inscription (Schrader, "K. B." 1890, iii. 85), and the laying of the foundation-stone for his restoration of the temple of Nebo, with all the solemnities connected therewith, is described in another inscription (Schrader, *l.c.* iii. 5).

The story of HIEL the Bethelite, who rebuilt Jericho, laying "the foundation thereof in Abiram, his first-born," and setting up "the gates thereof in his youngest son" (I Kings xvi. 34; Josh. vi. 26), seems to be connected with the primitive custom of laying foundations with blood, as, indeed, skulls were found built in with the brickwork when the tower ("zikkurat") of the temple of Bel at Nippur was excavated (see "Jour. Bibl. Lit." 1896, xvi. 11, and Cheyne and Black, "Encyc. Bibl." *s.v.* "Hiel"). The Midrash also knows of Hebrews who were immured in buildings in Egypt (Ex. R. v.; compare Trumbull, *l.c.* pp. 47 *et seq.*, and Simrock, "Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie," 1874, p. 57). One of the many symbolical names given to the terraced tower of the temple of Bel-Marduk was "the foundation-stone of heaven and earth" (Jastrow, "Religion of Babylonia and Assyria," p. 639).

The same importance seems to have been attributed also to the foundation-stone of the Temple at Jerusalem. In I Kings v. 17, vii. 9, the costly wrought stones used for the foundation of Solomon's Temple are described, and in I Kings vi. 37 the time of the laying of the corner-stone is especially mentioned. In Ezra iii. 10–11 the solemnities at the laying of the corner-stone of the Second Temple by Zerubbabel are detailed (see also Hag. ii. 15, 18–23, and Zech. iii. 9, iv. 9–10, viii. 9). Indeed, the exilic seer must have been familiar with solemn corner-stone rites when picturing the rebuilding of Jerusalem (Isa. liv. 11; compare li. 1), just as Isaiah was when predicting a new and "tried and precious corner-stone of sure foundation" for Zion (Isa. xxviii. 16 *et seq.*; compare xiv. 32, Hebr.). The fragmentary beginning of Ps. lxxxvii. obviously refers to the foundation-stone of Zion as the most sacred spot of the earth, and the rabbinical "eben shetiyyah" (the foundation-stone of the world, Yoma 54b) is but the proof of a continuous popular tradition. But that here also the ancient rite of some blood-sacrifice was not altogether forgotten, seems to be indicated by the connection, preserved at least in the Book of Chronicles, between the laying of the corner-stone of the Temple and the sacrifice offered by David for the cessation of the plague, at the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite (II Chron. iii. 1–3; compare I Chron. xxi. 18–31 with II Sam. xxiv.).

The ceremonious laying of the corner-stone of public buildings, especially of religious and charitable institutions, has become a universal custom, and was adopted by the Jews during the last century. The ceremony consists of placing an appropriate record or memorial in the hollow part of the stone beneath, and then of laying in place the corner-stone, accompanied by certain solemn forms. See also CONSECRATION.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Cheyne and Black, *Encyc. Bibl.*; Hastings, *Dict. Bible*, s.v. *Corner-Stone* and *Foundation*.

K.

CORNWALL: Extreme southwest county of England; distinguished in early days by the tin-mines which are said to have been visited by the Phenicians. Some of the relics of the old workings are still called "Jews' tin" and "Jews' houses." There is a town in Cornwall known as "Market Jew" (modern Marazion). Prof. Max Müller suggested that this was a folk etymology for "Thursdaies market" ("Marhas diow"), but there is distinct evidence of the connection of the Jews with the stannaries or tin-mines of Cornwall in the reign of King John, when they farmed the whole product of the mines for 100 marks, one-tenth of which was paid as a tithe to the Bishop of Exeter (Camden, "Britannia," ed. Gough, "Damnonii," p. 9). Besides this, in the Red Book of the Exchequer, in some clauses concerning the Cornwall stannaries dated 9 Ric. I., 1198, every regulation is drawn up with reference to "man or woman, Christian or Jew." There are no other traces of Jews in Cornwall in early times; but at the end of the eighteenth century a number of Jewish merchants settled in Falmouth, whence they sent out hawkers through the country towns,

who returned on Friday evenings for Sabbath worship.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, pp. 186–188; Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, iii. 299–329; Bannister, *Jour. Roy. Inst. Cornwall*, 1867, p. 326; L. Wolf, *Jewish Families of Yates and Samuel*, p. 2, London, 1901.

J.

CORO: A town in Venezuela, five miles from its seaport, La Vela de Coro, on the Caribbean Sea. It had, in the early days of the republic, many Jewish inhabitants, who came from the island of Curaçao, in the Dutch West Indies, about sixty miles from La Vela de Coro.

In the year 1855 the Jews of Coro, numbering about 300, were plundered, maltreated, and driven to seek refuge in their native place, Curaçao. As they claimed Dutch citizenship, the consul-general for the Netherlands, Van Lansberge, informed the home government, and three ships of war were sent to La Guayra, the principal seaport of Venezuela, and the redress demanded was at once granted. The Venezuelan government agreed to salute the Dutch flag; to restore to the Jews their property; and to pay an indemnity of 200,000 pesos ($160,000), the last clause being carried into effect in 1859, after lengthy diplomatic negotiations with the ambassador of the Netherlands, Jhr. O. van Rees.

In 1863 there were about 250 Jews in Coro, and religious services were held at the residence of Mordehay Abraham Senior, and afterward at that of his son Isaac. The cemetery, established in 1858, is situated on the outskirts of the town.

Another outbreak against foreigners, in June, 1902, compelled the Jews again to seek an asylum in Curaçao, tendered to them by the governor of the island, Jhr. J. O. de Jong van Beek en Doorn, who, upon learning the facts, despatched the Dutch man-of-war "Koningin Regentesse" to protect them. It returned to Curaçao with eighty Jewish women and children on board. In July following, the same vessel was sent to La Vela de Coro for the remainder, and only a few Jewish residents remained behind to protect the property of the exiles.

A. J. H. M. C.

CORONATION CHAIR: The so-called "Stone of Destiny," forming part of the coronation chair of the kings of England in Westminster Abbey, is said by tradition to be the identical stone on which Jacob rested his head when he saw the vision of the angels going up to heaven (Gen. xxviii. 11–12). According to some, the stone was that on which Abraham had intended sacrificing Isaac (see Rye, "Visits of Foreigners," p. 10, and compare Pirḳe R. El. 35, where the two stones of the Biblical stories are identified). According to a legend first found in the "Chronicles" of John of Fordun, the stone was transferred from Palestine to Egypt; from there Gathelus, son of Cecrops, King of Athens, who had married Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, transferred it to Spain, whence it was carried by Simon Brech, son of Milo the Scot, to Ireland. There it was used on the sacred Hill of Tara as the "Lia Fail," or "Stone of Destiny," on which the kings of Ireland were anointed. Fergus More, the founder of the Scotch monarchy, is said to have borne it from Ireland to Dunstaffnagge about 500, and it was ultimately taken by Kenneth II., about 840, to Scone. All the kings of Scotland were crowned upon it, until it was removed by Edward I. to Westminster Abbey; and upon it every king of England from Edward III. to Edward VII. has been crowned. An attempt to get it back was made by the Scotch in the reign of Edward III., and that king even wrote to the Abbot of Westminster ordering him to return it (Legg, "London Coronation Records," Westminster, 1901, p. 77); but the people of London would not allow it to be taken (Holinshed, "Historie of Scotland," p. 132). It has always been one of the chief attractions of Westminster Abbey, and is referred to as such by Addison ("Spectator," No. 329) and by Goldsmith ("Citizen of the World," letter xiii.).

The veneration with which the stone is regarded is undoubtedly due to the legend connecting it with Jacob; but Dean Stanley suggests that it was originally connected with St. Columba, and geologists are inclined to trace its origin to the island of Iona, the scene of St. Columba's last days.

The Anglo-Israelites make much of this connection of Jacob's stone with the coronation chair, and largely base upon it their claim to the identification of the English people with the Lost Ten Tribes (see ANGLO-ISRAELISM).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. P. Stanley, *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, 2d ed., London, 1866, pp. 60–67, 557–562 (illustration on title-page); E. Hine, *Forty-seven Identifications*, pp. 32–33; W. F. Skene, *The Coronation Stone*, Edinburgh, 1869.

J.

CORONEL, NAḤMAN NATHAN: Palestinian scholar of Sephardic-Ashkenazic parentage; born at Amsterdam 1810; died at Jerusalem Aug. 6, 1890. His teacher was R. Abraham Susan. In 1830 he emigrated to Safed, Palestine, where he married, afterward settling in Jerusalem. There he studied in the Sephardic yeshibah. He became especially interested in rabbinical manuscripts, and acquired many rare copies, some of which he sold to European libraries, while others he published with his own annotations. The latter are: (1) "Bet Natan" (The House of Nathan), containing a varied version of Berakot, MSS. of Cairo, and decisions by Isaiah di Trani, the elder, with an introduction by Coronel (Vienna, 1854). (2) "Ḥamishshah Ḳonṭerisim" (Five Pamphlets), containing a varied version of Kallah, decisions in jurisprudence by R. Solomon Tazerat, and a letter of excommunication by David, the exilarch, etc. (Vienna, 1864). (3) "Seder R. Amram Gaon" (846 C.E.), containing a liturgy of the geonic period, of decided literary value (Warsaw, 1865). (4) "Teshubot ha-Geonim" (Responsa of Geonim), rules for the slaughter and examination of animals, by R. Jonah (Vienna, 1871). (5) "Zeker Natan" (Memory of Nathan), selected religious regulations for travelers (Vienna, 1872). (6) Decisions by R. Solomon b. Adret in reference to appropriating ḥallah (the priests' share of the dough), and decisions by R. Jacob b. Zahal of Jerusalem. Coronel, in his own essay, "Haḳor Dabar" (Search out a Matter), attempted to establish a precedent for the exemption, like the Levite tithe, of the appropriation of ḥallah outside the Holy Land, for which he was rebuked by the rabbis of Jerusalem. (7) "Alfasi Zuta" ("The

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[abridged] Alfasi), by Menahem Azariah of Fano, with Coronel's commentary (Jerusalem, 1885). Coronel was awarded by the emperor of Austria the gold medal for art and science.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sokolov, *Sefer Zikkaron*, pp. 186–188, Warsaw, 1890.

L. G. J. D. E.

CORONEL, PAUL NUÑEZ: Spanish Orientalist; born at Segovia; died Sept. 30, 1534. Though baptized before the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, he was educated for the rabbinate, became conversant with Hebrew and with Biblical literature, and was on this account appointed professor of Hebrew at the University of Salamanca. Together with Alfonso de Alcalá, of Alcalá la Real, who had been baptized in 1492, and was also a professor at Salamanca, Coronel was commissioned by Cardinal Ximenez de Cisneros to translate the Bible into Latin. This translation is contained in the Complutensian Polyglot (1514–17). He also wrote "Additiones ad Librum Nicolai Lirani de Differentiis Translationum (Verborum)," which has not been printed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wolf, *Bibl. Hebr.* i., iii., No. 1813; J. Amador de los Rios, *Estudios*, p. 455; *Boletin Acad. Hist.* xxvii. 206.

G. M. K.

CORONEL-CHACON, AUGUSTINE: Portuguese Jew and agent at the court of Charles II. of England; born in Beira, Portugal; died after 1665. After living at Bordeaux (1640–44), he settled in Rouen in 1644, where he became an intimate friend of Enriquez Gomez, the Marano soldier and poet, to one of whose works he contributed a sonnet. Early in the fifties he established himself in England as a merchant and royalist agent, and there, associated with David da Costa and the Mendes family, to whom he was related, he received and distributed funds for Charles II. On 'Change he was known as "the littell Jue."

At the restoration, Coronel-Chacon was made consular and financial agent for Portugal in London, and was the first to suggest to Monk a match between King Charles and the infanta Catherine of Bragança. This marriage naturally increased his influence at court, and after embracing Christianity, in 1660, he was knighted in October of that year. As a Christian, Sir Augustine was not fortunate. He became a bankrupt in 1665, and after having been prosecuted by the Portuguese ambassador, was expelled from the 'Change and imprisoned in the Fleet. Afterward he turned informer against some of his former coreligionists, but to no avail. The latter part of his life was spent abroad, a dependent on his wealthy Jewish relatives.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Trans. Jew. Hist. Soc.* i. 70, 71, 73, 74, 75; Burnet, *History of His Own Times* (ed. O. Airy), i. 290; Le Neve, *Pedigrees of Knights*, p. 145; Kayserling, *Bibl. Esp.-Port.-Jud.* p. 49; Martin, *History of Lloyds*, p. 54; *Calendar of Domestic State Papers* (of Portugal), 1650–66; *Jew. Chron.* March 14, 1902.

J. M. W. L.

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT: Physical chastisement inflicted as legal punishment. Corporal punishment is one of the oldest forms of chastisement known to the law. The method of its infliction according to Jewish law differs from that of other penal codes, inasmuch as the former law carefully guards the convict from cruelty and excessive pain, stating expressly (Deut. xxv. 3), if the judge sentenced the wicked to be beaten a certain number of times, according to his fault, "Forty stripes he may give him, and not exceed; lest if he should exceed, and beat him above these with many stripes, then thy brother should seem vile unto thee." Upon this passage the Rabbis comment, saying: "The wicked is thy brother still" (Sifre 286; Mak. 22).

Three Judges Present.

The Talmudic law provides that whenever the infliction of corporal punishment is ordained, it is peremptory, and allows no discretion to the judge (Maimonides, "Yad," Sanh. xvi. 1), except in regard to the number of blows. Three judges must be present at the beating (*ib.* xvi. 2); one of them ordering the blows to be administered; the second counting them; and the third reading the verses Deut. xxviii. 58, 59, as an accompaniment (*ib.* xvi. 11). The punishment was inflicted by the beadle of the congregation, and the law recommends that the man chosen for this purpose shall be stronger in mind than in body, so that he may not strike too hard or upon a dangerous or weak spot (*ib.* xvi. 9; Mak. 23). The convict was tied to a post by his hands, his back and breast bared, and the beadle stood behind him, a fourfold thong of leather in hand. He was then bent forward and the lashes administered, one stroke on the breast and one on each shoulder alternately (Macc. iii. 12; "Yad," Sanh. xvi. 8–10). The maximum number of blows was thirty-nine (compare Mak. iii. 10, 22b with LXX. to Deut. xxv. 3, which reads במספר ארבעים, "about the number of forty)."

Number of Stripes.

One less than the Biblical number of blows was given, in order to prevent the possibility of a mistake in giving one more than the lawful number. When the convict was found by medical examination to be physically unable to receive the full number of blows according to the sentence of court, he was given a smaller number, always a multiple of three ("Yad," Sanh. xvii. 1, 2). If he died under the lash, no one was held responsible, but if he died as the result of the infliction of a greater number of strokes than the law permitted, he was considered murdered (*ib.* xvi. 12); for no more blows could be given than the sentence of the court required, and in no event could the maximum of thirty-nine blows be exceeded (*ib.* xvii. 12). If the convict broke his bonds and escaped, he could not again be subjected to punishment for the same offense (*ib.* xvii. 6).

The infliction of corporal punishment was not, as Josephus says in the "Antiquities" (iv. 8, § 21), "a most ignominious one for a free man." Josephus' idea of its effect was probably the result of his affiliation with the Romans, among whom such punishment was infamous. The maxim of the Jewish law was that after the man had received his punishment he was again to be considered a brother (Mak. 23a). The infliction of stripes provided by the Biblical law was permitted only in Palestine; but the rabbinical authorities assumed the right, from the necessity of the case, to decree the infliction of corporal punishment outside of Palestine, denomina-

ting it "makkat mardut," or beating for disobedience ("Yad," Sanh. xvi. 3).

Maimonides enumerates 207 cases in which corporal punishment by the lash may be inflicted. They may be divided as follows: twenty-one cases of breaches of negative commandments, chiefly crimes against morality, punishable by KARET (excision), but not by death; eighteen cases of breaches of the laws relating to the priesthood and sacrifice; and one hundred and sixty-eight cases of breaches of negative commandments which are not punishable either by karet or by death. Among the last are included the making of idols, breaches of the Levitical laws, of priestly regulations, of the dietary laws, of the land laws, of the laws of pledge, of sumptuary laws, of marriage laws, as well as slander, cursing, perjury, breaking vows, and others (*ib.* xiv. 1, 4). See CAPITAL PUNISHMENT; LEX TALIONIS.

Punishable Cases.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Duschak, *Das Mosaisch-Talmudische Eherecht*, pp. 11 *et seq.*; Mendelsohn, *Criminal Jurisprudence of the Ancient Hebrews*, pp. 39, 43, 171; Mayer, *Gesch. der Strafrechte*, pp. 88, 90, 100; Saalschütz, *Das Mosaische Recht*, p. 202.

K. D. W. A.

CORPORATION: A combination of several persons, for certain purposes and under a common name, into one artificial body, which the law permits to act as a single person. In technical language there can also be a "corporation sole"; that is, one person filling a public position, who transmits the property rights and obligations of that position to his successors, as a natural person transmits his rights and obligations to his heirs.

A "corporation aggregate" is either public or private. The cities of the Holy Land were public corporations, and Jewish communities in the Exile corresponded to them (see COMMUNITY, ORGANIZATION OF). Between the public and the private corporation stands the court (חצר) of the Mishnah, a group of houses surrounding an open place with a common entrance, the occupants of which have certain duties and corresponding rights (B. B. i. 6).

A private corporation is either eleemosynary (formed for purposes of charity) or commercial (that is, formed for the common good of the members). The former is known by the name of "ḥebra," the most important being the "ḥebra ḳaddisha" (burial gild); other ḥebras attend to the reception of travelers, the visitation of the sick, the maintenance of hospitals, etc., all more or less independent of the "ḳahal" (community). They have a common name, and a continuous life unhindered by change of members; they take property by purchase, gift, or will, and can dispose of it, and the rabbinical courts would recognize these rights; but the reported precedents are very few, and the various codes have but little to say on these points. The Shulḥan 'Aruk (Yoreh De'ah, 258, 8, 9) shows how an action may, under certain circumstances, accrue to the collectors of alms from an arrangement among the collectors, a contributor, and the latter's debtor; and similarly in other passages the right of action in eleemosynary corporations is incidentally acknowledged.

Commercial societies for various purposes, such as the caravan, and the mutual insurance company of muleteers or of shippers, are mentioned in the Mishnah (see COMMERCIAL LAW). Whether they had any corporate powers or functions is not known. In later times, during the dispersion, Jews could hardly have entered corporations for profit except under the laws of the governments to which they were subject, and for many centuries there were few, if any, of these corporations in existence anywhere.

L. G. L. N. D.

CORPSE: A body of a dead human being polluted not only those that touched it, but also the dwelling, its inmates, and all uncovered utensils (Num. xix. 14 *et seq.*). A person made unclean by a corpse was required to be sprinkled with water on the third and the seventh day thereafter, and to bathe and wash his clothes on the seventh day (Num. xix. 19). It was a sacred duty to bury a corpse; and even the priests, with the exception of the high priest, were permitted to defile themselves by the dead bodies of their nearest kin (Lev. xxi. 2, 3, 11). The Nazarites, however, were required to keep away from all corpses (Num. vi. 6). Yet the Nazarite Samson ate honey which he had taken out of the carcass of a lion (Judges xiv. 9), since only the human body could be the source of uncleanness in others (Num. xix. 22). During the forty years in the wilderness, those polluted by touching human corpses were put out of the camp (Num. v. 2), nor could they partake of the Passover sacrifice or any other offerings (ix. 6). Even those polluted in battle must be purified (xxxi. 19). Not to bury a corpse was considered the greatest disrespect that could be shown to the dead (Jer. viii. 2; Ps. lxxix. 2, 3), although in time of war this was necessarily a frequent circumstance. The law demanded the burial of a condemned person (Deut. xxi. 23), this applying even to the bones of those who had been executed in vengeance (II Sam. xxi. 13). The Egyptians were experts in embalming; but in Palestine, where little was known of the art, bodies were removed as quickly as possible from the houses (compare Amos vi. 10; see BURIAL). Places where human bones accumulated, such as Tophet in the valley of Hinnom, near Jerusalem, were held to be especially polluted, and therefore horrible. "High places" were defiled by human bones more than by all else (II Kings xxiii. 14).

Need of Burial.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Grüneisen, *Der Ahnenkultus und die Urreligion Israels*, p. 110, Halle, 1900.

E. G. H. S. KR.

CORREA, ISABELLA (REBECCA): Spanish poetess of the seventeenth century; born in Spain; lived successively in Brussels, Antwerp, and Amsterdam; wife of the cosmographer D. Nicolas de Olivier y Fullana (Daniel Judah) of Majorca. Isabella Correa was a friend of Daniel Levi de Barrios, whose "Coro de las Musas" was praised by herself and her husband in verse. She was celebrated for her beauty and wit, her knowledge of the arts, and her linguistic attainments, which are said by some writers to have included nearly all the languages of Europe.

Her principal work is a metrical Spanish translation, with explanatory notes, of the "Pastor Fido" by Guarini (1st and 2d eds., Antwerp, 1694; 3d ed., Amsterdam, 1694), which is dedicated to

Manuel de Belmonte, the founder of De los Floridos, an academy of poetry of which Isabella was a member. Another of her works, entitled "Varias Poesias," which is said by De Barrios to have been ready for the press, was never published.

Bibliography: Kayserling, *Bibl. Esp.-Port.-Jud.* p. 39; idem, *Die Jüdischen Frauen*, pp. 172 *et seq.*

G. M. K.

CORREGAL. See Carregal.

CORRENTI, CESARE: Italian statesman and author; born in Milan Jan. 3, 1815; died at Lesa, Novara, Oct. 4, 1888. He was one of the best friends of the Jews in Italy and a thorough enemy of anti-Semitism, whose adherents he regarded as "madmen." On various occasions he gave expression to his feelings of sympathy with the Jews; and in his work "Gli Ebri Come Patrioti" he praises them for the great services they have rendered in the emancipation and progress of Italy.

Bibliography: *Jewish Chronicle*. London, Oct. 26, 1888, p. 9; *Nuova Enciclopedia Italiana, Supplemento*, vol. ii., Turin, 1891.

S. B. B.

CORRIERE ISRAELITICO: Italian monthly magazine devoted to Jewish history and literature; founded at Triest in 1863 by Abrama Vito Morpurgo, who edited it six years, and at his death the editorship devolved upon A. di S. Curiel, Morpurgo's son-in-law, its present editor. At times Morpurgo was assisted by Leone Racah and, later, by his son Gustavo. For several years Dante A. Lattes was one of the directors, and he has become the magazine's chief representative and contributor. During the early days of its career the "Corriere" published not only careful accounts of Jewish events at home and abroad, but also scientific articles by S. D. Luzzatto, Lelio della Torre, and their most distinguished pupils; poems and stories on Jewish subjects; and translations of scientific, devotional, and belletristic works. Later on it devoted itself entirely to the setting forth of the cabalistic theories current in Italy, Elia Benamozegh and his pupils becoming the chief of its contributors, among whom is also Prof. Vittorio Castiglioni.

G. I. E.

CORTISSOS, DON JOSÉ: Spanish army contractor; born 1656; died in London 1742. He was fifth in direct descent from Emanuel José Cortissos, Marquis de Villa, a grandee of Spain, who flourished about 1475. José Cortissos was ambassador of the emperor Charles to Morocco. He was invited, as a man of property and thoroughly acquainted with the Peninsula, to contract for the supply of provisions to the allied armies under the Earl of Peterborough in the year 1706, but he declined through want of confidence in the Portuguese government. However, on the personal assurances of Earl Galway, commander of the British forces, and Earl Stanhope, British minister to the court of Spain, that the British government would answer for the payment on the part of the Portuguese government, he undertook to supply the army. From authentic reports it appears that Cortissos actually saved the army from starvation. Notwithstanding these assurances, he never obtained payment in full for his services, and he eventually went to England in 1712 to urge his claims, but failed to obtain more than a fraction of the sum due him leaving a considerable balance owing from the British and Portuguese governments, all attempts to recover this proving unavailing. The unfortunate contractor, worn out in mind and body, died in poverty. It is reported that a portrait of him has been preserved, representing him in the court dress of the reign of Queen Anne, with a petition concerning his claim in his hands.

Bibliography: *Statement of the Case of J. Cortissos*; *Cat. Anglo-Jew. Hist. Exh.* p. 48.

J. G. L.

COS. See Kos.

COSENZA: City in southern Italy. Ferdinando Ughelli, in the ninth volume of his "Italia Sacra," reproduces two documents referring to the Jews of Cosenza. One was given by King Ferdinand I. to Pirro Caraccioli, Archbishop of Cosenza (1467), reestablishing the former archiepiscopal jurisdiction over the Jews of his diocese. Depping thinks that this prelate was authorized to bestow property belonging to Jews upon any one within his jurisdiction, or to confer upon him rights at the expense of Jews; for in 1469 the above-mentioned King Ferdinand confirmed him in such investitures. The Jews were expelled from Cosenza, as well as from the rest of the kingdom of Naples, in 1540 by a decree of the emperor Charles V.

Bibliography: G. B. Depping, *Les Juifs dans le Moyen Age*, Paris, 1834.

E. C. G. J.

COSIN, LEWI: Rabbi at Salonica, and later a preacher at Venice; born in 1573; died in 1625. He was the author of a collection of sermons arranged in the order of the Sabbatic sections, and entitled "'Aliyat Ḳir Ḳeṭannah" (A Little Chamber in the Wall). It was published by the son of the author, the first volume at Venice, 1636, the second at Constantinople, 1643. Conforte also ascribes to Cosin the ethical work "Toẓe'ot Ḥayyim," published at Salonica. Steinschneider, however, believes that Conforte confounded Cosin with Moses Nathan, who is generally believed to be the real author of the "Toẓe'ot Ḥayyim."

Bibliography: Nepi-Ghirondi, *Toledot Gedole Yisrael*, p. 218; Zunz, *G. V.* p. 444; Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 1615; Conforte, *Ḳore ha-Dorot*, 44a.

L. G. I. Br.

CÖSLIN, ḤAYYIM BEN NAPHTALI: Talmudical scholar and Hebrew grammarian of Berlin; died at Stettin, Prussia, March 21, 1832. He wrote the following works: (1) "Maslul," a Hebrew grammar, written in a catechetical form. It was used for a long time as a primer and text-book in Jewish schools. It was first published by the author himself at Hamburg in 1788, and was republished as follows: Brünn, 1796; Zolkiev, 1798; Wilna, 1815, 1848, 1859, 1890. (2) "Ḳeriat ha-Torah" (Reading of the Law), a treatise on the literal changes in Biblical passages found in the Talmud, and on some Talmudical rules concerning the Masorah (Berlin, 1814). To this work is appended an article by Cöslin, under the title "Be'er Reḥobot," on the language of the Mishnah, which is a reprint from "Ha-

Measseſ" of 1786, and was republished in the "Bikkure ha-'Ittim," 1825.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Isaac Satanow, in *Ha-Measseſ*, 1788 (reprinted in *Bikkure ha-'Ittim*, 1827); Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael*, pp. 366, 367; Benjacob, *Oẓar ha-Sefarim*, p. 537; A. L. Gordon, *Mishpaṭe ha-Lashon ha-'Ibrit*, p. 38.

S. N. T. L.

COSMOGONY.—Biblical Data: A theory concerning the origin ("begetting") of the world; the mythological or ante-scientific view, as preserved in the traditions, oral or written, and the folk-poetry of primitive and ancient peoples.

Curiosity concerning the origin of the visible universe and the manner and order in which the various forms of life came into being, manifested itself at a comparatively early period. Cosmogonies are, therefore, found among nearly all races, and form a large part of their mythologies, preserved as tribal or national traditions. Old as they are, they reflect climatic and cultural conditions of various localities; and these differences, often unharmonized, appear in the later literary and religious versions. The original cosmogonies are spontaneous productions of folk-fancy, and are therefore unsystematic, forming as a rule only a chapter in the theogonies or genealogies of the gods. Systematization is a sign that primitive notions have been subjected to treatment in the interest of a certain theology or advanced religious consciousness. By those who ascribe to the Hebrew mind the same process of development and to Hebrew literature the same manner of growth as are observed among other peoples, the cosmogony—or, to be more exact, the cosmogonies—of the Bible must be viewed and analyzed according to the light derived from comparison with similar conceits among non-Hebrews. By analogy, then, with other ancient peoples, the form in which the Hebrew cosmogony presents itself in the Bible is not the original. The literary documents are later than the material incorporated. They exhibit the influences of a developed theology as well as the effect of a blending of different accounts that are at variance with one another in their radical versions.

The comparatively late date of the literary documents—according to the critical schools—has misled most of the modern commentators into the assumption that the early Hebrews were without cosmogonies. Rénan's denial to the Semites of the mythopeic faculty seemed thus to be borne out by the results of Pentateuchal analysis and of literary criticism of the other Biblical books. This inference, however, can not be maintained (see Gunkel, "Schöpfung und Chaos"; *idem*, "Genesis"). The Hebrews must have had the same impulse toward speculation on the origin of things as had other groups of men; and as this impulse manifests itself always at a very early period in the evolution of mind (the tribal or national consciousness), one is safe in the a priori ascription to the Hebrews of the production and possession of cosmogonic legends at a very remote epoch. This conclusion from analogy is corroborated by the study of the literary documents bearing on this point. Gunkel (*l.c.*) has demonstrated that the cosmogonic accounts or allusions thereto (technical archaic terms, like "tohu wabohu"; the use of words in an unusual sense, for instance רוח אלהים; and mythological personifications, like Rahab) display easily discernible signs of incorporated old material (Gen. i., ii.; Job xxvi. 12, xl. 25, xli. 26; Ps. xl. 5, lxxiv. 12–19, lxxxvii. 4, lxxxix. 10; Isa. xxvii. 1, li. 9). That Gen. i. belongs to the later strata of the Pentateuch (P) is conceded by all except those scholars that reject higher criticism altogether. Dillmann, for instance, and Delitzsch (in the last edition of his commentary) do not hesitate to assign it to the Priestly Code, though they would have it be pre-exilic. It certainly has the appearance of a systematic presentation, but nevertheless *it is not a free invention.*

Early Hebrew Cosmogony.

It has long been recognized that Biblical cosmogony bears certain similarities to that of other peoples; *e.g.*, the Phenicians (who speak of πνεῦμα and dark χαός originally existent; through their union, πόθος ["desire"], μώτ ["primordial mud"] is generated; but of this μώτ come the egg, etc. [for other versions see Damascius, "De Primis Principiis," p. 125]; the wife of the first man is Baau [= בהו]), or the Egyptians (who spoke of primeval water ["nun"] and the primeval egg [see Dillmann, Commentary on Genesis, p. 5, and De la Saussaye, "Religionsgeschichte," 2d ed., i. 146 *et seq.*]). The notion of the primeval egg seems to be a universal one (see Dillmann, *l.c.* p. 4; "Laws of Manu," i. 5 *et seq.*).

Babylonian Cosmogony.

Strikingly similar to the Biblical cosmogony is that of the Babylonians (Friedrich Delitzsch, "Babylonischer Weltschöpfungsepos"; Jensen, "Kosmologie der Babylonier," pp. 263-364; Zimmern, in Gunkel, "Schöpfung und Chaos," pp. 401 *et seq.*; Schrader, "K. B." vi.). Its birthplace is betrayed by its reflection of the climatic conditions of Babylonia. In winter, floods and darkness prevail. With the advent of spring the waters "divide" and are "subjugated" through the power of the winds that blow. Applying to primeval days this yearly phenomenon of the conquest of the flood and darkness, the Babylonian fancy assumes as self-existent in the beginning the great expanse of water (and unlit darkness). The former is conceived of as a monstrous dragon, Tiamat (= תהם), which, in the epitome given by Berosus, is represented as the "primeval woman," with whom Bel cohabits, splitting her into two halves, one of which becomes the earth and the other the sky, in characteristic reflection of Babylon's climate, and of the spring sun piercing the waters at the end of the winter's rainy season. Stories about Tiamat have been found as far back as the fourth millennium B.C. The narrative, as recovered from the tablets, begins by recording that "long since, when above the heaven had not been named, and earth was also without name [*i.e.*, nonexistent] there was only primeval ocean-flood." This is personified as a male (Apsu) and a female (Tiamat). The gods, which had not yet arisen, were then made: Tiamat was their mother. Hatred of the new-born light causes her to rebel against the higher deities. Some of the gods side with her, and to aid her in her fight she produces huge monsters. Marduk offers to punish her, on condition that the supreme rule over heaven and earth be ac-

Babylonian Accounts.

corded him after the victory. He rides to the combat in his war-chariot, and, meeting Tiamat, kills her by forcing open her mouth, which he fills with the hurricane that cuts her in two from within, and puts her crew in chains. He then divides her carcass: out of one part he makes heaven; out of the other, earth. The following is the order in which Creation is said to have been successively called forth by Marduk: (1) the heaven; (2) the heavenly bodies; (3) the earth; (4) the plants; (5) the animals; (6) man.

It is plain that not only in Gen. i., but in other Biblical cosmogonic descriptions (notably in Ps. civ. 5–9; also in Job xxxviii. 10; Ps. xxxiii. 6, lxv. 8; Prov. viii. 29; Jer. v. 22, xxxi. 35; the Prayer of Manasses), traits and incidents abound that suggest this Babylonian myth. In the main, four theories have been advanced to account for this: (1) Both the Babylonian and the Hebrew are varied versions of an originally common Semitic tradition. (2) The Hebrews carried an originally Babylonian tradition with them when emigrating from Ur-Kasdim. (3) They adopted the Babylonian epos during the Babylonian captivity. (4) This tradition, originally Babylonian, as the background shows, had long before the Hebrew conquest of Palestine been carried to Canaan through the then universal domination of Babylon; and the Hebrews gradually appropriated it in the course of their own political and religious development. This last theory (Gunkel's) is the most plausible. Gen. i. marks the final adaptation and recasting under the influence of theological ideas (*i.e.*, monotheism; six days for work and the seventh day for rest). As now found in Gen. i., it seems to be a composite of two, if not more, ancient myths. Besides those Babylonian elements indicated above, it contains reminiscences of another Babylonian tradition of a primitive (golden) age without bloodshed (vegetarianism), and recalls notions of non-Babylonian cycles ("the egg idea" in the brooding of the רוח, the Phenician בהו).

The allusions to this ancient (Babylonian) cosmogony are really much fresher and fuller in mythological conceits in the other passages quoted above. These, then, represent a cosmogony anterior to the reconstruction on monotheistic lines now incorporated in Genesis. In them the Dragon myth ("Tiamat," "Rahab") is of frequent recurrence; but while it points to a cosmogonic source, it may in some cases (Job xxvi. 13, for instance) have sprung from a natural celestial phenomenon such as an eclipse. So also in eschatological descriptions and apocalyptic visions these incidents of the old tradition recur (Ps. xviii., lxxvii., xciii. 3 *et seq.*; Nahum i.; Hab. iii.). See Dragon; Leviathan.

Earlier Versions.

On the other hand, the Bible has preserved cosmogonies, or reminiscences of them, that are not of Babylonian origin. Gen. ii. 4 *et seq.*, belonging, according to critics, to the Jahvistic source, starts with *dry* earth, and makes the sprouting of vegetation depend on man's previous creation; that is, on his labor. This exhibits Palestinian coloring. The dry, parched, waterless soil without rain is taken from a Palestinian landscape (see, however, Cheyne in "Encyc. Bibl." i. 949). Again, Ps. xc. 2 speaks of the time before the birth of the mountains and the parturition of earth and world. In Job xxxviii. it is said that God laid the foundations of the earth "when the morning stars sang together," and all the "sons of God" broke forth in glee. In Ps. xxiv. 2 there is a reference to the mystery involved in God's grounding the earth on the waters so that it can not be moved. These are not mere poetic explications of Gen. i. They are derived from other cosmogonic cycles, which a tone time may even have included, as among all other ancient peoples, a theogony (notice the "sons of God"; see Gunkel, "Genesis," p. 119).

The value of the cosmogony of Genesis lies in its *monotheistic* emphasis. Though the plural "Elohim," the words "let us make," and the view of man being "the image of God" reflect polytheistic and mythological conceptions of a previous stage, the stress is laid on the thought that one God made the all by His will, and made it "good." The Sabbath—originally not a part of the Babylonian epos—is the crowning glory of this cosmogony, notwithstanding the strong anthropomorphism of the concept that the Creator Himself rested. The attempt to establish a concordance between Genesis and geology seems to do an injustice to science and religion both. The ancient Hebrews had a very imperfect conception of the structure of the universe. Gen. i. was not written to be a scientific treatise. It was to impress and to express the twin-doctrine of God's creative omnipotence and of man's dignity as being destined on earth to be a creator himself.

With the Babylonians, the Hebrews believed that in the beginning, before earth and heaven had been separated ("created," ברא), there were primeval ocean ("tehom," always without the article) and darkness (חשך). From this the "word of God" (compare such passages as, God "roars" [נער], Ps. xviii. 16; civ. 7) called forth light. He divided the waters: the upper waters he shut up in heaven, and on the lower He established the earth. In older descriptions the combat against the tehom is related with more details. Tehom (also Rahab) has helpers, the תנין and the Leviathan, Behemot, the "Nahash Bariah." The following is the order of Creation as given in Gen. i.: (1) the heaven; (2) the earth; (3) the plants; (4) the celestial bodies; (5) the animals; (6) man. The Hebrews regarded the earth as a plain or a hill figured like a hemisphere, swimming on water. Over this is arched the solid vault of heaven. To this vault are fastened the lights, the stars. So slight is this elevation that birds may rise to it and fly along its expanse.

Bibliography: Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*; Idem, *Genesis*; Holzinger, *Genesis*, pp. 17 *et seq.*; Jensen, *Kosmologie der Babylonier*.

K. E. G. H.

—In Post-Biblical Literature: Cosmogony, or the theory concerning the origin of the universe, began with pagan systems which recognized no Creator, and was therefore viewed with mistrust in rabbinical circles. For this reason it was taught in strictest privacy: "The creation lore is not to be taught before more than one disciple" (Ḥag. ii. 1; see Cabala). Even the oldest schools, the Hillelites and Shammaites, differed on the question whether

the heavens (Gen. i. 1) or the earth (Gen. ii. 4) was created first, the Shammaites deciding that the heavens were created first, the Hillelites maintaining the contrary contention. The Hillelites, referring to Amos ix. 6, argued: "No architect, in building a house, begins with the upper story"; the Shammaites replied with reference to Isa. lxvi. 1: "No artificer makes the footstool first and then the throne." This difference of view was readjusted afterward by R. Simeon b. Yoḥai, who said, referring to Isa. xlviii. 13, that heaven and earth were created simultaneously, the former being put upon the latter as the cover upon the pot (Ḥag. 12a; Yer. Ḥag. ii. 1; Gen. R. i. and xii.; Pirḳe R. El. xviii.). The Shammaites seem to represent the older view, shared also by the Alexandrians (זקני הנגב, Tan. 32a; compare Bacher, "Agada der Tannaiten," i. 17 *et seq.*).

Probably connected with this difference of opinion is the controversy between R. Eliezer and R. Joshua regarding the origin of earth and sea, Joshua, with reference to Job xxxvii. 6, xxxvi. 28, claiming a cosmic or celestial origin for them; Eliezer, with reference to Ps. cxlviii. 4 *et seq.*, Gen. ii. 6, a mere terrestrial one (compare Gen. R. xii., xiii.; Yoma 54b; Bacher, *l.c.* i. 135, 173 *et seq.*). The principal concern of cosmogony was with the primal elements and their mode of composition; and in dealing with the question, the Gnostics resorted to both mythological and philosophical speculation, while Scripture treated it from the standpoint of theology (see Gnosticism).

The Primal Elements.

In the third century Rab, basing his speculation on Gen. i. 1–5, spoke of ten primal elements created on the first day: heaven and earth, Tohu and Bohu, light and darkness, wind and water, night and day (the last as time-measures); and of ten creative potencies: wisdom and understanding, knowledge and strength, rebuke and might, righteousness and judgment, mercy and loving-kindness, with reference to Prov. iii. 19, 20; Ps. lxv. 7 (6); Job xxvi. 11; Ps. lxxxix. 15 (14); xxv. 6 (5). Of these potencies he explained rebuke as the restraining power or the limitation exerted by God when the world (earth) and the sea expanded in all directions after He had turned the primal elements like the warp and woof of the weaver's loom (Ḥag. 12a). The older schools, however, spoke of only six, four, or two primal elements, and also of fewer potencies. When R. Joshua ben Hananiah was asked by the emperor Hadrian how God made the world, he answered: "He took the six elements and led them like weaver's threads in six directions: four horizontal and two vertical" (Gen. R. x.). To Gamaliel II. a philosopher said: "Your God is a great artist, but He found fine pigments to use as colors for his painting: Tohu and Bohu, darkness and wind, water and the abyss"; whereupon Gamaliel replied: "All these six God Himself created, as is shown by Isa. xxxiv. 11 (Hebrew, "Ḳaw tohu we-abne bohu"), xlv. 7; Ps. cxlviii. 4 *et seq.*; Amos iv. 13; Prov. viii. 24 (compare Gen. R. i.; Bacher, *l.c.* i. 86, note 4). These six elements are compared by R. Levi (Gen. R. i.) with the six things required for every structure: water, earth, wood, stone, iron, and the measuring-line. An old Baraita gives, with reference to Isa. xxxiv. 11, a deeper insight into Jewish or gnostic cosmogony: Tohu is the green circle ("ḳaw") which surrounds the cosmos, and from which darkness emanated, according to Ps. xviii. 12 (11); and Bohu is the foundation of the primal mire or chaos ("abne mefulamot" = Πηλωμα; see Lev. W. B. T., *s.v.* פילומא) sunk into the abyss, whence the water issues forth (Ḥag. 12a). Here Tohu and Bohu are actually the two primal elements out of which the other two, darkness and water, respectively emanated. Wind is taken by R. Jose (Ḥag. 12b; compare Yer. Ḥag. ii. 77a, and Bacher, *l.c.* ii. 186) to be a potency emanating from God's arm, whereas heaven is explained as a composite of primal fire and water (שמים=אש ומים; Ḥag. 12a). According to Pirḳe R. El. iii. (compare Yer. Ḥag. *ib.*) the earth was created from the snow from under God's throne, which, when cast upon the primeval water, turned into a solid mass (Job xxxvii. 6; compare Ex. R. xiii., where עפר ["dust"] is probably a corruption of שלג ["snow"]). Fire and snow are taken as primal elements also in Gen. R. x.

Whether light was the first created thing (compare IV Esdras vi. 40) or not is a matter of dispute between R. Judah and R. Nehemiah. Samuel bar Naḥman said: God wrapped Himself in light as in a garment and its radiance lit up the universe; that is, light is not created, but is eternally a part of God (Gen. R. iii., based upon Ps. civ. 2). From that light heaven also emanated, according to Pirḳe R. El. *ib.* It must be further noted that Pirḳe R. El. has only eight of Rab's ten elements, night and day being added by some one else; and instead of Rab's ten creative potencies there are only three: wisdom, understanding, and knowledge (compare Tan., Wayaḳhel, 6, ed. Buber; Midr. Teh. to Ps. l. 1). So are Yalda Bahut (= Βυθός) and Ḥokmuta (= Ḥokmah) fundamental in the various gnostic cosmogonies, the rest evolving in pairs (see Gnosticism). In Ex. R. three primal elements, water, fire, and wind or breath ("mayim," "esh," "ruaḥ"), are mentioned, begetting respectively three potencies, darkness, light, and wisdom.

Better than these scattered Midrashic fragments does the Slavonic Book of Enoch (xxiv.–xxx.) disclose the secrets of Ma'ase Bereshit, which God Himself revealed to Enoch, though "not known even to the angels":

The Upper and the Lower World.

Out of the regions of the deep God caused a fiery stone, Adoil ("Ariel" = "fire of God" [?]), to rise; out of this broke light, and forth came the great upper world revealing the whole creation of God's design. Of it God made His own throne, and above it rose the light which became the foundation of all celestial things (compare Pes. 54a; Ned. 39b; Gen. R. i.; Tanna debe Eliyahu R. xxxi.: "Kisse ha-Kabod," after Ps. xciii. 2 and Prov. viii. 27, LXX.: "When He established His throne upon the winds"). Then God laid the foundation of the world of darkness below by calling into existence a firm, heavy, and red substance called "Arkhas" (= ארקא, the lowest part of the abyss; see "Seder Rabba di Bereshit" in Wertheimer's "Batte Midrashot," i. 15, 18; certainly not רקיע, as Charles thinks), and after it was divided there issued forth a very dark world bearing the creation of all things below; there was nothing beneath the darkness.

Out of the mixture of light and darkness a thick substance came forth; this was the water which was spread in both directions above the darkness below and below the light above, and thus were the seven circles of heaven created like crystal, moist and dry; that is, like glass and ice (compare "a sea of glass."

Rev. iv. 6, xv. 2; "and the pure marble stones that seem like water," Ḥag. 14b; compare Joël, "Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte," i. 163 *et seq.*).

Out of the waves of the water below, which were turned into stones, the earth was formed on the second day of Creation, and the myriads of angels and all the heavenly hosts were created out of the lightning which flashed forth from the fiery stone as God gazed upon it (compare Pesiḳ. i. 3a: "The firmament is made of water, and the stars and angels of fire," and Cant. R. iii. 11: "The firmament is made of hoarfrost [Ezek. i. 22, "crystal"], and the Ḥayot of fire").

Charles ("Book of the Secrets of Enoch," 1896, p. 32) and Bousset ("Religion des Judenthums," 1903, p. 470) find in this cosmogony traces of Egypto-Orphic influence; but a comparison with the Babylonian—that is, the Mandæan—cosmogony, with its upper world of light and lower world of darkness (see Brand, "Mandæische Religion," 1889, pp. 41–44), is no less in place. Remarkable is the cosmogonic view of Abbahu (Gen. R. iii.): "God created worlds after worlds, and destroyed them until He found the one which He pronounced as good."

Midrash Konen.

The Baraita on Tohu and Bohu, Ḥag. 12a, and on wind or breath, Ḥag. 12b, quoted above, formed undoubtedly part of an ancient Midrash, Ma'aseh Bereshit, of which the Midrash Konen preserved essential parts (Jellinek, "B. H." ii. 23–39; Introduction, xiii.). It is based on Prov. iii. 19, and the Torah being identified with the creative wisdom (compare Gen. R. i.), the sacred names or letters are made potencies of creation. The Midrash shows how, by the aid of three names, water, light, and fire were created; how, by the mixing of these, the heavens and the clouds of glory and all the celestial hosts were made; and, how from a lump of snow from under the Throne of Glory, the earth was formed and the foundation-stone of the world laid upon the water. The celestial orbs were made of fire; the water animals, including the leviathan, out of light and water; the birds, including the ziz or simurg, out of these elements mixed with mud; the terrestrial beasts, including the behemoth, out of water, earth, and light. The Midrash Ma'ase Bereshit, which is attached to Midrash Konen (Jellinek, "B. H."pp. 32 *et seq.*), forms also part of the Seder Rabba di Bereshit, published in Wertheimer's "Batte Midrashot" (i. 1–31), and presents the entire cosmogonic and cosmological system of the Rabbis (or Essenes, as is shown by the apotheosis of the Sabbath, pp. 7–8). Part of this cosmology—that is, the description of the upper and lower worlds and all their parts in their topographical relations—is found also in Pirḳe R. El. (iii.–ix.).

Sefer Yezirah.

Another and altogether different cosmogonic system is presented in the geonic work "Sefer Yezirah." Here letters and numbers, as in the New Pythagorean system, but scientifically arranged, are creative principles, and the three primal elements of the rabbis, fire, water, and light (אש מים אור) are, by the change of one vowel, transformed into fire, water, and air (אויר, אש מים אויר = the Greek ἀήρ), the Spirit of God (Gen. i. 2) taking the place of the former "wisdom" as the creative power (see Sefer Yeẓirah). For the cosmogony of the cabalists, based chiefly upon the idea of a primal and endless light, and a primordial "point" expanding into the Ten Sefirot, and upon Abbahu's view, quoted above, of worlds ever created and destroyed by the Creator, see Cabala; Emanation; Sefirot.

K.

COSSACKS' UPRISING: Since the fifteenth century, semi-military bands of Cossacks have been scattered over the steppes of southern and southeastern Russia, and have materially influenced the history of the Jews in that region. The Cossacks originally appeared as traveling merchants, pursuing their vocation generally in the steppes of South Russia, beyond the limits of their own country. For the sake of mutual protection they organized themselves into armed bands, led by hetmans, or atamans. Becoming permanent settlers, they retained their military and social organizations. Later there appear groups of Cossack agriculturists, Cossack settlements, and Cossack villages.

Of the different branches of Cossacks, only those of the Ukraine (Little Russia) are considered here. When King Casimir Jagellon transformed the principality of Kiev into a Polish waywodeship (1476), the Russian nobles of the Ukraine received equal rights with the Polish nobility (Kostomarov, "Bogdan Chmielnicki," i. 114). The free cities, towns, and villages being distributed among the nobility, the ancient system of self-government was abolished, and the first step taken toward the forced adoption of Polish customs and methods by the Russian nobility. The peasants of the Greek faith thus became the serfs of the landlords. Soon after the Ukraine Cossacks became conspicuous. Their organizations bore some resemblance to those of the order of knighthood, for they announced themselves as the champions of Christendom. When Poland and Lithuania were merged by King Sigismund Augustus into one commonwealth (1569), the provinces of Volhynia, Podolia, and the Ukraine were separated from Lithuania and came under the immediate rule of Poland. About that time the Ukrainian lord Wishnewetzki (Polish, "Wisniowiecki") built on an island in the River Dnieper the fortress of Khortitza, and placed Cossacks there for protection against the invasions of the Crimean Tatars ("Akty Yuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii," ii. 148). This fortress with its garrison was known as the "Zaporogian Syech" (the fortified camp beyond the rapids). These Cossacks were joined by Little Russian peasants of the Greek faith who had broken away from their Polish Catholic landlords, by fugitives from justice, and by adventurers. It may be mentioned here that Jews also served in the ranks of the Cossacks. In 1681

Complaint of Cossack Depredations.

Aḥmad Kalga, chief councilor of the Khan of the Crimea, complained to the Polish ambassador, Piasaczinski, that the Cossacks of the Lower Dnieper had made attacks on the Crimea. Piasaczinski replied stating that the Cossacks were not subjects of the Polish king, and that he therefore could not be held responsible for the acts of uncontrollable rovers of the desert; for while there were some Poles, there were also Muscovites, Wallachians, Turks, Tatars, Jews, etc., among them (Kostomarov, *l.c.* p. 55).

In the responsa of Joel Särkes mention is made of "Berakah the Hero," who fought in the ranks of

the Cossacks and fell in battle against the Muscovites (1601; Harkavy, "Yevrei-Kazaki," in "Russki Yevrei," 1880, p. 348). In 1637 a certain Ilyash (Elijah) Karaimovich (the name indicates a Karaite origin) was one of the officers of the registered Cossacks, and became their "starosta" (elder) after the execution of Pavlyuk (Kostomarov, *l.c.* p. 135). In ballads of Little Russia reference is made to a colonel named Matvi Borochovich (1647), who, as his family name (meaning "son of Baruch") indicates, was probably also of Jewish origin. The feeling against the Jews spread very rapidly from Poland into the Ukraine in the reign of Sigismund III. (1587–1632), who was an obedient pupil of the Jesuits. The gilds, which always feared the competition of the Jews, were prominent in connection with the accusations. The higher nobility, however, depended largely on the Jews to act as their leaseholders, agents, and financial managers, and this served in a measure as a bar to persecution.

Stephen Bathori (1575–86) intended to disband the Cossacks, who were a menace to the union of the Ukraine with Poland. Not long before his death he said: "Some day an independent state will spring up from this scum" (Kostomarov, *l.c.* p. 21).

As the power of the Jesuits increased, and with it their determination to force the peasants and Cossacks into the Catholic Church, there were manifest signs of trouble between the Cossacks and the Polish nobility. From time to time armed

Attacks by Cossacks.

Cossack bands swept over the Ukraine, plundering the estates of the nobility, pillaging the Catholic churches, and robbing the Jews. When the Polish nobles Wishnevetzki, Potocki, and Koniecpolski settled in the Ukraine and began to build palaces and castles, the Jews were their trusted agents and managers, leasing their estates, mills, inns, rivers, lakes, and all other sources of revenue.

The Jews increased rapidly in the Little Russian territories at the beginning of the seventeenth century. They farmed not only the taxes, but even the revenues of the Greek Orthodox Church. At every christening or funeral the peasants had to pay a fee to the Jew. The lords were the absolute rulers of their estates, and the peasants their dependent subjects. When a lord or any other member of the nobility leased his villages or estates to a Jew, his authority also was delegated to the latter, who even had the power to administer justice among the peasants ("Yewen Mezulah," p. 2a). The extravagant life of the Polish landlords, who spent most of their fortunes abroad, frequently placed them in pecuniary difficulties, and their Jewish tax-farmers were often forced into exactions against the advice and warnings of the wise leaders of the Council of Four Lands, and the Jews of the Ukraine often suffered grievously for the sins of individuals of their race. The uprising of the peasants in the Ukraine has been ascribed by most historians to their oppression by Jewish leaseholders, as well as to the privileges granted to the latter by the kings and nobles of Poland. Recent historical research, however, indicates that the Jews living in the cities, particularly in those of the Ukraine, were not afforded the protection enjoyed by other citizens, and moreover were excluded from the privileges granted to the Christian merchants and burghers (Antonovich, "Monografii po Istorii Zapadnoi i Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii," i. 188). Notwithstanding this, the Jews managed to gain control of the commerce of the country, as is evidenced by the complaints of the Christian merchants of Lemberg, Kamenetz, Kiev, and many other cities, shortly before the Cossack uprising ("Archiv Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii," v., part i., xxxiv. 134, xl. 156, cxxi. 323; "Starozytna Polska," 11, 1023, 1369; "Sbornik Mukhanova," p. 192; Antonovich, *l.c.* p. 189). It was the combined opposition to the Jews of the urban and the peasant populations that made it possible for Chmielnicki to arm the entire country against them within so short a time.

During their first uprising under Nalivaika and Kossinski (1591–93), and that under Taras (1630), the Cossacks did not exhibit any special animosity toward the Jews, but complained only of the Roman Catholics. But in the subsequent re-

Early Uprisings.

volt, under Pavlyuk (1637), 200 Jews, mostly leaseholders and farmers of taxes, were killed in Pereyaslav, Lokhvitza, and Lubny, and many synagogues were destroyed; and when the Polish government restricted some of the rights of the Cossacks their animosity toward the Jews was still further increased.

In 1646 a general European alliance, including Ladislaus IV., was formed for the purpose of driving the Turks out of Europe. The Polish chancelor Ossolinski visited the Ukraine and opened negotiations with the Cossacks. The king was accused before the Diet of 1646 of attempting to curtail the rights of the "Shlyakhta"; the proposed war with Turkey was not sanctioned by the Diet, and the Polish cause was thus injured.

The contents of the agreement between King Ladislaus and Bogdan Chmielnicki, the leader of the Cossacks, have never been positively ascertained, nor has it been shown how far, if at all, the latter was encouraged by Alexis, the Rus-

The Great Uprising.

sian czar. It is only known that on Oct. 1, 1653, the Russian government decided to include the Cossacks among its subjects, whereupon war was declared against Poland by the Muscovites. Most of the historians, Russian, Polish, and Jewish, think that the personal animosity of Chmielnicki against Koniecpolski and Chaplinski (see Chmielnicki, Bogdan) caused the Cossack uprising; yet even such a shrewd, ambitious, and daring leader as Chmielnicki could not so soon have become such a popular hero throughout the Ukraine had not the ground been prepared. When Koniecpolski learned of the alliance formed by Chmielnicki and the Tatars to make common war on Poland and to drive the Poles out of the Ukraine, he cast Chmielnicki into prison. A Jew, Jacob Sabilenki, helped Chmielnicki to escape; and when he was subsequently imprisoned for the second time, he again succeeded in effecting his escape. He then went with his fellow conspirators to the Syech, whence he issued his appeal to the Cossacks to rise and take revenge on both the Poles and the Jews. In his address to the Cossack elders Chmielnicki said: "You must be aware of the fact that the Po-

lish nation is gaining power daily and that it oppresses our coreligionists. But it is not the noblemen alone who lord it over us: even the most abject nation [the Jews] hold us in subjection" ("Yewen Mezulah"). This was enough to excite the people of Little Russia. The flame of revolution spread with great rapidity throughout the Ukraine, and Chmielnicki, encouraged by Ladislaus himself, concluded a treaty with the Khan of the Crimea. Chmielnicki still derived encouragement from the king himself, who, being often opposed in the Diet by the nobility, desired to make use of the Cossacks. Some historians hint that he even secretly promised to help them assert their rights against the nobles.

One of the paragraphs of this treaty stipulated that all prisoners of war should belong to the Tatars, as also the right to sell them as slaves in Turkish markets; and that the property of the Polish nobility and Jews should be allotted to the Cossacks. When the Tatar general Tugai-bey joined Chmielnicki with an army of 4,000 men, the whole of Little Russia, Podolia, and the Ukraine rose en masse, and, leaving their estates and homes, assembled in the Syech. The Jews soon learned of the plans of the allied armies, and warned the Polish field-marshals Potocki and Kalinovski to be on their guard (Kostomarov, i. 264); but they disregarded the warning. On May 18, 1648, the Poles were defeated near the Yellow Waters ("Zholtyya Vody"). Potocki was killed and Kalinovski made prisoner.

After this, bands of the Zaporogians, the Little Russian peasants, and the roving Cossacks of the Ukraine joined the insurrection, and invaded the towns of Pereyaslav, Piryatin, Lubny, and Lokhvitza, plundering, robbing, and cruelly torturing the Jewish inhabitants. The Jews of Pogrebishche, Zotov, and Bozovka, about 3,000 in number, were more fortunate; for they gave themselves up to the Tatars, who, though they took them into captivity, treated them humanely. They were taken to the Crimea, and subsequently ransomed by the Jews of Constantinople. On the day of the above-mentioned battle, King Ladislaus died, which was a great misfortune for Poland as well as for the Jews. During the interregnum (May to Oct., 1648) the dissensions throughout Poland increased, and the conflicts between the different parties in the confederation weakened the resistance of the Poles.

Attacks on the Jews.

While Chmielnicki negotiated with the Polish magnates, and especially with the Archbishop of Gnesen, troops from the Ukraine, both regular and irregular, were organized under brutal leaders, who reveled in the death-struggles of their Polish and Jewish foes. These bands, called "Haidamaks," were ordered by the Greek Orthodox popes to murder both Roman Catholics and Jews in the name of religion, and soon changed the whole country into a desert; only those Jews who fell into the hands of the Tatars, or those who changed their religion, escaped death. The most cruel leaders of the Cossacks were Krivonos, Morozenko, and Chmielnicki's son, Timofei.

After the defeat of the Poles near Korsun, the Cossack troops and the peasant bands under their leader Ganzha advanced against the fortified town of Nemirov, which had 6,000 Jewish inhabitants, and where the fugitives from the neighborhood were assembled. This was a very wealthy community, and contained many prominent and learned men. The Jews, who were in possession of the fortress, had closed the gates; but Greek Christians of the town, disguised in Polish uniforms, urged the Jews to open them again for their friends. They did so, only to be mercilessly slaughtered by the Cossacks and the Russians, those escaping immediate death undergoing frightful tortures (June 10, 1648). Among the victims was Jehiel Michael ben Eliezer, the cabalist, and the head of the yeshibah of Nemirov. While most of the Jews remained true to their faith, some escaped by embracing Christianity, although most of these returned to Judaism when the riots were over (Graetz, "Hist." Hebrew ed., viii. 135).

At the town of Tulchin about 600 Polish soldiers and 2,000 Jews had taken refuge in the fortress (called Nestrow); some of the latter being brave soldiers, sworn to defend the town and fortress to the last man. The Cossack peasants, knowing little of tactics, resorted to a trick. They assured the nobles that their hatred was directed solely against the accursed Jews, and that if these should be delivered up to them they would withdraw. The nobles, forgetful of their oath, proposed that the Jews should give up their arms to them. The Jews, who exceeded the Poles in number, at first thought of revenging themselves on the latter for their treachery; but Rabbi Aaron of Tulchin warned them that the Catholics would take bloody vengeance, and that all Poland would be excited against the Jews, who would doubtless be exterminated. The Jews then delivered up their arms, whereupon the Poles admitted the Cossacks into the town. After the Cossacks had taken everything from the Jews, they offered them the choice between death and baptism. Three rabbis, Eliezer, Solomon, and Hayyim, urged their brethren not to change their religion; and about 1,000 Jews who remained steadfast were tortured and executed before the eyes of the Polish nobles (June 24, 1648). Ten rabbis were spared by the Cossacks in order to extort large ransoms from their communities. The Poles were immediately punished for their treachery. Deprived of the assistance of the Jews, they were slain by the Cossacks. This sad event had a good effect, as the Poles after that sided steadfastly with the Jews, and were not opposed to them throughout the course of the long war ("Yewen Mezulah," p. 23).

Treachery at Tulchin.

From Podolia the bands of rebels penetrated into Volhynia. Here the carnage continued during the whole summer and autumn of 1648. About 10,000 Jews were slain by the Cossacks or taken captive by the Tatars at Polonnoye. The cabalist Samson of Ostropol, who had been revered by the populace, with 300 pious inhabitants, was put to death in the synagogue. Similar massacres took place in Zaslavl, Ostrog, Starokonstantinov, Bar, Narol, Kremenetz, and other towns of the Ukraine. The Polish troops, especially those under Jeremiah Wishnevetzki, subdued the Cossacks here and there, but they were unable to put down the rebellion. In Sept., 1648,

the forces of Chmielnicki had advanced to the very walls of Lemberg, which was subjected to a protracted siege. Having reduced the inhabitants by starvation, the Cossacks withdrew upon receiving from the city an enormous ransom, a considerable share of which was paid by the Jews (Caro, "Gesch. der Juden in Lemberg," pp. 51–64). From Lemberg, Chmielnicki with his hordes turned to Zamoscz and Lublin, even approaching Warsaw, where the election of the king was in progress. The choice fell upon the primate of Gnesen, Cardinal John Casimir (1648–68), brother of King Ladislaus IV.

The new king at once entered into peace negotiations with Chmielnicki, but owing to the excessive demands of the Cossacks no conclusion was reached. The war broke out afresh, and lasted to the end of the summer of 1649. In the course of it many more Jewish communities were desolated. After a series of battles unfavorable to the Poles a treaty of peace was concluded at Zborowo, between John Casimir and Chmielnicki. In this treaty there was a clause forbidding the Jews to live in the Ukraine; that is, in the waywodeship of Chernigov, Poltava, Kiev, and part of Podolia (Aug., 1649).

After eighteen months of torture and hardship the Jews could once more breathe freely. To all who had entered the Greek Orthodox Church under threat of death, the king gave permission to return to their former faith. Jewish women who had been forcibly baptized fled in numbers from the Cossack husbands who had been forced upon them, and returned to their families. The Council of Four Lands, at its session in the winter of 1650, worked out a long series of measures intended to restore order in the family and social life of the Jews. The 20th of Nisan, the day of the Nemirov massacre, was the day previously set apart as a fast-day in memory of the martyrs of the Crusades, and was now made a day of mourning for the victims of the Cossack rebellion as well. The prominent rabbis of the time composed many elegies and prayers, which were recited in the synagogues on every anniversary of the fatal day.

Interval of Peace.

But the Jews were not to rest for a long time. The treaty of Zborowo was satisfactory neither to the Polish government nor to the Cossacks, and in 1651 war again broke out. This time the Poles gained the advantage over Chmielnicki's forces, and the campaign ended with a treaty advantageous to the Poles. Under the treaty of Byelaya Tzerkov (Sept., 1651), many of the Cossacks' claims were rejected, and the right of the Jews to settle in the Ukraine was restored.

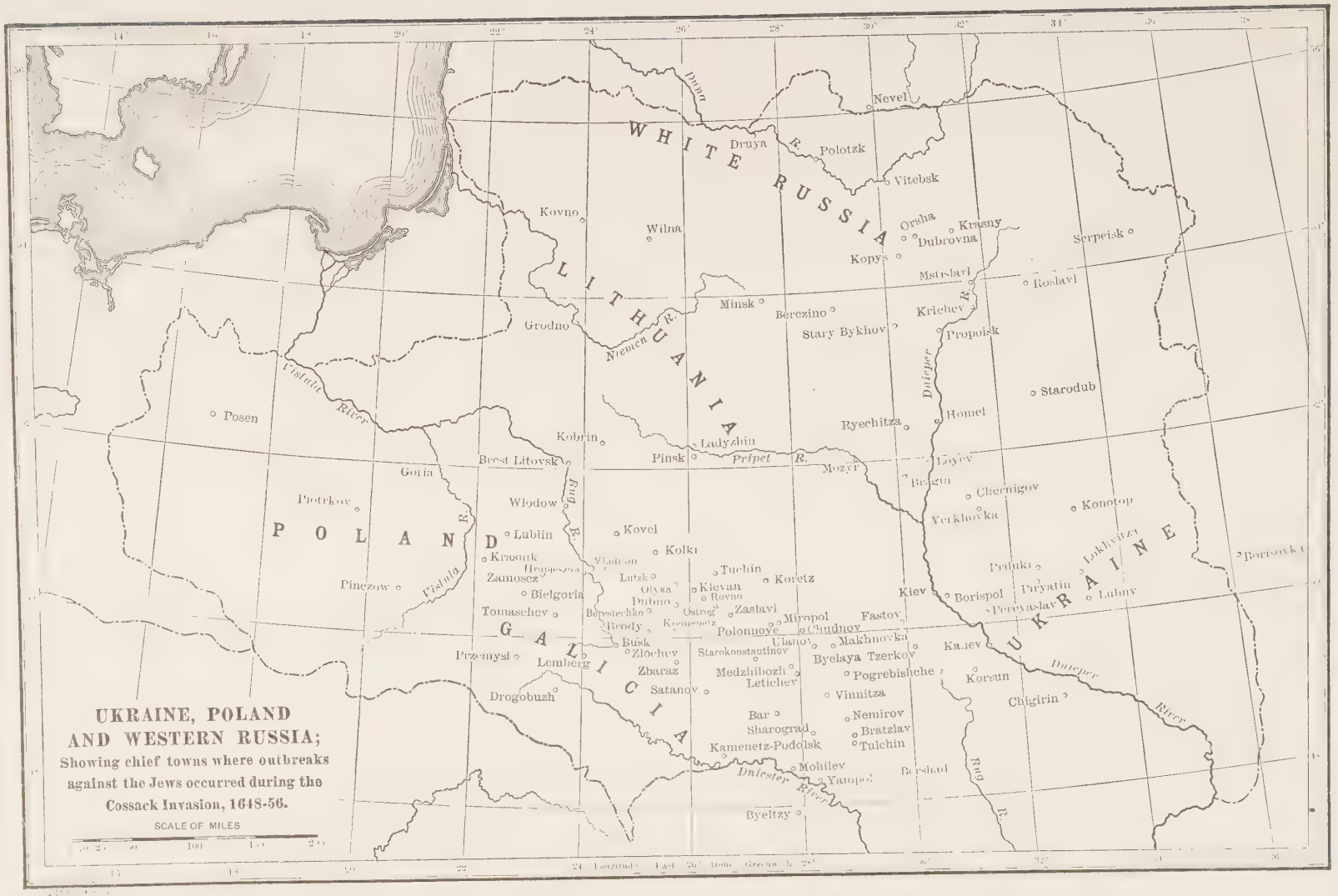
It was at this time that the agitation among the Cossacks and the Greek Orthodox Ukrainians was renewed. Bogdan Chmielnicki opened negotiations with Czar Alexis with the view of transferring Cossack-Ukraine, under the name of "Malorossia" (Little Russia), to the Muscovite realm. These negotiations were successful in 1654. In the same year the Russian troops penetrated into White Russia and Lithuania and began a war with Poland. During this war, which lasted two years (1654–56), the Jews of White Russia and Lithuania underwent much suffering. The seizure of many cities by the united Cossack-Muscovite army was accompanied by the extermination or exile of the Jews. When the city of Mohilev on the Dnieper surrendered to the Muscovite forces, Alexis, as requested by the local Russian inhabitants, ordered all the Jews to be banished from the city, and their houses to be distributed among the magistrates and other Russian officials. The Jews, however, trusting that the military disturbances would soon cease, did not immediately leave Mohilev; and for this they paid a heavy penalty. At the end of the summer of 1655 the commander of the Russian garrison at Mohilev, Colonel Poklonski, learned that the Polish army, under Radziwill, was marching on the city. Fearing that the Jews might unite with the advancing enemy, Poklonski ordered them to leave the city, promising them an escort as Polish subjects to Radziwill's camp. No sooner were the Jews, with their wives, children, and belongings, outside the walls, than the Russian soldiers, acting upon Poklonski's orders, fell upon them, killed nearly all of them, and appropriated their possessions.

Alliance with Russia.

At Vitebsk the Jews took an active part in the defense of the city against the besieging Muscovites. For this the enemy took ample revenge, the Jews being either forcibly baptized or sent into exile to Pskov, Novgorod, and Kazan. The Jews in the community of Wilna also suffered in the sack of that city by the Muscovite-Cossack forces in Aug., 1655. Most of the Wilna Jews, however, found safety in flight; those remaining being either slain or banished by order of the czar. It was soon the turn of the native Polish provinces to become the scene of war and invasion. The irruption of Poland's third enemy, the Swedes (1655–58), under Charles Gustavus, brought carnage into the very heart of the country. The greater portion of Little and Great Poland passed into the possession of the Swedes, and King John Casimir had to flee. At the hands of the Swedish invaders Jews suffered equally with Christians; but they often found themselves between the hammer and the anvil. The Polish leader, Czarniecki, while escaping from the Swedes, devastated all the country through which he passed, but manifested exceptional harshness in his treatment of the Jews. The Polish auxiliary bands were equally severe in their treatment of the Jews and other non-Catholics.

Massacres in Poland.

The horrors of the war were brought to a climax by the outbreak of the plague in Poland. The Jews in the provinces of Cracow, Posen, Kalish, Piotrkov, and Lublin perished in large numbers, both by the sword of the enemy and by disease. Only after 1658 did the disturbance caused by the war begin to subside. According to the chronicles, the number of Jews who perished during this time (1648–58) exceeded half a million. Over three hundred Jewish communities (740, according to the unreliable Samuel Phoebus in "Tiṭ ha-Yawen") were massacred and sacked. Approximately only one-tenth of the Jewish population remained in Polish Ukraine, Volhynia, and Podolia. The remainder had either perished or had emigrated into Lithuania, Poland proper, and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Kovno
Wilna
Orsha
Krasny
Dubrovna
Serpeisk
Kopys
Mstislavl
Roslavl
Minsk
Berezino
Krichev
Grodno
Stary Bykhov
Propoisk
Niemen R.
Dniepr R.
Starodub
Posen
Vistula River
Ryechitza
Homel
Kobrin
Ladyzhin
Brest Litovsk
Pinsk
Pripet R.
Mozyr
Loyev
Gorla
Bug R.
Chernigov
Pietrkov
Wlodow
Konotop
Kovel
Lublin
Kolki
Krasnik
Tuchin
Lokhvitza
Borisovka
Priluki
Zamoscz
Lutzk
Koretz
Pinczow
Vistula R.
Olyka
Klevan
Kiev
Borispol
Piryatin
Bielgoria
Dubno
Rovno
Perevaslavl
Lubny
Tomaschev
Berestechko
Ostrog
Zaslavl
Miropol
Fastov
Brody
Kremenetz
Polonnoye
Chudnov
Busk
Ulanov
Makhnovka
Kanev
Przemysl
Zlochev
Starokonstantinov
Byelaya Tzerkov
Lemberg
Zbaraz
Medzhibozh
Pogrebishche
Korsun
Drogobuzh
Satanov
Letichev
Vinnitza
Chigirin
Bar
Nemirov
Sharograd
Bratzlav
Kamenetz-Podolsk
Tulchin
Mohilev
Yampol
Dniester River
Byeltzy
Dnieper River
Bug R.
UKRAINE, POLAND AND WESTERN RUSSIA;
Showing chief towns where outbreaks against the Jews occurred during the Cossack Invasion, 1648-56.
SCALE OF MILES
Longitude East 20° from Greenwich

the states of western Europe. Jewish fugitives from Poland, and captives ransomed from Tatar bondage, could at that time be met with in all the countries of Europe and Asia.

The following is a list of the towns in which outbreaks occurred during the uprising of the Cossacks (1648–58):

Alexandria (Volhynia)
Alexandrovka (Podolia)
Arhat
Bagrinovtzy (Podolia)
Bar
Bazhin
Berestechko (Volhynia)
Berezino (Minsk)
Berezovka (Poltava)
Berezovka (Volhynia)
Bershad
Bielcza (Galicia)
Bielgoria (Poland)
Borisovka (Peltava)
Borispol (Poltava)
Bozovka
Bragin
Bratzlav (Podolia)
Bratzlavshchina (Podolia)
Brest-Litovsk
Brezna (Poland)
Breznitza (Poland)
Brody
Buchach (Podolia)
Busk (Galicia)
Byelaya Tzerkov
Byeltzy
Byely (see Kostomarov, iii. 154)
Byely-Kamen
Bykhov
Chernigov
Chigirin
Chirikov
Chudnov (Volhynia)
Derazhnya
Drogobuzh
Druya
Dubno
Dubovaya Volost (see Kostomarov, ii. 402)
Dubrovna
Fastov or Khvastov (Kiev)
Galich (Galicia)
Gora (White Russia)
Goria (Poland)
Grodno
Grubeschov (Lublin)
Gushcha (Volhynia)
Gusyatin (Podolia)
Homel
Hrubieszow or Rubieszow (Lublin)
Husan
Ivanovich
Ivnibrod
Kamenetz-Podolsk
Kanev
Kiev
Kishinev
Klevan
Kobrin (Minsk)
Kobrin (Volhynia)
Kolki (Volhynia)
Komorno (Galicia)
Konotop
Kopys
Koretz
Korsun
Kovel
Kovno
Krainepole
Krasnik (Lublin)
Krasnobrod (Poland)
Krasny
Kremenetz
Krichev
Kunitza
Ladyzhin
Latischan
Lemberg
Lesla
Letichev (Podolia)
Lobemla
Lokhvitza (Poltava)
Loyev (Kostomarov ii. 186)
Lublin
Lubny (Poltava)
Lubsentz
Luntschitz
Luzk
Lyubartovo or Lyubar (Volhynia)
Lyubom (Volhynia)
Makhnovka (Kiev)
Medzhibozh (Podolia)
Mezhirich (Great)
Mezhirich (Little)
Minsk
Miropol (Volhynia)—See Polonnoye
Mohilev (Podolia)
Mozyr (Minsk)
Mstislavl
Murakhva (Podolia)
Narol (Volhynia)
Nemirov
Nevel
Novopole (Poland)
Novozhmir
Olyka
Opta
Orsha
Ostrog (Volhynia)
Pereyaslav
Pinczow
Pinsk
Piotrkov
Piryatin
Pkut
Podgayetz (Galicia)
Pogrebishche (Kiev)
Polonnoye (Volhynia)
Polotzk
Pomorany (Galicia)
Posen
Priluki (Kiev)
Prolikowitz
Propoisk (Mohilev)
Przemysl (Galicia)
Rogschany
Roslavl
Rovno
Ryechitza
Satanov
Serpeisk
Sharograd or Shargorod (Podolia)
Slutzk
Sokol (Volhynia)
Starodub
Starokonstantinov (Volhynia)
Stary Bykhov
Strelitz
Szczebrszyn
Taikury (Volhynia)
Tomaschev
Tornograd (Poland)
Trilisy (Kiev)
Tuchin (Volhynia)
Tulchin
Turbino
Uchanie (Lublin)
Ulanov (Volhynia)
Vankovtzy
Verkhovka (Podolia)
Vinnitza
Vitebsk
Vladimir (Volhynia)
Wilna
Wislocz (Galicia)
Wlodow
Wreshna
Yampol
Yanuschov (Podolia)
Yaslovitza (Podolia)
Zabrazh
Zamoscz (Zamostye)
Zaslavl (Volhynia)
Zbaraz (Galicia)
Zborowo (Galicia)
Zhier (Zgierz)
Zlatowo
Zlochev (Polish, Zloczow [Galicia])
Zmiyev (Kiev)
Zotov

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hannover, *Yawan Mezulah*, Venice, 1653, German translation by S. Kayserling, 1863; Kohen, *Megillat Efah*, in *Shebeṭ Yehudah*, Hebr. and Ger., Hanover, 1856; Abraham ben Samuel Ashkenazi, *Za'ar Bat Rabbim*, in Gurland's *Le Korot ha-Gezerot be-Yisrael*, ii.; Meïr ben Samuel of Szczebrszyn, *Zuḳ ha-'Ittim*; Samuel ben Phoebus, *Tiṭ ha-Yawen*; Gurland, *Ame Milluim*; Grondski de Gandi, *Hist. Belli Cosaco-Polonici*, ed. Kaffi, Budapest, 1789; *Lyetopis Samovitza o Voinach Bogdana Chmielnickavo*, etc., in *Chtenie Moskovskavo Obshchestva Istorii*, Moscow, 1846; Kulish, *Istoriya Vozsoyedinenya Rusi*, St. Petersburg, 1874; Skalkovski, *Istoriya Novoi Syechi*, Odessa, 1841; Graetz, *Hist.* Hebr. ed., viii. 125, *passim*, Warsaw, 1900.

H. R.

COSTA, DA, PEDIGREE: The family of Da Costa is probably identical with that of the Mendez da Costa. It has even been suggested that an early Mendes called himself Mendez da Costa ("Mendes of the Coast"). The arms of the two families both in England and in Holland are practically identical.

Their wide connections with so many Marano families—Bravo, Bueno, Dias, Fernandez, Gradis, Jachia, Lopez, Silva, Suasso, Pinto, Mesquita, Ricardo, Belmonte, Capadose, Henriques, Aguilar, Osorio, Villa-Real, Franco, Quiro, Paiba—the large families resulting from these alliances, coupled with the wide extent of their migrations—make the Mendez da Costa pedigree the key to Sephardic genealogies. The principal branch of the Da Costa family in the Netherlands (pedigree I.) and the Holland Mendes da Costa branch (pedigree II.) follow herewith:

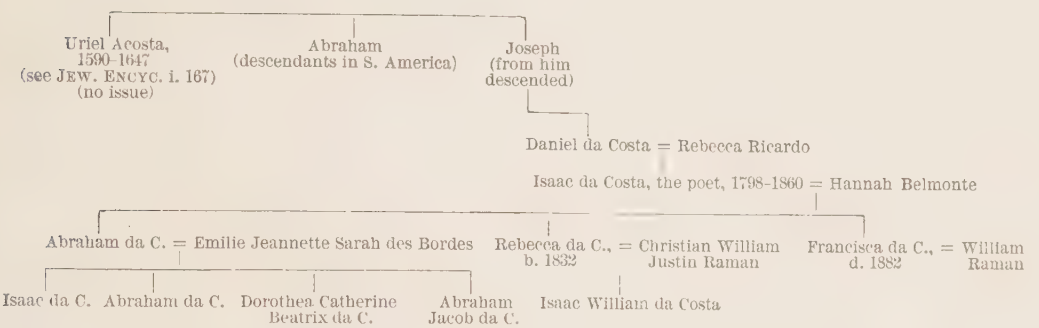
I.

MENDES DA COSTA OF THE NETHERLANDS

Abraham da Costa
|
Raphael Mendes da C. = in 1760 Rachel Mendes da Costa, a daughter of Moses
|
Esther, a daughter of Isaac and Esther Cappadose = 1793 = Jacob Mendes da C., 1774-1825
|
Sarah Mendes da Costa = Raphael Jacob Mendes da Costa = Nanette Henriquez de Castro, b. 1812, daughter of David and Rachel da Costa
|
3 children
8 children, one of them, Emanuel Mendes da Costa, b. 1845 = Esther Henriquez de Castro, b. 1857, a daughter of Jacob and Rachel Henriquez de Castro

II.

Da Costas of Holland.


Uriel Acosta, 1590–1647 (see Jew. Encyc. i. 167) (no issue)
Abraham (descendants in S. America)
Joseph (from him descended)
Daniel da Costa = Rebecca Ricardo
Isaac da Costa, the poet, 1798–1860 = Hannah Belmonte
Abraham da C. = Emilie Jeannette Sarah des Bordes
Rebecca da C., b. 1832 = Christian William Justin Raman
Francisca da C., d. 1882 = William Raman
Isaac da C.
Abraham da C.
Dorothea Catherine Beatrix da C.
Abraham Jacob da C.
Isaac William da Costa

The English branch of the Mendez da Costas is especially noteworthy, and the genealogy for the early stages was compiled by an eminent member of the family, Emanuel Mendez da Costa, secretary of the Royal Society, London. He traces his own descent back to two Da Costas from whom he was descended on the father's (pedigree III.) and the mother's (pedigree IV.) side respectively. The two pedigrees follow on page 290.

The last inheritor of the fortunes of the English Da Costa appears to have been Mrs. Sarah Williams, who left £40,000 to Benjamin Disraeli, with the request that he should adopt the Da Costa arms.

Bibliography: *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1812, part i., pp. 21 *et seq.*; *Dictionary of National Biography*, xii. 271; Da Costa, *Israel en de Volken*, Utrecht, 1876; Picciotto, *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*; Vorsterman van Oyen, *Stam-en Wapenboek van Nederlandsche Familien*, i. 164, Groningen, 1884.

J. H. Gut.

COSTA, ANDREA MENDES DA: Chamberlain of Queen Catherine of Bragança, wife of Charles II. of England; flourished about 1665. His position at court was due to the influence of his brother, **Antonio Mendes**, who had cured Queen Catherine, while in Portugal, of erysipelas. The queen had persuaded Antonio and his brothers to accompany her to England, where they all became members of her household. After their arrival in London they openly proclaimed themselves Jews. Andrea Mendes, as well as his brothers, is said to have taken an active interest in the affairs of the Jews of London, and frequently influenced Charles II. on their behalf.

Bibliography: J. Picciotto, *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, p. 44; Da Costa, *Israel and the Gentiles*, p. 455; Lindo, *Jews in Spain and Portugal*, p. 350; Jacobs and Wolf, *Bibl. Anglo-Jud.* p. 138.

J. M. Sel.

COSTA, ANTHONY DA (sometimes known as **Moses da Costa** or **Antonio da Costa**): An opulent Jewish London merchant of the eighteenth century. He attained the position—unusual for a Jew in those days—of a director of the Bank of England. In 1727 he brought an action against the Russia Company, which refused to admit him to membership on the ground of his being a Jew. The attorney-general decided that he must be admitted, whereupon the company petitioned Parliament to modify the former's charter so as to give it the right of refusal. Anthony also figured, in 1736, in a case with W. Monmartel relating to a bill of exchange.

Anthony was the son of Jacob (Alvarez or Alvaro) da Costa, who is probably the Da Costa referred to in the "Thurlow Papers." Jacob Alvarez (or Alvaro) da Costa arrived in England with his family in 1655. He married Leonora (Rachel) Mendes, sister of Fernandez (Fernando) Mendes, the Marano physician of John IV., King of Portugal.

Anthony married his cousin Catherine Mendes, in 1698. Catherine was born in Somerset House, and was named after Queen Catherine of Bragança, wife of Charles II., who graciously consented to stand sponsor to her. This Catherine da Costa is supposed to have made, in 1721, the water-color portrait of her father which now hangs in the vestry of the Bevis Marks Synagogue. Anthony and Catherine da Costa had a daughter, also named Catherine, who married a M. Villareal, becoming a widow at the age of twenty-one. She figured in the famous case of Da Costa *v.* Villareal, and subsequently in that of Villareal *v.* Mellish.

Bibliography: J. Picciotto, *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, pp. 32, 89, 95, 103, 155; Gaster, *History of the Ancient Synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*, pp. 10, 97; Wolf, *Crypto-Jews Under the Commonwealth*, in *Transactions of the Jew. Hist. Soc. Eng.* i. 55–88; Lucien Wolf, *Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell*, xiv., xii., etc.; Jacobs and Wolf, *Bibl. Anglo-Jud.* pp. 95, 96; Graetz, *History of the Jews*, iv. 554.

J. I. H.

COSTA, BENJAMIN MENDEZ DA: Philanthropist; born in 1704; died in England 1764. His family was among the most ancient and honorable of the Portuguese Jews, and Da Costa himself was in the foremost ranks of the Hebrew merchants of his day. As an instance of his philanthropy he distributed, during his lifetime, £3,000 a year in charity to the poor of all creeds. In 1762, in conjunction with Isaac de David Levy, he endowed a yeshibah, bestowing yearly distributions on the students who attended it. By a codicil to his will he desired his benefactions to be continued during the

Da Costas of England.

III.

Moses or Philip Mendez da Costa = Lianor Gutterez da Costa Minha-Prima, daughter of Fernao Mendez-Gutterez
came to London 1692, d. 1739–40

- Abraham or John = 1702 Esther or Johanna da Costa, his cousin, d. 1749
  - Jacob = 1. ... Bravo; 2. ... Bravo
    - Esther
  - Sarah, 1711–83 = Abraham Fernandez
    - Rachel = Jacob Osorio
    - Rebecca = Raoul de Paiba
    - Isaac = Rebecca, dau. of Jacob Mendez da Costa
      - Sarah
  - Emanuel, F.R.S., 1717–91 = 1. Lea de Prado, 2. Elizabeth Stillman
    - a daughter
- Sarah = Samuel de Trado
  - Isaac = 1. ... Quiros; 2. ... Bravo
    - children by both
  - Abraham, 1713–82 = Esther, widow of Jacob Salvador, d. 1788
    - children
- Rachel = Daniel or Francis Salvador
  - Jacob = Esther Portetto de Quiros
    - Daniel
    - Moses
  - Rebecca = Moses da Costa
    - daughter = Baron Aguilar
  - Sarah, d. 1756 = Moses Franco
    - 2 sons
- Rebecca = Anthony Mendez, son of Dr. Mendez
  - Jacob = Diaz
    - a daughter
  - Johanna, d. 1775
  - Lydia = Moses or Leonora ....
    - 2 sons
- Sarah Alvarez = Jacob in 1717
  - Moses = Rebecca Salvador
    - a daughter
  - Isaac = Dedidja, dau. of Jacob Mendez da Costa
    - 4 children
  - .... = Rebecca da Costa
    - a daughter

IV.

Alvaro da Costa, came to England 1660 = Leonor Mendez, sister to Fernando Mendez, physician to Charles II., d. 1724

- Beatrice = John Mendez da Costa
  - Sarah = David Mendez da Silva of Amsterdam
    - daughter = Joseph Suasso de Lima
  - Rachel = Jacob Bueno de Mesquito, Amsterdam
    - many children
- Rachel = Hon. Lopez Suasso, Baron Avernas-le-Gras
  - Isaac or Anthony, 2d Baron Avernas-le-Gras, d. 1775 = 1716 Rachel, dau. of Anthony da Costa
    - Abraham, 3d Baron
    - Joseph = Salvador
    - Leonor or Rachel, 1720–66
      - Joshua Mendez = Judith da Costa
      - Sarah = Francis or Daniel Salvador
  - .... de Lima = Moses
    - children
- Esther or Johanna = Villa-Real (divorced) = Abraham da Costa, her cousin
  - .... = Aaron de Pinto
    - children
  - her uncle Benjamin da Costa
    - a dau. = son of Moses Suasso
  - Sarah = ... de Lis
    - a dau. = Abraham, son of Jacob Suasso
  - Abraham
- Joseph, b. 1683 = Leonor, dau. of Fernando Mendez
  - Catharina = 1. Joseph de Costa-Villa Real. 2. William Mellish
    - William Mellish
    - Viscount Galway = Elizabeth
  - Moses, d. 1730 = Rachel, dau. of Alvaro Mendes
    - children
  - Benjamin = Elizabeth ....
    - Benjamin 1749–82
- Osorio = ...
  - Rachel, d. 1760 = Isaac Biana, alias Fernandes-Diaz
    - 3 children
- Abraham, eldest son of Fernando da Costa = Mary
  - Jacob = Rachel son of Fernando da Costa
    - 3 children

Genealogical Tree of Da Costa Family.

lives of the indigent families who had received his bounty.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Picciotto, *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, pp. 89, 95, 155.

J. G. L.

COSTA, EMANUEL MENDEZ DA: Librarian and fellow of the Royal Society of London, scientific writer, and fellow of the Antiquarian Society of London; born in 1717; died in 1791. He was a son of Abraham Mendez da Costa, who had come from Normandy to reside in England about 1696, and in 1702 had married Esther da Costa, his first cousin. Emanuel Mendez da Costa was distinguished as a botanist, naturalist, philosopher, and collector of anecdotes of literati and of valuable notes and MSS. He was made a member of the Aurelian Society Feb. 7, 1739, and in 1746 was elected a member of the Gentleman's Society at Spalding, and maintained a regular correspondence with Dr. Green, the secretary of that organization. On Nov. 26, 1747, Da Costa was elected fellow of the Royal Society of London, and later its librarian, after which he was elected a member of the Botanic Society in Florence. His publications were: "A Natural History of Fossils" (at the time of its publication the author was esteemed the greatest master of the subject in England); "Elements of Conchology, or An Introduction to the Knowledge of Shells," 1776; and "British Conchology," 1778. He also contributed several valuable papers to the "Philosophical Transactions" and other scientific publications. It was in his library that the list of the original Jewish settlers in England was found. His collection of printed books, manuscripts, engravings, and drawings of natural history was sold by public auction after his death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Nichols, *Anecdotes and Illustrations*, ii. 292, iii. 233; *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxxii. 21; J. Picciotto, *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, p. 95.

J. G. L.

COSTA, ISAAC DA: Dutch poet; born Jan. 14, 1798, at Amsterdam; died there April 28, 1860. His father, Daniel da Costa, a relative of Uriel Acosta, was a prominent merchant in the city of Amsterdam; his mother, Rebecca Ricardo, was a near relative of the English political economist David Ricardo. Daniel da Costa, soon recognizing his son's love for study, destined him for the bar, and sent him to the Latin school from 1806 to 1811. Here Isaac wrote his first verses. Through his Hebrew teacher, the mathematician and Hebraist Moses Lemans, he became acquainted with the great Dutch poet Bilderdijk, who, at the request of Isaac's father, agreed to supervise the boy's further education. Bilderdijk taught him Roman law, and a familiar intercourse sprang up between them, which afterward developed into an intimate friendship.

In 1817 Da Costa went to Leyden, where he again saw much of Bilderdijk. He there took his degree as doctor of law in 1818, and as doctor of philosophy June 21, 1821. Three weeks later he married his cousin, Hannah Belmonte, who had been educated in a Christian institution; and soon after, at the instance of Bilderdijk, he was baptized with her at Leyden. At that time he was already well known as a poet. After Bilderdijk's death Da Costa was generally recognized as his successor among Dutch poets. He was a faithful adherent of the religious views of his friend, was one of the leaders of the Orthodox Reformed party, and during the last years of his life was a teacher and a director of the seminary of the Independent Scotch Church. However severely his religious views and efforts be censured, his character, no less than his genius, was respected by his contemporaries. Although he wrote much on missionary matters, he is distinguished from many other converts in that, to the end of his life, he felt only reverence and love for his former coreligionists, was deeply interested in their past history, and often took their part.

Aside from his fifty-three longer and shorter poems, Da Costa wrote largely on theological subjects. He also wrote "Israel en de Volken" (2d ed., Haarlem, 1848–49), a survey of the history of the Jews to the nineteenth century, written from the standpoint of the Church. The third volume, dealing with the history of the Spanish-Portuguese Jews, is especially noteworthy on account of the mass of new material used. The work was translated into English, under the title "Israel and the Gentiles," by Ward Kennedy (London, 1850), and into German by "A Friend of God's Word" (Miss Thumb), published by K. Mann (Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1855).

Da Costa's two papers, "The Jews in Spain and Portugal" and "The Jews from Spain and Portugal in the Netherlands," which appeared in 1836 in the "Nedersche Stemmen over Godsdienst-, Staat-Geschied- en Letterkunde," may be considered as preliminary to the history. Of interest also are his works on the Von Schoonenberg (Belmonte) family ("Jahrb. für Holland," 1851) and on "The Noble Families Among the Jews" ("Navorscher," 1857, pp. 210 *et seq.*, 269 *et seq.*; 1858, pp. 71 *et seq.*; 1859, pp. 110 *et seq.*, 174 *et seq.*, 242 *et seq.*). Da Costa possessed a valuable library which contained a large number of Spanish, Portuguese, and Hebrew manuscripts, as well as rare prints from the Spanish-Portuguese Jewish literature. It was sold at public auction a year after his death. A catalogue of the library, compiled by M. Roest, was published at Amsterdam in 1861.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. J. Koenen, *Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland*, pp. 25 *et seq.*; *Unsere Zeit. Jahrb.* iv. 399; Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibl.* iii. 114 *et seq.*

S. M. K.

COSTA, ISRAELE DI EMANUELE: Italian rabbi; born 1819; died 1897. He succeeded Abraham Baruch Piperno as rabbi of Leghorn in 1864. Of his works the following may be mentioned: "Sefer Bet ha-Zikkaron" (Maḥzor for Rosh ha-Shanah), with annotations, 1869; complete Sephardic Maḥzor, with Italian translation, 1892; The Zohar, in square Hebrew letters, with punctuation and vowel-signs, Leghorn, 1888; "Miḳweh Yisrael" (Hope of Israel), one hundred stories, 1851; "Yashir Yisrael" (Let Israel Sing), 1853; "'Arabim be-Tokah" (The Willows in Her Midst), 1880; "Ki Na'ar Yisrael" (For Israel Is a Lad), 1890; a Hebrew grammar for the use of children, several times reprinted; a Hebrew-Italian dictionary, in collaboration with the rabbis Funaro

and Cabib, 1853; various remarks on the validity of the celebrated will of Caid Nissim Samama, 1877–78.

Costa was a Freemason, and reached the thirty-third degree. His Italian songs are very popular among the youth of the Jewish schools.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Colombo, *Alla Memoria del Rabb. Israel Costa*, Leghorn, 1898.

S. G. J.

COSTA, JOSEPH DA: 1. Younger brother of Uriel Acosta or da Costa, to whom MANASSEH BEN ISRAEL dedicated his Spanish edition of the "Hope of Israel" (1650); lived at Amsterdam.

2. Relative of the preceding; wrote "Tratado de Cortesia y Politica" (Amsterdam, 1726), dedicated to Immanuel de Abraham Curiel.

S. M. K.

COSTA, SIR MICHAEL: Musical composer and conductor; born at Naples of a Sephardic family Feb. 4, 1810; died in Brighton April 29, 1884. He studied under his father, Pasquale Costa, his grandfather, Tritto Costa, and Zingarelli. In 1829 he visited England, assisting at the Birmingham musical festival, and conducting at Her Majesty's Theater in 1831. He was naturalized as a British subject in 1839. Subsequently he conducted at the Philharmonic Society concerts 1846, at the Royal Italian Opera 1847, for the Sacred Harmonic Society 1849, at the Handel festivals 1857, and at Her Majesty's Theater in 1871. Costa was knighted at Windsor April 14, 1868, and invested with the Royal Order of Frederick in 1869. He was also knight of the Turkish Order of the Medjidie, and knight commander of the Crown in Italy.

Costa's works include the operas and ballets "Il Delitto Punito," 1826; "Il Sospetto Funesto," 1827; "Il Carcere d'Ildegonda," 1828; "Malvina," 1829; "Malek Adhel," 1837; "Don Carlos," 1844; "Kenilworth," 1831; "Sir Huon," 1833; and "Alma," 1842; and the oratorios and cantatas: "L'Immagine," 1815; "La Passione," 1827; "Eli," 1855; and "Naaman," 1864. He also wrote many songs and miscellaneous compositions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Times*, London, April 30, 1884; Grove, *Dict. of Music and Musicians*, s.v.

J. G. L.

COSTA, SOLOMON DA: Donor of Hebrew library to the British Museum; flourished about 1760. A broker by profession, he acquired a considerable fortune, much of which was distributed in deeds of piety and beneficence to non-Jews, as well as to his coreligionists. He was also able to render monetary assistance to several of the leaders of the House of Commons, and by his credit with them effected at times national good services. Among these was the preservation of the collection of Hebrew books at present in the library of the British Museum. These had been collected during the Commonwealth, and had fallen to Charles II. at the Restoration. They lay unnoticed throughout the reign of Charles, and this neglect continued during the reigns of James II. and William III. At length in Anne's reign they were sold to a bookseller, from whom, some time in the reign of George I., the entire collection was purchased by Solomon da Costa, then a young man, and desirous of knowledge, who subsequently presented it to the British Museum.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Thomas Hollis, *Biography of Costa*; *Jew. Chron.* Dec. 2, 1859; *Cat. Anglo-Jew. Hist. Exh.* Preface; Zedner, *Cat. Hebr. Books Brit. Mus.*

J. G. L.

COSTA RICA. See SAN JUAN.

COSTER, ABRAHAM: Dutch anti-Jewish preacher; lived at Amsterdam in the seventeenth century. He wrote "Histoire der Joden," a history of the Jews from their dispersion to the author's time (Amsterdam, 1658). In this history he described the manners, customs, and fables of the exiles, with the purpose of influencing the authorities to prevent the Jews of Amsterdam from building a new synagogue.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fürst, *Bibl. Jud.* i. 189; Koenen, *Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland*, pp. 28, 335.

J. M. SEL.

COSTS: The outlays made by suitors which are incident to the administration of justice. The question of costs is a twofold one: (1) What do the several officials and the witnesses receive? and (2) What, if anything, does the successful recover from the losing party?

1. Among the officers the judge or judges are foremost; then such experts and referees as assist the court by their reports (*e.g.*, the appraisers of land; see APPRAISEMENT); next the clerks who take down the proceedings or make out judicial writings; next the messengers who summon the defendant and who carry out the judgment by seizure of goods and lands; and, lastly, the witnesses.

As to the judges and witnesses the Mishnah (Bek. iv. 6) lays down the stern rule: "One who takes hire to judge, his judgments are void: he who testifies for hire, his testimony is void."

Later authorities saw the impossibility of obtaining the services of the judge for nothing, and, following Ket. 105a, allowed him to charge for loss of time if he had a known occupation; but the mere claim that during the time consumed he might have secured some employment did not entitle him to any costs. The payment of a judge's fee was shared by the two parties in equal parts (compare BRIBERY; FEES).

The clerk's fees for noting the proceedings in open court, and for making out all writings in which both parties join, are borne by both parties in equal shares (B. B. x. 4). But if the ban has been pronounced against the defendant for refusing to appear, and he comes in to clear himself, he has to pay, before the ban is removed, the fee due to the clerk for making out the instrument (B. K. 112b).

The messengers are of course paid for their services and traveling expenses. In the Talmudical passage relating to the corrupt practise of Samuel's sons of enriching their underlings (Shab. 56a), the messenger is called חזן ("apparitor," lit. a synagogue official).

2. There is no provision for awarding to the winning party his outlay for costs against the loser, except in a procedure arising after Talmud times, and first mentioned by Alfasi; namely, that of FOREIGN ATTACHMENT, a procedure which is peculiar

being due to the necessities of the times when the Jews had become wanderers from land to land.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Shulḥan 'Aruk, Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ*, ix. 1-5; compare the authorities quoted in Eisenstadt's *Pithe Teshubah* to this passage.

L. G. L. N. D.

COSTUME.—In Biblical Times: The general Hebrew designation for "costume" is "beged," applied indifferently to the garments of rich and poor, male and female. Other general designations are "keli," "lebush," "malbush," "tilboshet," and also "kesut." An exact description of the successive styles of costume in use among the people of the Bible is impossible, since the material at hand is insufficient.

The earliest garment was the apron around the hips or loins ("ḥagorah" or "ezor"), made, in primitive times, of the skins of animals. This apron developed in course of time into the undergarment ("ketonet" or "kuttonet" = *χιτών*, "tunica"), which was worn next to the skin (Gen. ix. 21; II Sam. vi. 20), and taken off at night (Cant. v. 3). (See COAT.) It seems to have been distinct from the "sedinim" = *σινδόνες* (Judges xiv. 12 *et seq.*; Isa. iii. 23; Prov. xxxi. 24), usually designating undergarments of fine linen worn under the ketonet (compare the Assyrian "sudinnu").

Undergarments.

In ancient times undergarments of this kind were held together by a girdle, made of linen (Jer. xiii. 1), leather (II Kings i. 8), or gold (Dan. x. 5), and called "ḥagor" or "ezor" in the case of the priests (Ex. xxviii. 4 *et seq.*), or "abneṭ" (Isa. xxii. 21) in the case of officials. The original dress of the Israelites changed somewhat under Syrian and Babylonian influence. On Egyptian monuments the Syrians are clad in long, tight-fitting upper garments, striped in blue and dark red, richly embroidered, and in yellow undergarments with tight-fitting sleeves, and tight trousers (compare Josh. vii. 21). Trousers, which are now worn in the East, especially by women (compare "Zeit. Deutsch. Paläst. Ver." iv. 62), are not mentioned among the appointments of an ordinary wardrobe, but the priests in later times (compare Ex. xx. 26) wore a garment resembling modern trousers ("miknasim" or "miknasayim"; Ex. xxviii. 42 *et seq.*, xxxix. 28; Ezek. xliv. 18).

Cloak.

A cloak ("me'il") was generally worn over the undergarment (I Sam. ii. 19, xv. 27). This, like the me'il of the high priest, may have reached only to the knees, but it is commonly supposed to have been a long-sleeved garment made of a light fabric, probably imported from Syria. Every respectable man wore generally the upper garment ("simlah") over the ketonet; for any one dressed only in the ketonet was considered naked ("'arom"; I Sam. xix. 24; Amos ii. 16; Isa. xx. 2; Job xxii. 6, xxiv. 7, 10). The fellaheen of modern Palestine wear the "'abayah," a cloak usually black, or in black and brown stripes, which corresponds to the (outer) coat of the ancient Israelites.

The 'abayah consists of a rectangular piece of woolen cloth, sewed together so that the front and the two openings on the sides for the arms are unstitched. Like the fellah of to-day, so the poor Israelite of ancient times wrapped himself in this garment at night to keep warm (Ex. xxii. 26; Deut. xxiv. 13). Deuteronomy and the ordinances for the priests command that tassels ("gedilim," and "ẓiẓit") be attached to the corners of the coat (Deut. xxii. 12; Num. xv. 38 *et seq.*); and, according to the later interpretation, not given in Deuteronomy, these tassels were to serve the Israelites as a perpetual reminder to keep the commands of YHWH. At the breast the upper garment was arranged in a wide fold ("ḥeḳ"; Ex. iv. 6), into which idlers put their hands (Ps. lxxiv. 11), and which was frequently used as a pocket (II Kings iv. 39; Hag. ii. 12). Since the upper garment was in the way when worn at work, it was either left at home or removed by the workman.

Upper Garments.

It was made of the same materials as the lower one, in early times generally of wool, in Palestine of flax also; but later on purple stuff was imported from Phenicia, byssus from Egypt, and artistic weavings and embroideries from Babylonia (Josh. vii. 21; Zeph. i. 8). The nobles often dressed in white (Eccl. ix. 8; compare the garments of the priests), but it is probable that gorgeously colored garments, like those found on the Syrian figures in Egyptian monuments, were also much used. According to Deut. xxii. 11; Lev. xix. 19, garments woven of both wool and linen were forbidden, probably for superstitious reasons (compare Stade's "Zeitschrift," xx. 36 *et seq.*; see SHA'ATNEZ).

At a later period the nobles wore over the upper garment, or in place of it, a wide, many-folded mantle of state ("adderet" or "ma'aṭafah") made of rich material (Isa. iii. 22), imported from Babylon (Josh. vii. 21). As costly garments were worn only on special occasions and removed immediately afterward, they were called "maḥalaẓot" (Isa. iii. 22; Zech. iii. 4) or "ḥalifot" (Gen. xlv. 22; Judges xiv. 12 *et seq.*). This was especially the case with garments worn during the service in the Temple, which, having come close to the divinity, had become, figuratively speaking, saturated with the divine effluvium and could easily imperil the wearer. Persons of higher rank, especially the princes, had a great number of these festive garments (II Kings x. 22), which were taken care of by a special keeper of the wardrobe (compare II Kings xxii. 14). They were not merely for personal wear (Job xxvii. 16), but, as in the East to-day, they were frequently offered as presents (Gen. xlv. 22; I Sam. xviii. 4; II Kings v. 5).

Women's Dress.

The dress of women corresponded in the main to that of the men. They also wore the ketonet and simlah. According to Deut. xxii. 5, however, there must have been some difference. The garments of the women were probably longer (compare Nahum iii. 5; Jer. xiii. 22, 26; Isa. xlvii. 2), provided with sleeves (II Sam. xiii. 19), and wider than those of the men, and therefore better adapted to conceal the figure (compare "Zeit. Deutsch. Paläst. Ver." iv. 60). The dress of noblewomen was distinguished for its luxury and ornaments (compare Isa. iii. 16 *et seq.*; Ezek. xvi. 10 *et seq.*), and was even scented with perfumes (Ps. xlv. 8; Cant. iv. 11; compare especially the catalogue in Isa. iii. 16

et seq.). The luxury in dress displayed by women in the East at the present day suggests the probability of similarly luxurious habits on the part of their sisters of former times. Niebuhr saw women appear in eight or ten different dresses during one evening. Sandals ("na'alayim") of leather, fastened with a strap ("serok"; Gen. xiv. 23), were generally worn to protect the feet in summer against the burning sand, and in winter against the damp ground; but they were worn neither in the house nor in the sanctuary (Ex. iii. 5; Josh. v. 15). Otherwise, however, to walk about without sandals was a sign of great poverty (Deut. xxv. 19) or of deep mourning (II Sam. xv. 30; Ezek. xxiv. 17, 23).

Neither the monuments nor the written documents of Biblical times give any information of value concerning head-gear. On the marble relief of Sennacherib the Israelites appear uncovered; and while on the Shalmaneser stele Jehu's ambassadors have head-coverings, these are evidently patterned after the Assyrian fashion. Only one passage of the older literature (I Kings xx. 31) makes mention of "ḥabalim" that are wound around the head; these recall the Syrians on Egyptian monuments, who appear with a rope coiled around their long, flowing hair, as is still the custom here and there in Arabia. This custom, probably a very ancient one, did not long obtain, since it afforded no protection against the sun. It may be assumed, therefore, that even the ancient Hebrews had a style of head-covering still used by the Bedouins. This consists of a square woolen cloth ("kaffiyyah"), folded triangularly, and laid upon the head, over which one corner depends to protect the nape of the neck, while the two side corners are crossed under the chin and also hang down the back. A heavy woolen cord ("'aḳal") holds the cloth firmly on the head. In later times both men and women wore a covering more closely resembling the turban of the modern fellaheen of Palestine.

Head-Covering.

The cap (ṭaḳiyyah), often the only head-covering worn by boys, is generally made of two or three thicknesses of cotton cloth, intended to protect the rest of the head-covering against perspiration; over this are placed one, and often two, felt caps ("lubbadah"), and then the Turkish national head-covering ("ṭarbush"); finally a fringed cloth of unbleached cotton, a colored figured mandil, a yellow and red striped kaffiyyah, a black cashmere shawl, a piece of white muslin, or a green cloth is wound around this. This style of head-covering not only protects against the sun, but is also an admirable pillow, and serves as a repository for valuable documents (compare "Zeit. Deutsch. Paläst. Ver." iv. 57 *et seq.*). The use of a similar head-covering among the Hebrews seems to be indicated by the noun "ẓanif" (from the verb "ẓanaf"; Job xxix. 14; Isa. iii. 23), as well as by the verb "ḥabash," applied to the act of arranging the "ẓanif"; for the verb "ḥabash" means literally "to wind around," and the verb "ẓanaf" similarly signifies "to wind into a ball." It is possible that the various classes gradually came to use different forms of the turban.

Since the ancient Hebrews evidently knew nothing of the strict separation of men and women customary among the Moslems, the women wore veils only on certain occasions, as on the wedding-day (Gen. xxiv. 65, xxix. 22 *et seq.*). Later on, veils and gauze garments, adopted from other nations, apparently came into more general use among the Israelites (compare Isa. iii. 16 *et seq.*). The most common term for "veil" is "ẓa'if" (Gen. xxiv. 65), while "re'alot" (Isa. iii. 19) probably designates a veil consisting of two parts, one of which, adjusted above the eyes, was thrown backward over the head and neck, while the other, adjusted below the eyes, hung down over the breast. It does not follow from Ex. xxxiv. 33 *et seq.* that men also wore veils.

Veils.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Nowack, *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Archäologie*; Benzinger, *Arch.* pp. 97 *et seq.*; Weiss, *Kostümkunde*; Brüll, *Trachten der Juden*; Cheyne and Black, *Encyc. Bibl.*; *Biblical World*, 1901.

E. G. H. W. N.

—In Post-Biblical Times: The dress indicated in the Talmud does not differ much from that described in the Bible. Rules were given for the order in which the different articles of dress were removed

Costume of German Jews of the Thirteenth Century.
(From Herrad von Landsperg, "Luftgarten.")

before a bath, and from this can be ascertained the costume of the ordinary Israelite of the time, which consisted, in order of removal, of shoes, head-covering, mantle, girdle, shirt, and finally a vest known by the Greek name "epikarsion" (Derek Erez Rabbah x.).

Many, if not most, of the terms applied to articles of dress were derived from the Greek, and it is therefore probable that their form and style

German Jew of the Early Sixteenth Century.
(After Hans Burgkmair.)

were Hellenic. Thus the sagum, or armless mantle of the laborer (Kel. xxix. 1); the dalmatic of the leisurely classes (Kil. ix. 7); the sudarium, or handkerchief (Shab. iii. 3; Sanh. vi. 1; compare Luke xix. 20); the pileum, or felt hat (Niddah viii. 1); and the stola (Yoma vii. 1) are all spoken of by their Greek names. A more complete enumeration of clothing in Talmudic times is given in Shab. 120a, in which the question is raised as to what clothes may be carried out of a burning house on Sabbath, Rabbi Jose limiting them to eighteen of the more necessary articles. The parallel passage in the Jerusalem Talmud gives different names, which fact points to a difference in costume between Palestine and Babylonia. Most of these names, as well as those in Yer. Kil. ix. 4 and in Massek. Ẓiẓit, p. 22, are of Greek origin, and indicate the extent of Hellenic influence on Jewish dress. The Jews even borrowed from the Romans the superstitious practise of drawing on the right shoe first (Derek Erez R. x.; Shab. 61a), though previously the opposite custom had prevailed among them (Yer. Shab. vi. 2). The pænula, a round cape with hood, mentioned in Yer. Ḥag. i. 8, and generally used by day-laborers to protect their tunics from rain and snow, is contrasted with the ṭallit as a Japhetic or foreign garment (Gen. R. xxxvi.).

Hellenic Influence.

Generally speaking, it may be assumed that the Jewish dress of Palestine, at least in the cities, was adapted in a large measure from that of the Romans; yet at times conservatives like the masters of the Law kept to the old Palestinian costume: the "gollok," which they wore under the ṭallit (B. B. 57b), is specially declared to be like the so-called "coat of many colors" of Joseph (Gen. R. lxxxiv.). Owing to the flowing character of the robes there was very little difference in male and female dress, so that Rabbi Judah and his wife were able to manage with one street-robe between them. The stola, for instance, was used indiscriminately by men and women. It was a long mantle of finer material than the tunic or shirt, girdled under the breast and provided with a stripe of a different color and sometimes embroidered with gold. It was often very expensive, costing occasionally as much as 100 minas (Shab. 128a). The waistcoat, or epikarsion, used by both men and women, was brought round under one arm and then knotted over the shoulder of the other (Niddah 48b; compare Miḳ. x. 4). The trousers or drawers of the ordinary Israelite differed from those of the priests of earlier times only by being provided with openings (Niddah 13b). In regard to covering for head and feet see Hat; Shoe.

Mourners as well as excommunicated persons (Yer. R. H. i. 3) wore black, as did those accused of adultery (Soṭah 7a); but shoes were not to be black, because the wearing of black shoes was a distinctively Gentile practise (Ta'an. 22a). White was used at weddings and other festivals, and for this reason was adopted for the festival of New-Year (Yer. R. H. i. 3); for special apparel as a sign of mourning see Mourning, and for the use of crowns on festive occasions see Crowns. Jewesses did not wear red,

Color.

Jews of the Upper Rhine, End of the Sixteenth Century.
(From the Basel "Stammbuch," 1612.)

which was regarded as licentious (Ber. 20a). Jews were cautioned against adopting the many-colored or purple garments of the heathen, or their wide

pantaloons (Sifre, 81), and it became a general principle in later Jewish law that one should not follow in the ways of the heathen or use costumes pe-

Costume of a Jew of Swabia, Early Seventeenth Century.
(After Daniel Meisner, "Politica Politice," 1700.)

culiar to them (Shulḥan 'Aruk, Yoreh De'ah, 178, 1); and though this was interpreted as applying only to that kind of Gentile dress which was associated with some specifically religious practise, it was held that, if a religious principle were involved, it were better to face martyrdom than to change even the style of a shoelace (Sanh. 74b). The pious were particularly careful. Moses Sofer in his ethical will says: "Be careful of changing your name, language, or costume, which God forbid" ("Leb ha-'Ibri," i. 35). Only one exception was made to this general principle: those who were "near the government" were allowed and even recommended to wear the ordinary clothes of office (Yoreh De'ah, 178, 2). There is no definite proof that a distinctively Jewish dress was worn during the Middle Ages, either in Asia or in Europe. The gaon of Bagdad was clothed like a king ("Travels of R. Pethahiah," ed. Benisch, p. 43). Pethahiah himself noticed the difference between the costumes of Eastern and Western Jews (*l.c.* 11), the Persian Jews at that time wearing full and flowing outer robes. Considerable elegance was displayed by the wealthier classes. Gold embroidery is mentioned (Yer. Yoma vii. 3); and women were not above using false hair ('Er. 7b), and false teeth made of gold or silver (Sheb. 64b); the hair was also dyed (B. B. 60b).

Great importance was attributed to dress: "The glory of God is man, the glory of man is dress" (Derek Erez Zuṭa x.); dress was considered of even more consequence than food and drink: "Dear upon you, cheap within you" (B. B. 52a); and the rule was to dress according to your means, but to eat below them (Ḥul. 84b; but see Gen. R. xx.). The scholar especially was required to dress neatly and respectably. It was regarded as bringing shame upon scholarship if a learned person went out with botched shoes or darned garments (Shab. 114a). A bride was given a year to prepare the trousseau (Ket. 57a), and a man was obliged to give his wife each year one hat, one belt, three pairs of shoes (for the three feasts), and other articles of dress, amounting in all to fifty zuzim (Ket. 64b). While there was a strong tendency to adopt foreign costume, as shown by the names of garments, there was an equally marked tendency to avoid this, probably as part of the general principle of placing a fence about the law.

Importance of Dress.

The great change came with the Lateran Council of 1215, which instituted the Badge. Innocent III. in the preamble to the law enforcing the badge complains that Jews were being mistaken for Christians. From this time onward there was little danger of such mistake. The tendency among the Jews themselves was to make a distinction between their own dress and that of their neighbors. In particular, black became the favorite color of the Jews in Spain, Germany, and Italy (Berliner, "Aus dem Innern Leben," 1st ed., pp. 36–37). Their frequent expulsions caused them to carry into other lands the dress of their native places, and their natural conservatism caused them to retain it. The Rabbis, however, had throughout to contend with the innate tendency

Influence of the Badge.

An English Jew of the Stock Exchange.
(From a caricature of the early eighteenth century.)

of the Jewess toward luxury and display, and they passed in vain many Sumptuary Laws.

The only restriction on material is in the Biblical injunction against using garments "mingled of linen

and woolen" (Lev. xix. 19; see SHA'AṬNEZ). The leather of forbidden animals would also be unsuitable for Jewish use. Generally speaking, the material used was of the richest kind for female dress, but was chosen more for use than for show in the case of the men.

Tunis Jewess in Street Costume.
(After a photograph.)

Even from Talmudic times it was usual to reserve a better suit of clothes for the Sabbath. Every one should have two suits, one for week-days and one for Sabbath (Yer. Peah viii. 7), and where two suits are unattainable, the one should be differently arranged on Sabbath (Sanh. 113a). It is quite customary on modern Jewish holidays to carry out the Talmudic precept.

Regarding the costume of Jews in early Germany there are a few details in the sources given by Berliner in "Aus dem Innern Leben," 2d ed., pp. 62–65. The "Sachsenspiegel" speaks of the gray coats of the Jews, but black was generally recommended (Benjamin Ze'eb, Responsa, No. 282), though Jews might wear bright colors on journeys or in times of trouble ("Aggudah," 125b). Similarly fringes were disliked (Israel Isserlein, Responsa, No. 296), though the "kurse" worn by brides, a mantle with narrow sleeves, was trimmed with fur. Both sexes wore long garments. The Jew wore a "kappa" reaching to his heels, while on his head was placed a "mitra," or hood ("Maharil," pp. 36, 82). The mantle of the Jewess, however, was longer, and was held back by a brooch called a "nuschke" ("Or Zaru'a," ii. 39). The best-known garment worn by the German-speaking Jews was the white "sargenes," called "kittel" in the Rhine regions. This was made of silk, often embroidered, and flowed ungirdled to the feet (Menz, Responsa, No. 86). It was worn mainly on the Sabbath and on festivals, and was without the right armhole, so that the right arm could not profane the Sabbath. Later on it was used as a shroud, but the earliest notice of this refers to the beginning of the fourteenth century. Grünbaum ("Jüdisch-Deutsche Chrestomathie," pp. 502–504) derives it from "sarge," but Berliner (*l.c.* p. 132) from the Old High German "sarroc," or shirt. For garments for the dead see SHROUD.

The pupils of Isserlein describe him as wearing a "geriffelte," a fur-lined mantle like that worn by women, with ruffles round the neck (Responsa, No. 297); but at the same time they state that only the older rabbis in Austria wore it. Sebastian Brant, in his "Narrenschiff," describes a particularly popular fringed mantle of his time as "Judisch syt" (Güdemann, "Erziehungswesen in Deutschland," Vienna, 1888, p. 274).

For information concerning the actual dress used by Jews in medieval and modern times, the portraits and caricatures of Jews found in manuscripts and books must be examined. These are rarely of Jewish origin except in the case of the illuminated Hag-

Costume of a Jew of Algiers.
(From a photograph.)

gadot, and in these it is difficult to determine how far the illustrations represent specifically Jewish dress. In an early fourteenth-century Spanish manuscript Haggadah the tunics of the men come to a

point in front, while the women wear an outer mantle without sleeves which passes over the head, leaving the breast bare. The hat is large, and is worn toward one side of the head, with the back bent up and the front flat (Brit. Museum, Add. MS. 27,210). In an Italian Haggadah dated 1269 the women wear tight-fitting low dresses and have their hair fastened in nets and caps (*ib.* Add. MS. 26,957). The chief characteristic which will be observed in the first row of costumes in the accompanying plate is the length of the outer robe, which, except in the case of No. 12, a Swiss Jew of the fifteenth century, comes down to the feet. This points to the fact that the Jews during the three centuries indicated were debarred from handicrafts. A peculiarity that is particularly to be observed in the costume is that it exactly resembles that of the sedentary monk. The sole exception to the rule of the long outer robe is found in a representation (see illustration, p. 296) of a Jew of Swabia early in the seventeenth century, figured in Meisner's "Politica Politice," whereas the Italian Jew (No. 5) in the plate is more prepared for outdoor and a traveling life. With the Renaissance a new principle seems to have come into play: the Jews clung more tenaciously to their usual dress, and did not follow the innovations of fashion; so that they became distinguished by wearing the old-fashioned costume of their native country. The pictures of German Jews and Jewesses of the seventeenth century given by Hottenroth (Nos. 13, 15) do not differ in any respect from the ordinary dress of citizens of Worms, Nuremberg, and Frankfort, except by being somewhat old-fashioned. The same applies to the Jew and Jewess of Fürth (No. 18). Similarly, the costumes of Jews of Amsterdam depicted in Picart's "Coutumes Religieuses" exactly resemble those of the wealthier classes of Holland at that period.

Jewess of Brusa, Turkey.
(After Racinet.)

Medieval Costumes.

It is doubtful whether, since the destruction of the Temple, Jews have had anything corresponding to the sacred vestments of the Church—that is, garments exclusively used in the discharge of certain religious functions. Archeologists endeavor to prove that Christian sacred utensils and vestments were directly derived from the Jews (J. W. Legg, "Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury," London, 1902, Introduction), but without considering the historic conditions. Since the days of the Temple there has been practically no priestly caste among Jews. Every layman is qualified to perform all ecclesiastical functions, except that of the dukan. Consequently there was no need for special vestments either within or without the synagogue. On the other hand, the injunction (Deut. xxii. 12) to wear fringes led to the use of the ARBA' KANFOT and the TALLIT. Of recent years, however, and in Western countries, it has become customary for the Jewish clergy to adopt a distinctive garb. In the synagogue a velvet biretta is, perhaps, the most usual head-covering, with an ordinary academic gown, over which, on suitable occasions, the ṭallit is placed. Outside the synagogue there is a tendency to adopt the clerical dress of each country. Thus the chief rabbi of England wears a costume resembling that of the dean or bishop of the English Church, while a rabbi of a French consistory wears a hat with curved rims, and the lace bands, the broad sash, and surtout of a French parish priest.

Sacred Vestments.

In the East, Jewesses for the most part adopted the Mohammedan custom of wearing veils, though the custom was by no means so rigorously observed by them as by their Mohammedan sisters. In 1697 the Jews of Metz passed a law ordering all their women to wear veils when going to synagogue, except on Saturday nights, at the close of festivals, and on Purim. See VEIL.

French Rabbi in Official Garb.
(From a photograph.)

With regard to those modes of dressing the hair which go with certain costumes, see BEARD; HAIR; PE'OT; WIG.

In Eastern countries both law and custom compel a distinct difference in costume between Jew and Moslem, which difference was also enforced by Jewish law ("Kehunnat 'Olam," p. 14). Green veils are avoided because these are distinctive of descendants of Mohammed. In Egypt, Jews were obliged to

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wear yellow turbans. The dress of an Oriental Jew, especially when on his travels, is described at length by Ezra Stiles in his "Diary" (p. 362), but it would be dangerous to regard his description as typical.

Striped clothing is one of the striking characteristics of the Oriental male Jewish dress. This seems against the medieval principle of avoiding party-colored garments. It is not an invariable custom, but is frequent enough to deserve mention. J.

A contemporary Jewess of Algiers wears on her head a "takrita" (handkerchief), is dressed in a "bedenor" (gown with a bodice trimmed with lace) and a striped vest with long sleeves coming to the waist. The "mosse" (girdle) is of silk. The native Algerian Jew wears a "ṭarbush" or oblong turban with silken tassel, a "ṣadriyyah" or vest with large sleeves, and "sarwal" or pantaloons fastened by a "ḥizam" (girdle), all being covered by a mantle, a burnus, and a large silk handkerchief, the tassels of which hang down to his feet. At an earlier stage the Algerian Jewess wore a tall cone-shaped hat resembling those used in England in the fifteenth century (Jew. Encyc. i. 384; see also plate, No. 21). The costume of Tunis is very similar, and was described by Mordecai Noah as follows ("Travels in the Barbary States," p. 311, New York, 1819):

"The Barbary Jews wear a blue frock, without a collar or sleeves, loose linen sleeves being substituted, with wide drawers of the same article, no stockings, excepting in winter, and black slippers, a small black skull-cap on their head, which is shaved, and around which a blue silk handkerchief is bound; they are permitted to wear no colors. The Italian Jews dress like Christian residents, with the addition of a haick, or bournouse, thrown over their heads. The Jewish women, like the Turkish, are considered as an inferior race—they are fat and awkward, their dress consisting of a petticoat of silk of two colors, principally yellow and purple, around which is thrown, in several folds, a thin gauze wrapper; the head is covered with a colored silk handkerchief; those who are single have their hair plaited in two or three rows, to the end of which they suspend colored ribands; they wear no stockings, but slippers, with silver cinctures around their ankles; and the soles of their feet, their hands, nails, and eyebrows, tinged and colored of a dark brown, from the juice of a herb called henna. When they walk they unloosen from their neck a piece of black crape, with which they cover their mouth and chin, leaving the upper part of their face bare."

Jews of Jerusalem.

(From a photograph by the American Colony, Jerusalem.)

Whatever the costume, in almost every case the outer garment is supported by a belt or girdle. This has Biblical authority, and besides enables the ultra pious to carry a handkerchief as a girdle on Sabbath; on other occasions the handkerchief is tucked inside the girdle, as is seen in a curious caricature of an English Jew of the Stock Exchange, as well as in a figure after Hans Burgkmair showing a Jewish pedler of the sixteenth century wearing a relatively modern felt hat (see illustrations, pp. 295 and 296). In the eighteenth century the Jew generally wore the ordinary three-cornered hat of the time, and even had his hair powdered (Arye ben Ḥayyim, Responsa, No. 6).

Turkish.

In Turkey the costume of the Jews was mainly distinguished by the black turban, but the outer garment was an "'antari," a robe opening in front, of silk or figured calico, reaching a little below the knee and fastened round the waist by a sash passing twice round the body; over this was a "jubbah" lined with cats' fur. Some wore the "bunneṭah," or conical hat; some the "meminah," a cap of dark cloth round which a piece of silk was twisted several times like a turban. The modern Turkish Jew adopts mainly European dress with a fez. An especially dignified dress is that of the Jew of Salonica (see plate, No. 24). His 'antari is covered by a "kundi," a long, showy, varicolored mantle lined with fur. The 'antari

reaches to his feet, and the sleeves are longer than that of the jubbah, under which is to be seen the "salṭah" or cloth fur-lined vest. The Jews of Brusa wear a high cap of pasteboard covered with black material, resembling the cylindrical hats worn by Greek priests. Around this is wound a piece of light-colored cotton to form a turban. This is the only distinction between Jewish and non-Jewish dress in Brusa. The Jewesses there have a house-dress

Jews of Constantinople, Eighteenth Century, Celebrating the Feast of Tabernacles.
(From an old print.)

and a street-dress. At home she wears an 'antari, often of rich silk, open in front, and fastened round the waist by a shawl; and a sleeveless "hyrka," or vest, lined with fur and trimmed with a band of the same. Her head-dress consists of an enormous "hotoz," which entirely covers her hair. This is covered by a "yashmak" when she goes out. The Jewesses of Rhodes also have a distinctive costume consisting of cotton 'antari and "chalwar" (puffed pantaloons of cloth), with a jubbah of silk or fine cloth, which covers all but the slashed sleeves of the 'antari. As a head-dress she wears a "takke" (cotton cap) hidden by two handkerchiefs.

The Jewesses of Aleppo are distinguished among all the women of the East for displaying their hair, which is twisted into a spiral arranged high upon the head in the form of a dome. Their dress consists of a silken 'antari with broad red and yellow stripes, shalwar (pantaloons), "mintan," vest of the same material as the 'antari, with very long sleeves, hurka of plain taffeta, and a shawl of plain silk and cotton used as a girdle and tied in the front. They wear soft shoes and yellow "pabujas." In Jerusalem one Jewess has been described as wearing a "fistan" (gown) of dark-green satin trimmed with gold embroidery over the plaited skirt, the hem of which is also trimmed with embroidery, as well as the long open sleeves which open out of the narrow sleeves of the "salṭah," or jacket of white cashmere. The hotoz is built up from a large number of figured "yemeni" and twisted one above the other in the form of a melon; round the lower edge is a row of gold coins; a small veil of white muslin is fastened to the top of the hotoz and is gathered round the face. M. Fr.

The Jews of the Caucasus are distinguished mainly by their head-dress, the men wearing a kind of busby, mushroom-shaped and made of fur, while the Jewish women and girls cover their heads with a hood attached to a mantle with full sleeves (see illustration, p. 301). The men carry weapons freely, which is quite exceptional among Jews.

The Jews of Cochin are in no way distinguished in their dress from the Hindus of their district. The black Jews wear the garb of day-laborers, a thin linen jacket and a long robe, the former being re-

Rabbi of the Orient.
(From a photograph.)

moved while at work. The white Jews wear a kind of paletot, and under this a waistcoat buttoned up to the chin; both classes wear a cap resembling a smoking-cap. In earlier times the men used to wear the gored pantaloons and white turbans of the Mohammedans of India (see plate, No. 20).

The Ḥasidim of Galicia tend to distinguish themselves in dress as well as in customs; besides the fur hat and the old-fashioned "paletot" reaching to the

ankles, the modern Ḥasid is invariably to be recognized by the pair of white socks into which the trousers are tucked.

Superstitions.

A number of superstitions have grown up about costume among the Jews of eastern Europe, though they have doubtless copied many of them from their neighbors. For every new garment a child puts on, the parents give a small sum in charity; and it is customary to dress a bridegroom, as soon as he is betrothed, in entirely new clothes. It is bad for the memory to put off or on two garments at the same time, or to put on one that has been washed within seven days. It is unlucky to put on a garment upside down or to catch it in a nail, the latter being a sure sign that an enemy is pursuing you. It is unlucky for two persons to dress a child at the same time: it may die or become sick. If you are mending your dress hold a part of it in your mouth, or it will tie up your memory.

Jew of Kolomea, Austrian Galicia.
(After a photograph.)

The following is a table of illustrations of costumes in the first four volumes of THE JEWISH ENCYCLOPEDIA:

Volume I.: Aaron, Son of the Devil, page 8; N. M. Adler, 198; Mauricio colonists, 243; Baron d'Aguilar, 274; Algerian Jewess, 384; Chinese Jews, 431; Amsterdam Jews, Jewesses, and children (Picard), 543.

Volume II.: Moses Arragel, page 139; Benj. Artom, 156; Ẓebi Ashkenazi, 202; Atonement, Day of, 283–285; badge, 425–426; Bagdad, 437; Jerusalem Jew, 614; beard, 614; Belais, 652.

Volume III.: Mordecai Benet, page 14; Beni-Israel, 18–19; Isaac Bernays, 90; betrothal, 126–128; Bokhara, 293–295; bridegroom of the Law, 383; Brussels, 407–408; burial, 432–437; Raphael Isaac Carregal, 592; Caucasus, 628–629; Ẓebi Chajes, 660.

Volume IV.: China, page 36; Cochin, 135–136; Cohn, Tobias, 161; Constance, 235; Cracow, 326–328; Death, 485; Delmedigo, Joseph, 508; disputation; divorce.

For sources of the figures in the colored plate of costumes of Jews see LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Brüll, *Trachten der Juden*, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1873; Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, ch. xv.-xvi.; Hottenroth, *Deutsche Volks-Trachten*; *Popular Costumes of Turkey*, 1873; Picart, *Coutumes Religieuses*; Lacroix, *Manners, Customs, and Dress During the Middle Ages*, London, 1874; Racinet, *Le Costume Historique*, Paris, 1876; *Rev. Et. Juives*, passim.

A. J.

In Russia and Poland: In the Middle Ages the Jews of Poland and Lithuania dressed like their Christian neighbors, as is indicated clearly by Cardinal Commendoni in his well-known description of the condition in which he found the Jews when he visited Poland in 1561 ("Czacki Rosprawa o Zydach," p. 93). The special garb which, in medieval times, the Jews of Germany and other European countries were compelled to wear (see Bruno Köhler, "Allgemeine Trachtenkunde," iii. 100) was not known in Poland. There is, in fact, seemingly re-

Jews of the Caucasus in Native Costume.
(After a photograph by Orden.)

liable evidence that the so-called Jewish garb of Poland, including even the "jarmulka" (undercap), is simply the old Polish costume which the Jews retained after the Poles had adopted the German form of dress (see Plungian, "Ben Porat,"

Polish Jewess and Jew of the Eighteenth Century.
(After Le Prince, 1765.)

p. 59, Wilna, 1858, quoting from Russian sources). As the Jews lived under their own jurisdiction

practically until the division of Poland, and as the interior of Russia had no Jewish population before the acquisition of the Polish provinces, all Russian legislation on the subject of Jewish costumes is naturally confined to the nineteenth century.

Warsaw Jew and Jewess of the Early Nineteenth Century.
(From Hollaenderski, "Les Israelites de Pologne.")

At first such legislation was limited only to special occasions. The "Polozhenie," or enactment concerning the Jews, issued by Alexander I. in 1804, permitted those Jews who adopted the German style of dress to visit the provinces of Russia outside of the Pale of Settlement, and allowed Jewish boys attending lower schools to retain their distinctive costumes, while at the high schools they were obliged to wear the German dress. The "Polozhenie" issued by Nicholas I. (April 13, 1835) reenacted this statute, with the addition that Jewish students at the universities must wear the costumes usual in those institutions, and that Jews elected to civil offices must wear the apparel fixed by law for such municipal dignitaries. In December, 1841, the Jews then actually residing in Riga received the permission of the government to remain there permanently on condition that they would conform to the dress of the inhabitants. The law of April, 1845, compelled all Jews in Russia to assume the German costume. The progressists among the Jews of Russia considered the law a great victory for their cause, and scoffed in prose and poetry at the consternation caused among the old-fashioned (Levanda, in "Den," 1870, Nos. 6–17; I. M. Dick, "Die Jüdische Kleiderumwechslung," Wilna, 1870; Goldberg, "Massa' Ẓafon," in "Kokbe Yiẓḥaḳ," No. 35).

Law of 1845.

But the strictly Orthodox not only had religious scruples against wearing the costume of the Gentiles, which is prohibited, though not clearly and decisively, by Maimonides, and the Shulḥan 'Aruk (Yoreh De'ah, 178), but considered the new law as another one of the many efforts of the emperor to Christianize them by force. It caused as much dismay as the worst decree of that harsh reign, and the number of Jews who preferred to suffer the penalty rather than comply with the law was so large that its enforcement was postponed for five years. But the suspension of the law, like most acts of the Russian government, was not complete, and some of the taxes were still collected which had been imposed upon those who desired exemption from that law. Among such taxes was that collected for wearing jarmulkas, which seems to have been collected in various places in an irregular manner, but was finally compounded, by a special decree of Feb. 11, 1848, for a tax of five rubles annually, the proceeds to go to the fund of the "korobka" (basket tax). The decree was reenacted May 1, 1850, to take effect Jan. 1, 1851, giving permission, however, to the governors-general of the various provinces to allow Jews over sixty years of age to continue the old garb.

Now that the costume laws are obsolete the Jews dress as they please. Old-fashioned Jews still cling

Hassid and Wife of the Early Nineteenth Century.
(From Hollaenderski, "Les Israelites de Pologne.")

to the long frock-coats and cloaks, length being the distinguishing feature of all kinds of Jewish costumes (see Carl Köhler, "Trachten der Völker in Bild und Schrift," p. 300, Dresden, 1871). The preference for silk, velvet, and expensive furs, against which the Jewish Council of the Four

Lands legislated from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, still prevails in many parts of Russia, though it is waning. The Ḥasidim, especially in the smaller towns of Poland, Podolia, and Volhynia, still use the old-time Jewish costume with some modifications. This includes the long coat; short white trousers, or rather knee-breeches, which also serve instead of underwear; long white stockings; and low, slipper-like shoes. The "arba' kanfot," or "little ṭallit," takes the place of a vest; the girdle, and—with the more pretentious—the "stramele" or "spodek" (round fur cap) over the jarmulka, complete the costume, which is not much unlike that described by Holländerski as worn before the government began to legislate on the subject. In larger and more progressive places, as well as in Russia proper, most of the Jews dress like their Christian neighbors, always with a tendency, among the older people, toward longer coats. The dress of Jewish women never differed much from that of other women, and any difference was more in the material used than in the form or style. Further descriptions of Jewish costumes in Russia will be found in the articles on the respective provinces and governments.

Present Day.

Bibliography: V. O. Levanda, *Polny Khronlogicheski Sbornik Zakonov*, etc., §§ 59, 77, 404, 446, 578, 620, 643, 789, St. Petersburg, 1874; Jost, *Neuere Geschichte der Israeliten*, ii. 312-313; A. L. Feinstein, in *Ha-Asif* for 5654, pp. 171 *et seq.*, Warsaw, 1893; L. Holländerski, *Les Israélites de Pologne*, pp. 224-225, Paris, 1846.

H. R. P. Wi.

COTA, RODRIGO (also known as **Cota de Maguaque**): Spanish poet; born at Toledo; died 1497. He came of a Marano family, three members of which—Francisco Cota, Lopez Cota, and Juan Fernandez Cota—were employed by the state, and were deprived of their offices in 1450. It is uncertain whether Rodrigo was the son of Sancho Cota, the Toledo councilor.

Instead of taking the part of his former coreligionists, Cota sided with their persecutors, and in consequence was reproved by the Marano poet Anton de Montoro, who warned him that the Christians would always scorn him as a convert. The list of secret Jews who had recanted, published at Toledo in 1497, contains the entry "Rodrigo Cota el Viejo [the Elder], y el Mozo" [the Younger]. Rodrigo "the Elder" is the subject of this article. He flourished at the courts of Henry IV. and Queen Isabella, and is usually considered to have been the author of the first act of "Celestina," the earliest Spanish drama. He also composed the "Dialogo Entre el Amor y un Viejo," one of the finest Spanish poems of the fifteenth century (often printed since 1511; in Medina del Campo, 1569).

From Cota's poems, preserved in manuscript in the National Library at Madrid, a scurrilous one on his Marano relation Diego Arias Davila—who had not invited him to the marriage of his son or nephew with a relation of Cardinal D. Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza—has been printed ("Rev. Hispanique," i. 69 *et seq.*, Paris, 1894).

Bibliography: *Cancionero de Anton de Montoro*, pp. 283 *et seq.*, 344 *et seq.*, Madrid, 1900; Kayserling, *Sephardim*, pp. 92 *et seq.*; *Rev. Hispanique*, i. 85 *et seq.*

G. M. K.

COTTBUS: Important manufacturing city of Prussia. It includes about 500 Jews in a total population of 40,000 inhabitants. Jews lived here during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but were subsequently expelled. In the nineteenth century Jews resettled in Cottbus; and now (1902) have a synagogue, a B'nai B'rith lodge, a society for Jewish history and literature, a ḥebra ḳaddisha (organized 1875), a woman's society, and the Samson Armenkasse founded by Rabbi Leo Kamerase. Its first rabbi was Dr. Dienstfertig (d. 1895). The community is now under the direction of Rabbi Kamerase.

G. L. Ka.

COTTON: This word does not occur in the A. V., but express mention is made of the material in Esth. i. 6, where it is stated that in the court of the king's palace-garden were "white, green, and blue hangings." The Hebrew word here translated "green" is "karpas" (Greek, *καρπάσινα*). It should probably be rendered "cotton" (so R. V., margin) or, more accurately, "cotton muslin." It is plainly a loan-word from the Persian "karpâs" (fine linen), which itself goes back to the Sanskrit "karpâsa" (cotton). The English "cotton" is probably a loan-word from the Arabic "ḳutun," through the Spanish and French "coton."

It is quite evident that cotton grew and was used for clothing in very ancient times in India. Although the nature of cotton was plainly known as early as Herodotus (iii. 106), it was the eastern conquests of Alexander that first made the Greeks, and subsequently other Western nations, acquainted with cotton fabrics. The Latins were especially familiar with it (compare Strabo, 15, § 71; Lucan, iii. 209, etc.), although "carbasus" was also applied to fine linen and cambric (see Yates, "Textrinum Antiquorum," i. 338 *et seq.*).

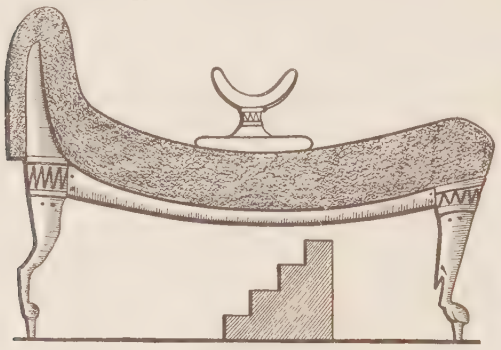
The cultivation of the cotton-plant (*Gossypium herbaceum*) spread from India throughout the entire East. It is now one of the most important staples of Palestine. The botanically allied cotton-shrub (*Gossypium arboreum*) probably originated in Egypt, more particularly in Abyssinia. It was formerly extensively cultivated in Lower Egypt, but was later driven out by the superior *Gossypium herbaceum*. This probably explains the fact that the Egyptians were not acquainted with cotton before the time of the Greek conquest in 333 B.C.

J. JR. J. D. P.

COUCH: Structure on which to rest or sleep. The Hebrew term מטה, meaning "divan" as well as "bed," is synonymous with ערש (Amos iii. 12) and משכב (II Sam. xvii. 28). In olden times the Jewish bed, a plain wooden frame with feet, and a slightly raised end for the head (Gen. xlvii. 31), probably differed little from the simple Egyptian bed. The frame, covered with מרבדים (Prov. vii. 16), served as a bed for the old and sick during the day (Gen. xlvii. 31; I Sam. xix. 13 *et seq.*), while at meals people sat on it, perhaps with crossed legs (compare Ezek. xxiii. 41; I Sam. xx. 25).

Amos, who denounces the habit of reclining at table as a foreign custom (Amos iii. 12, vi. 4), speaks also of the luxury prevailing in the furnishing of

these couches. The frames were made of costly cedar-wood inlaid with ivory (Amos vi. 4); the feet were plated with silver, and the backs with leaf gold (Song of Solomon, iii. 10). White pillows and bolsters were put on them, also costly rugs, purple embroidered covers, Egyptian linen, etc. (compare Amos iii. 12; Prov. vii. 16; Song of Solomon, iii. 10). Two references in the El-Amarna tablets show how early this luxury obtained in Palestine, and state that even in those ancient times couches of costly wood inlaid with gold were sent as presents from Palestine to Egypt (Schrader, "K. B." v. 27, xxvii.



Egyptian Couch, Showing Head-Rest and Steps.
(After Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians.")

20, 28). Sometimes pillows were laid on the floor. Esth. i. 6 speaks of beds upon a pavement of marble, which were covered with costly materials woven of threads of gold and silver (I Esd. iii. 6).

To-day the beds in the East are made by laying bolsters on the low divans which run along the walls, so that a room which serves as a parlor in the daytime is easily turned into a bedroom for eight or ten persons. In ancient Israel the wealthy often had separate bedrooms (חדר משכב, II Sam. iv. 7; compare Ex. viii. 3; II Kings vi. 17; also חדר, II Sam. xiii. 10, or חדר מטות, II Kings xi. 2; II Chron. xxii. 11), while the poor, especially the herdsmen, frequently slept out-of-doors, covered only with the "simlah," and with a stone under their heads (compare Ex. xxii. 26; Gen. xxviii. 11, xxxi. 40). See Bed.

E. G. H. W. N.

COUDENHOVE, COUNT HEINRICH VON: Austrian author, traveler, and diplomat; born in Vienna Oct. 12, 1859. Count Heinrich studied law at the University of Vienna; served as volunteer in the Sixth Regiment of hussars; was made an officer in 1881; took the degree of doctor of philosophy in 1883; and then traveled in Syria and Egypt with the object of acquiring a knowledge of Arabic. He entered the diplomatic service in 1884, as attaché of the Austro-Hungarian embassy at Athens, and afterward at Buenos Ayres. He traveled through Paraguay and part of Brazil in order to familiarize himself with the country and people. He was transferred to Constantinople in 1887; and after making a tour through India for purposes of study (1889), traveled through the Caucasus in 1890. In 1891 he was transferred to Rio Janeiro, and from there to Japan. Since then he has devoted himself almost exclusively to study, and to the preparation of his religio-philosophical and political works.

His latest work, "Das Wesen des Antisemitismus," 1901, is an extensive volume of 526 pages, in which he brings an extraordinary knowledge of the literature of the subject to bear upon the phenomena of anti-Semitism. The author regards Zionism as a product of, and a remedy for, anti-Semitism. Though a devout Catholic, Coudenhove evidenced the highest reverence and admiration for Judaism and Jews, and predicted that the one universal religion of the future, combining Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism, will be "Enochism," which he has celebrated in an allegorical poem prefacing this work.

J. N. R. L.

COUNCIL OF FOUR LANDS (Hebrew, ועד ארבע ארצות, Wa'ad Arba' Araẓot): The central body of Jewish autonomy in Poland for nearly two centuries—from the middle of the sixteenth to that of the eighteenth. The great number of the Jewish population of Poland, its importance in the industrial life of the country, and the peculiarities of the political and class organization of the Polish commonwealth ("Rzecz Pospolita") were the reasons why the Jews of Poland formed a separate class enjoying liberal autonomy within the sphere of their communal and spiritual interests, the outcome of which was their exemplary communal organization. A Jewish community, with its administrative, judicial, religious, and charitable institutions, constituted a unit of self-government. The term "ḳahal" denoted both the community and the autonomous communal administration, the two concepts being identical. The administrative functions—the assessment of state and communal taxes, the supervision of charitable institutions, etc.—of the ḳahal were performed by elective ḳahal elders ("seniores" = פרנסים); while the rabbis ("doctores Judæorum") had charge of religious and judicial affairs.

The pressing need of solidarity among the ḳahals and rabbis of various localities was first realized in the judicial sphere. The rabbinical court was guided in its decisions by the norms of Talmudic legislation, both civil and domestic; but these norms often admitted of various interpretations; and the assistance of the great rabbinical assembly was necessary to clear up disputed points. Starting from the principle of self-government—the right to be tried by their own people only and not by strangers—the Jews were forced to create, in addition to the lower communal court, a higher court of appeals. This higher court was especially necessary whenever important litigations occurred between two ḳahals or between a private individual and a ḳahal. For such emergencies periodic rabbinical congresses, at certain points, were organized.

Beginnings at Lublin Fair.

In the first half of the sixteenth century these congresses were held during the great fairs, when considerable masses of people gathered in one place. The chief meeting-place was the fair at Lublin (יריד לובלין), which city was the residence of the father of Polish rabbinism, Rabbi Sheknah (d. 1558), among whose pupils was Moses Isserles. Here, even as early as the reign of Sigismund I., the rabbis used to assemble and try civil cases "in

accordance with their own law." The king himself, in an edict of 1533, characterized one of their decisions in a private case as a decision of a supreme court for the Jews ("Russko-Yevreiski Archiv," i. No. 152).

The rabbis and ḳahal elders of the various districts of Poland and Lithuania (פרנסי המדינה; דייני הארץ, Isserles, Responsa, Nos. 63, 64, 73, belonging to the period 1550–58) took part in the periodic sessions of the Lublin supreme court. It was here, too, that the rabbinical college investigated spiritual cases affecting all Polish Jews. Thus, for example, the rabbis and "rashe yeshibot" (rectors of Talmudic schools) of three countries (שלש מדינות)—Poland, Russia, and Lithuania—sanctioned the printing at Lublin (1559–80) of the Babylonian Talmud, with the proviso that copies of the edition be used in all the schools. This approbation ("haskamah") is printed on the title-pages of the several treatises, for general information. Here already appears the classification of the members of the Lublin congress according to the localities, three in number—namely, Poland (Great and Little, together); Lithuania, which came into closer administrative connection with the crown lands of Poland after the Lublin union of 1569; and Polish Russia; *i.e.*, Podolia, Volhynia, and Galicia.

These "fair congresses" formed the nucleus of the great central institution, which was firmly established during the last quarter of the sixteenth century under the designation "Council of Lands" (ועד הארצות). The ever-widening autonomy of the Polish Jews rendered imperative the founding of an institution which might serve not only as the supreme court in judicial and spiritual cases, but also as a central deliberative and legislative body to regulate the activity of all local institutions. Owing to this necessity, the Lublin Fair congresses became regular periodic sittings of the assembly of delegates, or the general congress ("Congressus Judaicus," or "Seim" [Diet], in the Polish documents). The general designation, ועד הארצות, varies in accordance with the number of provincial delegations participating in a "wa'ad" (council).

The Number of "Lands."

In the earlier acts there is often encountered the designation ועד שלש ארצות ("Council of Three Lands") alternating with the usual designation "Council of Four Lands." During the same period occurs (comparatively rarely) the designation ועד חמש ארצות ("Council of Five Lands"); *i.e.*, of Great Poland, Little Poland, Russia, Lithuania, and Volhynia (compare Liva ben Bezalel, "Netibot 'Olam," ch. ix., Prague, 1596, where a decision of the wa'ad of 1587 is quoted). Among the leaders of the "wa'ad" up to this time (*c.* 1590) was Mordecai Jaffe, rabbi of Grodno and Posen, author of the rabbinical code "Lebushim" (see "Zemaḥ Dawid," chronicle of 1592).

In the course of time the designation ועד ארבע ארצות ("Council of Four Lands") supplanted the others entirely, as is shown by documents of the seventeenth century. The four lands that sent their representatives to the wa'ad were Great Poland (with its capital, Posen), Little Poland (Cracow), Polish or Red Russia (Podolia, and Galicia with its capital, Lemberg), and Volhynia (capital, Ostrog or Kremenetz). Lithuania seemed to have its regular or extraordinary representative in the Polish-Jewish wa'ad until 1623, but in that year it established its own central organization (ועד מדינת ליטא), which acted independently (see Lithuania). In this crystallized state the Council of Four Lands is represented by writers of the middle of the seventeenth century, as, for example, Yom-Ṭob Lipman Heller (in his autobiography "Megillat Ebah," wherein he refers to the wa'ad of 1635) and the annalist Nathan Hannover ("Yawan Meẓulah," Venice, 1653). The latter thus characterizes this institution (p. 12a):

"The representatives [פרנסים] of the four lands had sessions twice in the year . . . at the fair in Lublin, between Purim and Passover, and at the fair in Yaroslav [Galicia] in the month of Ab or Elul. The representatives of the four lands resembled the Sanhedrin in the session chamber in the Temple of Jerusalem [לשכת הגזית]. They had jurisdiction over all the Jews of the kingdom of Poland, with power to issue injunctions and binding decisions [תקנות] and to impose penalties at their discretion. Every difficult case was submitted to them for trial. To make the task easier for themselves, the representatives of the four lands would select special judges from each land, who were called 'land-judges' [דייני מדינה], and who tried civil suits; while criminal cases, disputes over priority of possession [ḥazaḳah], and other difficult cases were tried by the representatives themselves [in full session]."

This testimony of a contemporary characterizes the flourishing period of the wa'ad's activity (*c.* 1600–1648). The record-books ("pinkeses"), wherein were written the decisions of this Jewish congress, have not been discovered, and it is doubtful whether they will ever be found; so far only seven separate sheets from the pinkes of the wa'ad in Yaroslav, of the years 1654 and 1671, have been unearthed, a facsimile of one of which accompanies this article. But in the extant manuscript pinkeses of individual ḳahals a great many copies of such decisions, relating to these ḳahals, have been preserved. Some, indeed, were published in old rabbinical works, responsa, etc., while others have been reproduced in recent times from manuscripts, in the monographs of historians of the Polish-Russian Jews. From this material, both manuscript and printed, it is possible to give a more detailed account of the organization and activity of the wa'ads.

Organization: At first the wa'ads met annually at Lublin during the great spring fair, which began on the Catholic holiday Gromnice (Candlemas Day), in February, and lasted about a month

Place of Meeting.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century another place of meeting was the Galician city of Yaroslav, where the chief fair took place toward the end of the summer. During the flourishing period of its activity the wa'ad's sessions occurred twice a year: before the Passover holiday, at Lublin, and before the autumn holidays, at Yaroslav. In exceptional cases, however, the sessions took place on other dates and (rarely) in other cities (Tishvitz, 1583; Lenczna, 1668, etc.). The fullest activity of the wa'ad was especially displayed after the catastrophe of 1648–55—the Cossack raid of Chmielnicki, followed by the secession of Little Russia, and the Swedish war—when the Jewish communal

organization, wrecked in many parts of Poland, needed restoration.

During the second half of the seventeenth century the sessions of the wa'ad occurred once or twice a year, and more frequently at Yaroslav than at Lublin. In 1671 the wa'ad decided to meet no longer in Yaroslav proper, on the ground that it was "a dangerous and pernicious place," but to assemble at a spot ten miles distant; subsequently this decision was rescinded. The number of delegates to the wa'ad can not be exactly ascertained. Nathan Hannover, in the above-mentioned chronicle (1653), maintains that one parnas, or representative to the wa'ad, was elected from each ḳahal, and that to these ḳahal delegates were added the six leading rabbis of Poland. It appears from the ḳahal pinkeses that only the most important ḳahals of each region sent their delegates to the wa'ad. The capitals (Posen, Cracow, Lemberg, and Ostrog) of the "four lands" each sent two or even more. The signatures of fifteen to twenty-five delegates—though often the signatures of the six rabbis only—are usually found attached to the extant decisions of the wa'ads. The total number of delegates, together with the rabbis, evidently reached thirty.

Number of Delegates.

In the eighteenth century the operations of the wa'ad became more and more limited; its sessions took place less regularly, often at long intervals, and mostly at Yaroslav. One of the last important congresses was that held at Yaroslav in the fall of 1753. Among other matters considered was the famous dispute between the rabbis Emden and Eybeschütz over the Shabbethaian movement, resulting in the latter's acquittal on the charge of heresy. In 1764 the Polish Diet ordered Jewish general congresses to be discontinued (Vol. Legum, vii. 50); and in this way the activity of the Council of Four Lands came to an end. The subsequent partition of Poland among Russia, Austria, and Prussia, changing, as it did, the whole ḳahal system, was unfavorable to the existence of such central autonomous bodies as the wa'ads.

Activity: During the two centuries of the existence of the wa'ad its activity may be divided into four branches: (1) legislative; (2) administrative; (3) judicial; and (4) spiritual and cultural.

The legislative activity of the wa'ad consisted in working out definite regulations and rules for various institutions which embodied Jewish self-government in Poland, as well as in issuing prescriptions extraordinary, called for by the exigencies of the moment. Such were the decisions of the Tishvitz wa'ad, 1583, enjoining the election of ḳahal elders and rabbis in the Jewish quarter only, without any interference from the local Christian authorities. The wa'ads of 1587, 1590, 1635, and 1640 solemnly interdicted the Jews from seeking rabbinical posts in communities by bribing ḳahals or by soliciting the Polish authorities. The wa'ads of 1671, 1677, and other years prohibited the Jews from leasing estates or farming other revenues from Poles, without the knowledge of the ḳahals in which they were enrolled; and they also ordered merchants to trade honestly with the Christians and not to engage in unlawful practises, lest they incur the wrath of the populace and the government. Most striking is the edict of the wa'ad of 1607, containing a series of detailed rules regulating the economic and religious life of the Jews. These rules dealt with credit operations, methods of charging interest, and obligations under promissory notes, while special attention was paid to the prevention of abuses under these heads on the part of creditors. This regulation was drawn up at the instance of the wa'ad by one of its participants, the Lublin rabbi Joshua Falk Kohen, and was subsequently published in "Me'irat 'Enayyim" (קונטרס הסמ"ע), Prague, 1606.

Legislative Functions.

The administrative activity of the wa'ad was very closely linked, and often identified, with its legislative activity. The wa'ad took necessary steps to better the general condition of the Jews in Poland or to avert some common danger. It sent its legal agents (שתדלנים) to Warsaw during the sessions of the Polish Seim, to represent Jewish interests before the government and the delegates. Here, by means of entreaties, money, and presents, privileges for the Jews were obtained or legislative curtailments of their ancient rights and privileges were forestalled. For such emergencies the wa'ad had a separate fund made up of special dues from each of the "four lands." Its activity was especially important at the "Coronation Diets," when, in accordance with custom, every new king was expected to confirm the rights and privileges granted to the Jews by his predecessors. On such occasions the wa'ad's representatives were on the alert lest Jewish interests should sustain damage through the influence of the anti-Jewish party of the Diet.

Administrative Functions.

Cases are on record when the wa'ad did not succeed in averting oppressive measures against the Jews; and then, where resistance might prove dangerous, the only course left to the wa'ad was to support with its authority the measures of the government. Thus, in 1580 the wa'ad solemnly confirmed the government's edict forbidding the Jews to engage in farming state taxes and customs duties in Great and Little Poland and Mazovia. The wa'ad's edict explains its prohibition by the fact that the Jewish revenue farmers and leaseholders, in their pursuit of gain, give rise to accusations against Jews in general, and excite against them the Christian populace. In this case the "Jewish parliament" was confronted with the canonical principle, which permeated Polish legislation, that Jews must not hold offices which would give them power over Christians. The constitution of the Polish Diet held at Piotrokow in 1538 reads: "Statuimus inviolabiliter observandum, Judæos teloneis quibuscunque præfici non debere, neque posse, indignum et juri divino contrarium censentes, ejus generis homines aliquibus honoribus et officiis inter Christianos fungi debere" (Vol. Legum, i. 525). The wa'ad also saw to it that Jews should not settle in places interdicted to them. Thus, in 1669 the wa'ad confirmed the edict forbidding Jews to settle in Mazovia in the district of Warsaw. Such orders of the wa'ad were read publicly in all synagogues, with the addition of the threat of excommunication

Nature of Edicts.

("ḥerem") for transgressors. A whole series of orders of the wa'ad urges the cessation of internal contentions in Jewish communities; strict obedience to ḳahal discipline; and the prosecution of those who, by their reprehensible occupations, bring upon Jews the wrath of the government and of the Christian populace.

Yet, while thus remaining strictly within the limits of the existing state laws, the wa'ad was untiring in its struggle against the violation of the legal rights of the Jews on the part of local administrative and judicial institutions. Against unlawful decisions it appealed to the higher resorts: the chief tribunal, the Diet, the highest dignitaries, and the king. But the greatest energy was displayed by the wa'ad in combating false accusations against the Jews, prompted by religious fanaticism and superstition, such as the heinous charges of using Christian blood, outraging church sacraments, etc. The wa'ad also took care that the state taxes on Jews did not increase unduly, and were correctly apportioned to the four districts of Poland proper, the detailed apportionment of taxes within each province and each community being the task of minor provincial congresses (ועדי הגליל) and ḳahal boards.

The judicial functions which the wa'ad exercised were very comprehensive. The wa'ad court was chiefly engaged in settling disputes between neighboring ḳahals concerning the boundaries of their administrative and fiscal districts. As each ḳahal district consisted of one city and the adjacent minor boroughs and villages, there often arose disputes between neighboring ḳahals as to which was to have the jurisdiction in certain border boroughs and villages, and especially over newly settled villages. The state and communal taxes being heavy, the more extensive and thickly populated the territory of a ḳahal was, the wealthier was it deemed to be; accordingly the contests over boundaries and parishes often reached quite a violent stage. The wa'ad had to try such inter-ḳahal suits, which often dragged on for decades. It was also the wa'ad's duty to delimit the local judicial circuits, to fix the grades of lower and higher rabbinical courts, and to assign the trial of a case to this or that court. In this respect the wa'ad in general, and its rabbinical board in particular, served as the highest court of appeal for all Polish Jews. The copies of the wa'ad's acts, preserved in the ḳahal pinkeses, consist mainly of such judicial decisions and prescriptions.

Judicial Functions.

The spiritual and cultural activity of the wa'ad was centered on the task of strengthening Judaism and establishing a uniform internal discipline as a means for the national unification of the Jews. Shortly after its formation (1594), the wa'ad passed a rule that all Hebrew books printed in Poland should be published only with the permission of the rabbis, who were to furnish each book with their approbation. Certain important publications were approved by the rabbis at the sittings of the wa'ad. The wa'ad also issued rules and programs for schools ("ḥadarim" and "yeshibot").

With a view to bringing up the people in a moral, religious, and national spirit, the wa'ad published fairly strict regulations. In the Lublin constitution of 1607, referred to above, the wa'ad prescribed, among other things, that the dietary laws concerning "kasher" and "ṭerefah" should be strictly observed in all communities; that a Jew should not drink wine in inns where Christians congregated, else he was to be stricken off the list of reputable members of his community and was to be ineligible for office in the ḳahal; that Jewish costumes should differ in their cut from those of the Christians, and that modesty and moderation be observed in dress, especially by women, who are always eager for sumptuous apparel; that the chastity of women, especially those living among Christians in villages, be safeguarded, etc. In the first half of the eighteenth century the wa'ad was particularly energetic in counteracting the dangerous heresy of Shabbethai Ẓebi, which spread among the Polish Jews and gave origin to the sect of Frankists, whose members openly embraced the Catholic faith (1759), owing to persecutions on the part of their coreligionists.

Cultural Activity.

While thus guarding strict rabbinism, the wa'ad was evidently preparing for the struggle with the newly born Ḥasidic movement; but at that moment it had to cease its activity owing to the above-mentioned edict of the Diet of 1764, which prohibited all manner of congresses of rabbis and ḳahal elders under penalty of a fine of six thousand grivnas. The fall of the wa'ad was the beginning of the general decadence of the ḳahal system in Poland during the partition period of that kingdom.

The acts and decisions of the wa'ad were usually written in rabbinic Hebrew; while acts of the proclamation type, designed to be read publicly in synagogues (ברוזים), were written in Yiddish. Below are given specimens of two minor acts, one of each kind, in the respective originals. The first is a decree of the year 1678, admitting to the wa'ad one regular delegate from the ḳahal of the city of Tiktin or Tykotzyn (from an old manuscript pinkes of that city). The second is a portion of the proclamation issued by the wa'ad at Yaroslav in 1671, on the necessity of stopping the quarrels that had arisen in the midst of the Jews of the Chelm district (from extant separate sheets of the wa'ad pinḳes).

Specimens of Enactments.

I.

היום הזה מלאנו בקשת קציני מנהיגי הקהלה ק"ק טיקטין יצ"ו מה שמבואר בדף . . . שהציעו לדבריהם בענין היות להם מנהיג משלהן דד"א (ד' ארצות) יצ"ו לעולם נעניו להם ראשינו להיות לק"ק הנ"ל תמיד ככל ועד דד"א יצ"ו מנהיג קבוע לדורי דורות ובאופן חמבואר בדף . . ושוב כנ"ר בדף דהאידנא. כ"ד האלופים הקציניס רוזני ד"א יצ"ו היום יום ד' ד' סיון תל"ח לפ"ק פה לובלין.

(The signatures of twenty-one members of the wa'ad follow.)

[TRANSLATION.]

I.

We have this day granted the petition of the elders of the community of Tiktin, recorded on page ....., for representation on the Council of the Four Lands. We have acceded to their request that they be allowed to have a representative from this time forward, in the manner set forth on page ....., and again in the page for to-day.

These are the words of the Council of the Four Lands this day, Wednesday, 4 Siwan, 5438, at Lublin.

II.

האלופים הקצינים והרוזנים מנהיגי הארצות יצ"ו לאזין מודיע.
מאחר דז זיך גיפונן האט דז אזו איין שערורי' אוז מחלוקת האט זיך
דער וועקט אין גליל תעלם דז כמעט דאש גליל ווער אויף גינאנגען
און חלילה מזיק גיוועזען מעמד ומצב הכלל שארית ישראל און אין
פרקריגג גיווארין כמה אלפים אזו האבין רוזני ד"א יצ"ו דיא ואך פר
זיך גינומן און האבן גישטראפט דיא לייט דיא דאש האבין אן גיהובן
און דיא דא האבן אין חלק דראן גיהט ועלכי דז מען ניט וויל פורט
זיין מפני הכבוד. ומאחר דז זיך זולכי זכין דרעוקן אין קהלות דז
לייט כיך קנוניות וקשרים בע"ה ד"ינט זיין דרהורט. גיוואריז און
זיין עובר אויף חרמות קדמונים און זיין מחריב דיא קהלות, און איבר
זולכי מעשים קאן מען ניט יוצא זיין ידי חובות כרגא דמלכא און
קהלות וגלילות שולדיגין זיך דריבר ביא פריצים און גלחת וואש
אייטל סכנת נפשות איז . . . אוז גיבן ראשי רוזני קציני מנהיגי ד"א
יצ"ו רשות ומקל ורצועה לראשי הגלילות ולראשי הקהלות דז זיא
זאלין רודף זיין זולכי לייט און שטראפין מיט חרפה (חרמות?) און
קנסות ותפיסות אפילו בדיני גוים און אל דיא הוצאות זאלין זיין מכים
קישרי קשרים . . . און די זעלביגן לייט זאלין כל ימיהם קיין התמנות
האבין אין אירי קהלה או גליל און קיין חזקה . . . מאחר דז זי ניט
האבין רחמנות אוף זיך זעלבשט און איבר דער קהלה אדר גליל און
אויף דעם כלל . . . און זיא גידענקין ניט דז מיר זיין שפל און מאוס
ומיאוס בעיני האומות. מכין זולכי לייט נאך גאר דז מיר בעו"ה זיין
שפל ונבזה. אז ירוע אין דז שרים רבים רידן פון זולכי זכין . . . ע"כ
זאל אישתכר משים על לב זיין ניט צו גיין אין זולכי דרכים רעים
וילכו בדרך טובים. און דער כרוז איז אין גישריבן גיוואריז בפנקס
דד"א יצ"ו בתוקף פס"ד גמור.

[Translation.]

II.

The Council of the Four Lands report that a violent quarrel having arisen which almost ruined the whole district and—which God forbid!—might have harmed the remnant of Israel and involved the loss of thousands, the Council of the Four Lands took upon themselves the task of punishing those who initiated the quarrel or subsequently participated in it, whose names, out of respect for their position, are withheld.

"And since, when similar events occur in communities, and persons intrigue and violate the ancient ordinances, and ruin the communities, reports of these things arouse the government, and communities and districts are considered guilty by the nobles and priests, and there is real danger to life, . . . the Council of the Four Lands hereby fully authorize the leaders of communities and districts to prosecute persons so intriguing and offending, and to punish them with the ban, with fines, or with imprisonment . . . at the cost of the offenders. . . . Such persons should never be nominated to any office in any community or district, nor should they have the right of ḥazakah, . . . since they have no pity on themselves, on the community or district, or on the whole of Israel. . . . They ignore the fact that we are already humiliated and abject in the eyes of the Christians—so much so that the authorities speak contemptuously of us—and make us still more so. . . . Let every one, therefore, take care to avoid such wrong courses and to walk circumspectly.

This notice has been inscribed in the pinḳes of the Four Lands.

The second specimen here given is an authentic reproduction of a sheet of the pinḳes of the Council of Four Lands. The original document contains the decision (mentioned above) of the council at Yaroslav, Sept., 1671, to the effect that thereafter the sessions be held, not in Yaroslav proper, which repeatedly proved "a dangerous and pernicious place," but ten miles away, the final decision as to the location of future congresses being postponed till the ensuing Gromnice (Candlemas) congress; *i.e.*, the spring fair at Lublin. Then follow fourteen signatures of delegates to the wa'ad, from Cracow, Posen, Lemberg, Lublin, Ladmur, Przemysl, etc. The authenticity of the signatures is made clear by the dissimilarity in the handwriting, which proves the document to be original and not a copy. It is taken from the few extant sheets of an old pinḳes of the wa'ad of the "four lands," which sheets were found in the city of Dubno, and are now in the possession of S. M. Dubnow of Odessa.

Bibliography: Manuscript Sources: fragments of an original pinḳes of the Council of Four Lands (seven sheets), containing acts of 1654–71; decisions of the wa'ad, copied in the kahal pinḳes of the city of Tykotzyn (28 documents of 1621–1700); the pinḳes of the kahal-rabbinical congresses in Lithuania during the years 1623–1761, and various other pinḳeses preserved in the archives of societies and private persons. Printed Sources: *Konteres ha-Sema'*, Sulzbach, 1692; N. Hannover, *Yawan Mezulah*, Venice, 1653; L. Heller, *Megillat Ebah*, Breslau, 1818; rabbinical books of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, particularly responsa, wherein various decisions of the wa'ad, or references to them, occur; Grätz, *Gesch.* 3d ed., ix. 450–452, 573–579; A. Harkavy, in *Voskhod*, 1884, ii.; *idem*, in Appendix to Rabbinowicz's Hebrew translation of Grätz, vol. vii., Warsaw, 1899; *idem*, in *Ha-Asif*, vi. 155–163, *ib.* 1894; S. Dubnow, *Istoricheskiya Soobshcheniya*, Nos. 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, in *Voskhod*, 1893–94; idem, *Yevreiskaya Istoriya*, ii. 306–307, 318–319, 363, 413; S. P. Rabbinowicz (שפר), in his translation of Grätz, *Gesch.* vols. vii.–viii., *passim*, Warsaw, 1899–1900; Dembitzer, *Miktabe Bikkoret*, in *Ozar ha-Sifrut*, iv. 193–254, Cracow, 1892; Wetzstein, *Kadmoniyyot mi-Pinḳese Krakow*, in *ib.* pp. 577–602; S. Buber, *Anshe Shem*, Appendix, *ib.* 1895; M. Schorr, *Organizacya Żydów w Polsce*, Lemberg, 1899.

H. R. S. M. D.

COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN: An organization which came into being as a result of the Congress of Jewish Women, one of the denominational congresses of the World's Parliament of Religions held at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. It was organized in response to the appeal of Sadie American, and in pursuance of the following resolution offered by her at the final session of the congress:

"*Resolved*, That we, Jewish women, sincerely believing that a closer fellowship will be encouraged, a closer unity of thought, sympathy, and purpose, and a nobler accomplishment will result, from a wide-spread organization, do therefore band ourselves together in a union of workers to further the best and highest interests of Judaism and humanity, and do call ourselves the 'National Council of Jewish Women,' whose work shall be:

"(1) To seek to unite in a closer relation women interested in the work of religion, philanthropy, and education, and to consider practical means of solving problems in these fields.

"(2) To organize and encourage the study of the underlying principles of Judaism, the history, literature, and customs of the Jews, and their bearings on our own and the world's history.

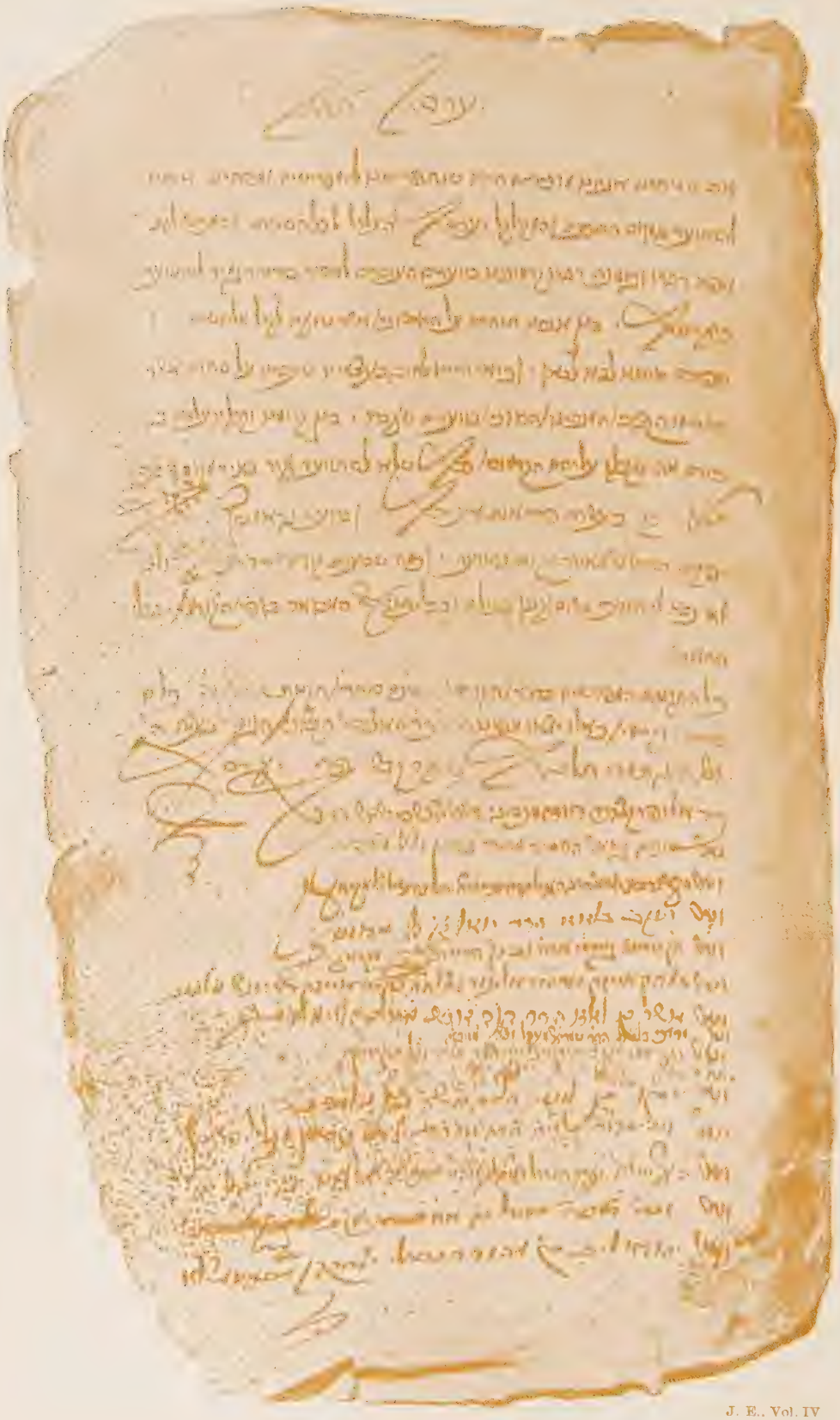
"(3) To apply knowledge gained in the study and improvement of the Sabbath-school and in the work of social reform.

"(4) To secure the interest and aid of influential persons in arousing general sentiment against religious persecution, whenever, wherever, and against whomsoever shown, and in finding means to prevent such persecution."

Hannah G. Solomon and Sadie American, respectively chairman and secretary of the congress, were elected president and secretary of the council, and have continued to hold these offices. In Jan., 1894, a circular was issued, setting forth the need, desirability, and objects of the National Council of Jewish Women, together with a provisional constitution, which called for a delegate convention to be held in 1896, when a permanent constitution would be adopted. This meeting took place in New York city in Nov., 1896, by which time 50 sections had been organized; it was attended by 83 delegates and alternates from 31 sections. The word "National," which, as originally employed in the name of the organization, referred only to the United States, was dropped on account of the entrance of two sections formed in Canada; and the title became "The Council of Jewish Women."

The objects of the council, as defined in the constitution finally adopted, are: "To further united efforts in behalf of Judaism by supplying means of study; by an organic union to bring about closer relations among Jewish women; to furnish a medium

REVERSE OF PAGE FROM THE PINKES (MINUTE-BOOK) OF THE COUNCIL OF FOUR LANDS.
(Through the courtesy of S. M. DUBNOW of Odessa.)



J. E., Vol. IV

PAGE FROM THE PINKES (MINUTE-BOOK) OF THE COUNCIL OF FOUR LANDS, WITH SIGNATURES OF DELEGATES.

(Through the courtesy of S. M. DUBNOW of Odessa.)

for interchange of thought and a means of communication and of prosecuting work of common interest; to further united efforts in the work of social betterment through religion, philanthropy, and education."

The constitution provides for a continuous board of directors, who, with the general officers, form the executive committee, which has full charge of the affairs of the organization, and for five committees —to wit: on religion, religious school work, philanthropy, reciprocity, and junior sections—who respectively arrange the plan of work. There is no individual membership in the council, but membership through its branches, which are called "sections," and are organized (one only in each city) on the plan of the general society. Meetings with two delegates from each section are held triennially, and executive sessions annually. Junior sections have been formed with a membership of both sexes, between the ages of fifteen and twenty-one; these are under the guidance of the senior section in so far as three members of the latter sit on the executive committee.

The council "seeks to give its utterances no color of orthodoxy or reform." It is not propagandist, and stands for no particular phase of Judaism. Recognizing the existence of differences of belief and observance, and "seeking only to square conviction and conduct," but leaving each free to follow her own bent, it has united the Jewish women in a strong and unique organization. The council carries out its objects in meetings, conferences, study circles, lectures by specialists, and its various philanthropies, which can, perhaps, be measured and numbered; its significant and important results, however, can be neither measured nor stated in exact terms.

Born of the two tendencies of the time—the growing self-consciousness of the Jew and the tendency of women to unite in associations for self-development and preparation for the new responsibilities which modern life is thrusting on them—the council is becoming the center of religious and intellectual activity of the Jewish women, and the means of throwing them into the active life and work of the community at large. It is the policy of the council to cooperate and affiliate with the organized forces at work for progress and social betterment, both Jewish and non-Jewish. It is a member of the National Council of Women of the United States, and of the International Council of Women of the World. The visit of Sadie American, as delegate to the quinquennial of the International Council of Women, held in London in June, 1899, resulted, through a presentation of the work before a representative body of London Jews and Jewesses, in the formation of the Jewish Study Society of England, which is organized on the plan of the council; and between this society and the council there is close affiliation, as well as an exchange of pamphlets, plans of work, etc.

The sections are members of the city, county, and state federations of women's clubs, and are actively cooperative in all work for the public welfare. During the Spanish-American war the council within one week set its sections to work in aid of the soldiers and sailors, and in several places was the first organized body to take any steps for their relief. It raised ten thousand dollars in money, an equal amount in goods, and a nurse was sent to the army; the members were, during the continuance of the war, among the most active workers in the service of relief. It cooperated with the National Red Cross Society, the regimental auxiliaries, and the various state organizations. Through the influence of the council, 72 women have been placed on Sabbath-school boards of congregations; interest in the schools has been greatly increased thereby, and, what is of signal importance, the age of confirmation, in a number of communities, has been raised. It maintains fifteen mission schools.

The philanthropies of the council, numbering 85, are supported by voluntary subscription, and include settlements, clubs, libraries, free baths, night-schools, manual-training classes, household-schools, employment bureaus, penny provident funds, classes for crippled children, ice funds for consumptives, recreation-rooms, and gymnasiums. The following meetings have been held: first triennial, New York, Nov., 1896; Omaha Exposition, Oct., 1896; Chautauqua summer assembly, July, 1897, 1898; second triennial, Cleveland, March, 1900; first annual executive, New Orleans, La., Feb., 1901; third triennial, Baltimore, Md., Dec., 1902. The present officers, elected in 1900, are: president, Hannah G. Solomon; first vice-president (resigned); second vice-president, Babette Mandel, Chicago, Ill.; recording secretary, Gertrude Berg, Philadelphia, Pa.; corresponding secretary, Sadie American, New York city; treasurer, Bertha A. Selz, Chicago, Ill. It has (Nov., 1902) 7,000 members, in 70 sections; 15 junior sections, with 500 members; 89 study circles in religion, and 12 in philanthropy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Papers of the Jewish Women's Congress* (Jewish Publication Society of America), 1893; *Proceedings of the First Convention of the National Council of Jewish Women* (ib.), 1896; *Report of the Council of Jewish Women, from 1894 et seq.*, 1903; *American Jewish Year-Book*, 5661.

A. S. A.

COURAGE: That quality which enables one to encounter danger and difficulties with firmness, calmness, and intrepidity; Hebrew, חזק ונתחזק ("Be of good courage," II Sam. x. 12), or חזק ואמץ ("Be strong and of a good courage," Deut. xxxi. 7, 23; Joshua i. 6).

Physical courage, the result of man's struggle against conditions that threaten his very existence, and which often develops boldness, fearlessness, and an utter disregard of physical pain, is extolled by the Hebrews as a valued possession (compare Judges viii. 21; Eccl. x. 17; I Kings xvi. 27; II Kings xviii. 20; Micah iii. 8). Often the victor was made a popular idol. "Saul has slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands" (I Sam. xviii. 7), the women of Israel sang when David returned from a campaign against the Philistines. The angel of the Lord says to Gideon: "The Lord is with thee, thou mighty man of valor" (Judges vi. 12).

The examples of courage found mentioned in the records of ancient Israel are numerous. The undaunted valor of Barak, of Gideon, and of Jephthah; the fearlessness of Samson, of Saul, and of David, are eloquent testimonies of physical courage. But the Bible sets more value upon moral courage, which is so prominent in the life-history of

the Jew, and which goes far to explain the power of resistance that he has shown at all times against those who made plans for his destruction. This courage is fostered by confidence and trust in God. "Hope in the Lord, be strong, keep thy heart steadfast, yea, hope thou in the Lord" (Ps. xxvii. 14, Hebr.); "But they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength" (Isa. xl. 31); "Through God we shall do valiantly" (Ps. lx. 14; compare Num. xxiv. 18; Ps. xxxi. 25; Prov. iii. 23–26); "Fear thou not; for I am with thee. . . . I will strengthen thee" (Isa. xli. 10); "Yet now be strong O Zerubbabel . . . and be strong, O Joshua . . . and be strong, all ye people . . . for I am with you, saith the Lord of hosts" (Hag. ii. 4; compare Zech. viii. 9, "Let your hands be strong, ye that hear").

Biblical Examples of Courage.

In post-Biblical times the Jew displayed both physical and moral courage while standing for truth and right against a hostile world. He would face the obloquy of centuries to support a principle which, though unpopular, he believed to be true. "Strive for the truth unto death; and the Lord shall fight for thee" (Ecclus. [Sirach] iv. 28; compare *ib.* iv. 9, ii. 12; Baruch iii. 14). "In a place where there are no men, endeavor thou to be a man" (Ab. ii. 6b). Crushed to earth, defeated, driven from his native soil, pining in dungeons, made to furnish murderous sport for the wild beasts of the Colosseum and food for the flames of pyres and stakes, he still refused to surrender; struggling against terrible odds for national and political independence, for liberty of conscience, and for the rights of man.

In Post-Biblical Times.

Nothing stirred the Jew to resistance so much as interference with his religious belief and practises; for the abandonment of the Law was deemed the most heinous of crimes. Men had fought at all times for house and hearth; but to fight for one's religion was new. The plan of Antiochus Epiphanes to uproot the religion of Judea met with stubborn resistance. "God forbid," says Mattathias, the aged priest of Modin, "that we should forsake the law and the ordinances. We will not harken to the king's word to go from our religion, either on the right hand or the left" (I Macc. ii. 21, 22). Eleazar, one of the scribes, chose rather to die the glorious death of a martyr than to be faithless to his religion. "But when he [Eleazar] was ready to die . . . he groaned, and said, It is manifest unto the Lord . . . that . . . whereas I might have been delivered from death, I now endure sore pains in body . . . but in soul am well content to suffer. . . . And thus this man died, leaving his death for an example of a noble courage . . ." (II Macc. vi. 30, 31). Seven brothers, who were seized by the minions of Antiochus and scourged, to compel them publicly to abjure their faith by eating forbidden food, refuse to do so, and suffer the penalty of most cruel deaths. One of them voices the sentiment of all when he exclaims, "We are ready to die rather than to transgress the laws of our fathers" (*ib.* vii. 2; compare *ib.* xiv. 18). Though the seven were tortured in the presence of their mother, the awful sight did not weaken her resolution to endure a similar fate. "But the mother was marvelous above all, and worth of honorable memory: for when she saw her seven sons slain within the space of one day, she bore it with a good courage, because of the hope she had in the Lord" (*ib.* vii. 20). Even the king, and those who were with him to witness the torture of the seven brothers, marveled at their remarkable courage (*ib.* vii. 12; IV Macc. viii. 9).

The Martyrs.

Later, in the desperate life-struggle of the Jews against the trained legions of mighty Rome, which ended in the overthrow of the Jewish state and the loss of Jewish independence (70 C.E.), the heroism and self-sacrifice of the Jews were such as to elicit the admiration of all time. Josephus extols the courage of his fellow believers in facing death for the sake of the Law. "I do not mean such an easy death as happens in battles, but that which comes with bodily torments and seems to be the severest kind of death" ("Contra Ap." ii. 33).

Later, under Hadrian (117–138), the Jews were goaded by edicts of violence and oppression into open revolt. With a desperate but ill-fated heroism the Jews under BAR KOKBA made a last effort to regain their freedom. Rabbi AKIBA, one of the ten martyrs, on the pyre praised his fate that it was now his good fortune to fulfil the Law: "Thou shalt love the Lord with all thy soul" (Deut. vi. 5); explaining that "with all thy soul" means "even by giving up one's life" (Ber. 61b).

Under Hadrian.

Especially rich in deeds of martyrdom is the history of the Jews during the Middle Ages. Hated and despised, pelted and jeered at, burned and tortured, they nevertheless remained true to their ancestral faith. Moral cowardice was unknown to the Jew of the Middle Ages. During the reign of Richard I. Cœur de Lion the Jews of York were persecuted by their Christian townsmen, who were incited to rapine and robbery by the Crusaders. The Jews sought shelter in the castle, where they were besieged for several days. Spurning the thought of embracing Christianity in order to be free, the men, after slaying their wives and children to prevent them from falling into the hands of their enemies, killed themselves (1190). The expulsion of the Jews from Spain (1492) furnishes a most glorious lesson of moral heroism among the Jews. Those who had risen to opulence and to positions of honor and trust in Spain willingly gave up all they had achieved rather than go to the baptismal font. The heroic efforts on the part of Gabriel Riesser and others (1815) in behalf of the emancipation of the Jews in Prussia; Johann Jacoby's protest against the edict of Frederick William III. curtailing certain privileges of the Jews; and the heroism of the Reform pioneers, one of whom, Abraham Kohn, rabbi of Hohenems, was poisoned (1848) because of his advocacy of reforms within Judaism, give sufficient proof of the moral courage of the Jews in modern times. The persecutions within the last twenty years of Hebrews in Russia and Rumania have given rise to many exhibitions of courage in the Jew, who has left the land that cradled him and has become a friendless wanderer rather than forsake what he believes to be the highest truth. The

heroism of Dreyfus, the French captain, has thrilled the whole civilized world.

K. A. G.

COURLAND: A government in the Baltic provinces of Russia, bounded on the west and north by the Baltic Sea; on the northeast by the River Düna; and on the south by the government of Kovno. At the end of the eighteenth century the Jewish population was 9,000; in 1835, 23,030; in 1850, 22,743; in 1858, 25,641; in 1891, 42,776; and in 1897, 49,102 in a total population of 672,634 = 7.3 per cent. The Jews are distributed among the cities and towns of Courland as follows: Bausk, 3,000; Friedrichstadt, 3,800; Goldingen, 3,000; Grobin, 450; Hasenpot, 1,600; Jacobstadt, 2,400; Libau, 10,860; Mitau, 5,000; Pilten, 800; Talsen, 1,500; Tuckum, 2,500; Windau, 1,350; Griva-Semgallen, 3,240; Illuxt, 812; Polangen, 900; Sasmaken, 1,600; Frauenburg, 1,048; Zabeln, 830; and in the villages Kandau, Neu-Subbat, Schönberg, etc., 5,242.

Early History.

In the thirteenth century Courland was an independent territory, consisting of the two duchies of Courland and Semgall and of the bishopric of Pilten, and was under the domination of the Livonian Order of the Knights of the Sword. The Livonian Knights offered little encouragement to the settlement of Jews in Courland, as is shown by the following extract from a decree of their grand master Zeyfridt (Siegfried) von Feuchtwangen (1309): "For the glory of God and the honor of the Virgin Mary, whose servants we are, we decree . . . that no Jew, necromancer, magician, or waydeler [pagan priest] shall live in this country; and that any one sheltering one of such shall suffer with him . . ." (Jolowicz, "Gesch. der Juden in Königsberg i. Pr." 1867, p. 1).

Notwithstanding this decree, the Jews toward the end of the fourteenth century found their way into the country from Lithuania, as is intimated in the chronicles (Hennenberg, cited by Jolowicz, *l.c.* p. 2). At that time Vitold, Grand Duke of Lithuania, had already granted to the Jews of the neighboring Lithuanian towns the privileges of June 24 and July 2, 1388. Two gravestones were excavated in the vicinity of Mitau in 1857 which, it has been claimed, go to show that Jews had lived in that country even earlier than 1388; but the claim is hardly well founded, as there is a possibility that Firkovitch, who was consulted in the matter, was guilty of deception (see Wunderbar, in "Allg. Zeit. des Jud." 1857, No. 1).

Under Polish Rule.

When Courland came into the possession of Poland, according to the treaty between the last grand master of the Order, Gotthard Kettler, and King Sigismund Augustus (Sept., 1561), it was stipulated that no Jews should be permitted to engage in commerce or to lease customs duties or taxes in Livonia ("Pacta Subjectionis," in "Codex Diplomat. Regni Polon." V. cxxxviii. 238; Moraczewski, "Dzieje Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej," iv. 231). The treaty of 1561 did not, however, forbid the Jews to settle in Courland or to sojourn there temporarily for any particular commercial transaction. It was without any effect whatever in the bishopric of Pilten, where the Jews had not only been tolerated from the earliest time of the Order, but were permitted by law to organize communities and to engage in trade and commerce.

The district of Pilten contained the present districts of Grobin, Hasenpot, and a part of Windau.

Pilten.

The last Bishop of Courland, Johann von Münchhausen, who owned the bishopric of Pilten by inheritance, induced rich Jews to settle in his territory, and he derived "considerable income by taxing them for the right of residence and the privilege of engaging in trade."

As early as 1570 the Jews of Pilten enjoyed the rights of citizenship, and many of them owned real estate (Wunderbar, *l.c.* p. 17). When, in 1611, Pilten became part of Poland the position of the Jews became still stronger. As throughout Poland, the Jews of that district not only enjoyed all civil and religious rights, but also were made citizens of Hasenpot—a rare privilege at that time for Jews. Of the history of the Jews in this district during the seventeenth century there is but scanty information. The archives of Pilten have not yet been published, and the only complete history of the city of Hasenpot, written by Huhn, lies hidden in manuscript in the Rittenbibliothek at Riga. It is known, however, that during the great northern war (1718) a synagogue existed in Pilten (Manteuffel, "Piltyni Archivum Piltynskie," in "Warszawska Biblioteka," No. 2, p. 177; cited by Brutzkus, in "Voskhod," 1896, Nos. 7–8, p. 26). During the eighteenth century Pilten lost its importance.

The greatest number of Courland Jews lived in Hasenpot, where they carried on a considerable export trade; but at the last division of Poland, toward the end of the eighteenth century, only 896 males among the Jewish inhabitants were registered as citizens. They enjoyed all civil rights, and were often chosen to fill honorable positions. Thus in 1797 the Jew Euchel of Hasenpot was elected councilman ("Rathsherr"). Jewish affairs were governed by a kahal; and the Jews paid a special tax on their synagogue, which tax was called "Jüdische Capellengelder."

Hasenpot and Polangen.

The oldest community in the district of Pilten is that of Polangen, which formerly belonged to the grand duchy of Lithuania. In the "pinkes" (record of the Jewish community) of that town, begun in 1831, there is an entry on the first page which states that, according to the preceding pinkes, which had been destroyed by fire during the Polish Revolution, the cemetery and the burial brotherhood of Polangen were established in 1487 (רמ"ז), though doubts have been expressed as to the correctness of this date. The Jewish community of Polangen obtained a charter confirming that of King Stanislaus IV. (dated 1639), granting the Jews of Polangen and Gorzhd the rights of citizenship and the privilege of engaging in commerce, handicrafts, and agriculture. The Jewish houses of prayer and the cemetery were exempted from all taxes. The Jews were under the jurisdiction of the royal aldermen, with the right of appeal to the supreme court and to the king. This privilege was

subsequently confirmed by Augustus III. (1742), and remained in effect until the annexation of Courland by Russia (1795), when the whole district of Zhmuda, in which Polangen was situated, was added to the government of Courland (Brutzkus, *l.c.* p. 29).

In the other parts of Courland, including Semgall, the condition of the Jews was not so favorable. Notwithstanding the fact that the Duke of Courland was a vassal of Poland, and was not able to prevent entirely the influential Polish Jews from visiting his dependency, their sojourn there was made unpleasant and difficult at all times, especially after 1561. The cities jealously guarded their privileges not only from the Jews, but from all foreigners. Nevertheless, Jews managed to settle in Courland both before and after the subjection of the country by Poland, as is evident from some well-preserved gravestones with Hebrew inscriptions at Mitau and other places, dating from the first and last decades of the sixteenth century.

Other Parts of Courland.

During the uprising of the Cossacks in 1648–54 the people of Courland also expelled the Jews from their country. The barons Hector Frederick and Reinhold von der Osten-Sacken, when they founded on their estate the town of Neu-Subbat, inserted a paragraph in its constitution (April 5, 1686) forbidding Jews to live in the town or to establish a tavern there.

According to Ziegenhorn, no Jews lived in Courland, except at Pilten, from its subjugation by Poland up to about 1670 ("Staatsrecht," § 576). Toward the end of the seventeenth century Jews again began to settle in Courland: they even leased the customs duties and engaged in commerce. Although these privileges were soon curtailed ("Landtäglicher Abschied," 1692, § 6; 1699, § 29), the Jews were permitted to live both in the towns and in the country, and to do business as retail traders, innkeepers, distillers, and middlemen. In Mitau, the capital of Courland, they could live only in the so-called Jewish street (now known as "Doblen'sche Strasse") as protected Jews ("Schutzjuden"). On the remonstrance of the burgesses, the dukes repeatedly ordered the Jews to leave the country; but the nobility, to whom they made themselves useful, protected them until Duke Ferdinand published an edict, March 23, 1714, in which the Jews were ordered to leave the country within six weeks, under pain of the severest penalties. This edict was evidently not carried out, for on Sept. 20, 1760, Duke Karl repeated it in the same form. Soon afterward the magistrate, notwithstanding the duke's edict, permitted Jews as well as Jesuits to reside in Courland on the payment of 400 Albertus thaler annually; and the duke did not object to their admission (Gebhardi, "Gesch. von Kurland," p. 166, Halle, 1789). In 1737 Duke Ernst Biron entrusted the court Jew Lipman (Levi) with the management of his finances, dividing the profits with him, and granting him certain privileges. This naturally created ill feeling against the Jews (Ersch and Gruber, "Encyc." section i. part 10, p. 247).

At this period Jewish communities existed in Mitau, Bausk, Jacobstadt, Friedrichstadt, and other towns. Friedrichstadt was a station for the Jewish merchants of White Russia, who came down the Düna annually in barges and on rafts, bringing lumber, grain, flax, and other Russian merchandise to Riga. The edict of Empress Elizabeth (1742) expelling the Jews from Russia interfered considerably with this business. The council of Riga, fearing that the Jewish merchants might direct their trade to Windau, Libau, and Königsberg, petitioned the Senate in the matter, and, pending the resolution of the Senate, the vice-governor of Livonia stopped the Jewish traders in Friedrichstadt.

In 1760 the Jews of Courland, as already stated, were again expelled from the duchy. In order to prevent evasions on the part of the Jews, an order was issued that all foreign Jews having permission to bring Polish-Lithuanian merchandise to Mitau should present themselves to the mayor and obtain from him a special permit to remain in the city for the transaction of business, and that none should be permitted under any circumstances to stay longer than a day or two on any one occasion. Those who brought no merchandise had to pay a "sechser" on each visit. These Jews had to stay at a special lodging-house designated by the city authorities. In some places the execution of the order had already been carried out when, fortunately for the Jews, the emperor Peter III. of Russia recalled from banishment Duke Ernst Biron, and with his reinstatement the Jews regained their old liberties and even secured some new privileges. These liberties and privileges were not, however, legally recognized, as is seen from petitions of the Jews made to Duke Ernst Biron in 1765, and to his son and successor, Peter Biron, in 1775.

In 1770 the Russian government interfered in the solution of the Jewish question in Courland. Governor-General Browne of Livonia asked the Duke of Courland to expel the Jews from his possessions (Orshanski, "Russkoe Zakonodatelstvo o Yevreyakh," p. 374, St. Petersburg, 1877); but the plan could not be carried out on account of the opposition of the Courland nobility. Empress Catherine II., desiring to settle "New Russia," gave a secret order to Governor Browne (1765) to issue passports to Jewish inhabitants of Mitau who would travel to this territory, her purpose being to admit some of the Jews of Courland to settle in Riga and St. Petersburg (Buchholtz, pp. 57–60). By a later order (1785) Catherine again showed her favor to the Courland Jews by detaching the village of Schlock from Courland and annexing it to Riga, thus permitting the Jewish residents of Schlock to become recognized inhabitants of Riga (Wunderbar, *l.c.* p. 9).

Concerning the origin of the Jews of Courland opinions differ. Some think that the majority arrived by sea from Prussia and North Germany; and the biographies of rabbis and other prominent men enumerated below show that most of these were born abroad. Nevertheless, Brutzkus may be right in his statement that the greater part of the Courland Jews immigrated from the neighboring countries of Lithuania and Poland.

In spite of occasional disturbances, the life of the Jews in the duchy of Courland was a peaceful one, and they were permitted to trade outside the city

limits of Mitau, the capital. Even in the center of the city a Jew, Meyer Kreslawe, received a license to open an inn, which was called "Hotel de Jerusalem" (the house still existed in the middle of the nineteenth century); and in 1784 Kalman Borkum laid the foundation-stone of a synagogue, which was built at his expense. Borkum, his brother Samson, and the court jeweler Rabbi Bär ben ha-Ḳadosh Rabbi Benjamin stood high in favor with the duke Biron. They were thus often enabled to afford protection to their coreligionists in Courland, and to those in Mitau in particular; and in addition extended them much financial and other assistance.

Kalman Borkum.

The year 1787 was especially marked by discussions of the Jewish question in Courland, not only officially but also in various pamphlets devoted to the subject. Of these latter the first appeared anonymously and without date under the title "Die Duldung der Juden," etc. (The Toleration of the Jews in the Duchies of Courland and Semgall), but Witte von Wittenheim, councilor of justice, was later identified as its author (Recke and Napierski, "Schriftsteller Lexikon," iv. 554). He advocated the opinion that the Jews should be tolerated under conditions conducive to the welfare of the country and of the respective towns in which they might settle. He further recommended that they be allowed to have their own schools, houses of prayer, synagogues, cemeteries, and courts for the settlement of internal disputes, and expected an improvement in their religious and judicial affairs to be manifest before another generation should have passed. In case the Jews should not be able to maintain their own schools, they should be permitted to send their children to the Christian schools, where they might acquire a knowledge of German and other necessary subjects. The higher schools should also be open to them. Wittenheim was in favor of limiting the occupations of the Jews; he would permit them to engage only in handicrafts, petty trading, and distilling, which were the main occupations of the Jews of Courland at that time.

Another pamphlet appeared the same year under the title "Bemerkungen über die Duldung der Juden" (Mitau, 1787). The author, supposed to be Christian David Braun (Recke and Napierski, "Schriftsteller-Lexikon"), was very much opposed to the idea of giving the Jews, "the despisers of the Christian religion," any social or political rights. This pamphlet called forth a reply under the title "Beantwortung der Bemerkungen über die Duldung der Juden," refuting the statements of Braun. The author was Dr. Lachman, a Jewish physician born in Prussia, who practised medicine in Bausk, and later removed to the interior of Russia. He showed that the Jews were useful citizens, occupying themselves with agriculture in Lithuania, and engaging in the arts and sciences, and in handicrafts wherever they were not hampered in their activity by the gilds.

About this time there appeared, under the title "Meine Gedanken, bei der Frage: Ob Man in Unserm Vaterlande Juden Dulden Solle, oder Nicht?" a most touching apology for the Jews. The author, Georg Gottfried Mylich, a Lutheran pastor at Nerft, looks at his subject not only from a utilitarian standpoint, but also from an ethical point of view. "Our honor and our Christian duty demand," he says, "that we should not look with indifference on the deplorable condition of the Jews of Courland and that we should no longer tolerate it. As patriots we must concentrate all our energy on the improvement of the present state of affairs. Indeed, the word 'Jew' should not indicate any class of people different from us, but only a different religious body; and as regards their nationality, it should not hinder them from obtaining citizens' rights and liberties any more than the people of Sleswick, the Saxons, Danes, Swedes, Swiss, French, or Italians who also live among us." On the other hand, the author appeals earnestly to the Jews to lay aside their specific costume and to follow the example of their more enlightened brethren.

These extracts indicate the attitude of the educated classes of Courland toward the Jews. The influence of the activity of Lessing, Mendelssohn, and Dohm had already reached the duchy. Though the broad-minded people in Courland were in a great minority, they nevertheless forced the lords and burgesses to discard their medieval intolerant views. After many long debates in the various Diets concerning the emancipation of the Jews of Courland, the Jews of Mitau through their aldermen, Aaron Lipman (Levi) and Isaac Moses Eides, presented a memorial to the duke March 13, 1793, in reply to which they were directed to submit propositions on the subject.

Accordingly on Jan. 20, 1795, propositions were presented in which they asked only: (1) Admission to the towns, villages, and estates in proportion to the number of inhabitants and industries, so that the Jewish families should not become a burden on the general population. (2) Reduction of the number of Jewish families in Mitau from 200 to 60, to be selected from among those whose ancestors had lived in Mitau, and who were known to be persons of irreproachable character; they would certainly become more useful citizens on obtaining equal rights with the other inhabitants. (3) The right of the community to settle all disputes concerning religion and unimportant civil matters among the Jews without recourse to the general courts—a right similar to that enjoyed by the ḳahal of Hasenpot; the ḳahal, however, to have the authority to appeal to the magistrates whenever necessary. (4) Permission for Jewish children to attend the public schools and the local academy.

In this memorial the Jews of Courland for the first time called themselves "Hebrews," by which name they have been designated up to the present day in the official documents of Russia and the Baltic provinces. The memorial was signed on behalf of the community by Isaac Judah, Solomon Borkum, Isaac Moses Eides, Isaac Moses, Wulf Jacob, Elijah Isaac, Lewin Wulf, Heimann Solomon, Aaron Lipman (Levi), and others.

While the duke and the Landtag were still discussing the Jewish question, the Polish Revolution broke out, so that nothing further could be done in the matter. Such was the uncertain legal position in which the Jews found themselves when Courland

was annexed to Russia, March 16, 1797. Emperor Paul, during his visit to Mitau in the same year, received a deputation from the Jewish community. The government ordered an investigation of the occupations of the Jews, of the taxes paid by them, and of their legal status. The Courland authorities replied that the Jews had "never been legally tolerated—with the exception of those who live in the district of Pilten." In presenting the case to the emperor Paul, the Senate declared:

"Although the Courland administration reports that the Jews have never been tolerated legally, yet, since Jews have lived there for more than 200 years, they can not be considered as having entered the country surreptitiously; nor ought they to be deprived of such an old home while Jews are not prohibited from living in other parts of Russia." The Senate therefore ordered the Courland authorities, having in view the local conditions, to present a scheme of legislation for the further residence of Jews in Courland, "for the general welfare as well as for their own." At the same time the Jews addressed a petition to the senate in which they asked: (1) That they be permitted to organize ḳahals for the maintenance of Jewish communal life. (2) That Jews who join the gilds be granted all the rights of such gilds. (3) That agriculturists receive land at an annual rental, and be not claimed by any one as serfs. (4) That Jews be permitted to build synagogues; to conduct their religious services in the towns as well as in the villages; and to have their cemeteries and slaughter-houses. (5) That wherever there are no Jewish schools, permission be accorded the Jews to send their children to the German schools; and that the talented Jewish pupils be allowed to attend foreign academies and universities.

After considering this petition the Russian government resolved that the Jews be permitted to live in Courland, and that their settlement in that country be used for the benefit of the government and community at large. Jews were permitted to follow their various callings and to be included in the lists of the burghers and merchants, on payment of double the amount of the tax imposed on Christians. They were declared eligible for election to municipal offices; were allowed to conduct their religious services without hindrance, to organize ḳahals, to build synagogues, etc.; and were granted immunity from being bound as serfs. The approval of Emperor Paul was given to the foregoing resolutions March 14, 1799 ("Complete Russian Code," xxv., No. 18, 889).

During the reign of Alexander I. (1801–25) the condition of the Jews of Courland, as well as that of the Jews in the other cities of the Russian empire, was much improved. The enactment of Dec. 9, 1804, and the resolutions passed thereupon by the Courland legislature (March 6, 1806; affirmed Dec. 1, 1806), practically secured the rights of citizenship for the Jews of that government, and by a ukase of Nov. 8, 1807, the double poll- and gild-taxes hitherto levied on the Jews were abolished.

This was the legal position of the Jews of Courland until 1829; but the rights granted to them in 1799 in respect to trade and commerce did not please the local Christian merchants and artisans. On May 24, 1829, the merchants and artisans asked the Senate to limit the number of Jewish families registered there. The governor-general of the Baltic provinces was commissioned to present a plan for the diminution of the Jewish population in Courland and Livonia. He replied that in regard to Livonia there was no necessity to take any steps for lessening the number of Jews there, since they were living nowhere except in Riga and Schlock, and were registered in the latter place only. In order to decrease the number of Jews in Courland he suggested the deportation to Siberia of (1) such Jews as had no fixed occupations; (2) such as appeared to be illegally registered and such as were omitted from the registry list. Only such Jews, he considered, should remain in the country as belonged to the gilds, had their own houses, occupied themselves with handicrafts, or held bona fide positions.

This plan was transmitted for consideration to the government committee on Jewish affairs, and this body proposed the following measures: (1) That there be recognized as inhabitants of Courland only such Jews as at the last census had been entered in the registry lists of the Courland Chamber of Justice. (2) That each family of such Jews receive a certificate of its right to settle in Courland. (3) That Jews from other governments be prohibited from settling in Courland. (4) That Jews who removed from Courland lose the right of returning thither. (5) That the marriage of a Courland Jewess to a Jew from another government confer upon such Jew no right to live in Courland. (6) That a Courland Jewess marrying a Jew from another government and removing with him thither lose the right of residence in Courland. (7) That Jews not holding the above-mentioned certificates leave the country; and that those who do not present their certificates in time or were guilty of violating any of the foregoing regulations, be sent to settle in Siberia. All of these measures were sanctioned by the Czar May 24, 1829 ("Russian Code," iv., No. 2,884; Mysh, p. 217).

In 1836 Emperor Nicholas issued a manifesto offering inducements to those of his Jewish subjects who should settle in the agricultural colonies of South Russia. The first families to avail themselves of this offer were seventy from Courland led by Meyer Mendelssohn and Elijah Mitauer. Another group from Courland, consisting of 117 families, applied for permission to settle in the provinces of Siberia. In 1840, 341 families, consisting of 2,530 persons from Courland, joined the agricultural colonies in the government of Kherson. By a ukase of Dec. 19, 1844, all ḳahals in the empire were abolished. This affected the Jewish communities in Courland, and placed them under the direct supervision of the municipal councils in the respective cities. The Jews had, nevertheless, the right to elect several of their number aldermen in the tax department, an office the duties of which were to receive and record all the Jewish taxes. The Jewish community was also represented on the school board and on the board of charities. Moreover, the governor-general of the Baltic provinces had assigned to his staff a Jewish adviser on Jewish affairs in Courland.

In accordance with Part V., art. xii., of the Regulations on Passports, issued in 1890, only those Jews have a right to live in Courland or in the village of Schlock whose families were registered in the census of April 13, 1835. The admission to Courland of Jews from other governments is prohibited. These restrictions do not apply to Jews who by virtue of special legislation have the right to live anywhere in the empire. The singular position of the Jews of Courland compared with that of Jews in other governments of Russia is apparent from the case of Jacob Thal, who in 1895 appealed against the decision of the Courland administration, which expelled him from the estate of Autzhoff on the ground of the May Laws of 1882. The Senate found (Sept. 24, 1895) that the measures prohibiting the settlement of the Jews outside of cities and towns referred only to those governments which came within the Pale of Settlement; and as Courland was not included in the number of such governments, it must be held that the May Laws could not be applied to the Jews of Courland (Mysh, p. 135).

At the end of the eighteenth century the Jews of Courland followed generally the same trades and professions as were followed by the Jews of Lithuania and Poland. In the villages they were small traders, pedlers, distillers, and artisans, especially locksmiths and tinsmiths; in the cities, they were wholesale dealers in dry- and fancy-goods, agents, jewelers, etc. Important business firms were to be found in Mitau, Jacobstadt, Friedrichstadt, and especially in Hasenpot, where the Jews carried on a considerable export trade. It has been shown that many Courland Jews were engaged in agriculture also.

The Jews of Courland have always shown themselves eager for enlightenment. That intellectual regeneration of Judaism which had begun in Germany in the time of Mendelssohn, did not pass without leaving its trace in Courland. The Courland Jews at that time, as at the present day, were more like their coreligionists of Germany than any other Russian Jews. Their life among a cultured people, their knowledge of German, and their relations with Germany soon removed the exclusiveness which still continued in Lithuania and Poland. At the beginning of the nineteenth century they represented the most cultured element of the Russian Jewry.

Intellectual Status.

The first Jewish school conducted on modern principles was founded in Mitau in 1824 by a lawyer named Wolf. Here Lilienthal began his activity, and here Mordecai Aaron Günzburg wrote his first works. The Courland Jews, like the rest of the Russian Jews, are still awaiting full emancipation, although economically and intellectually they seem to be better situated than the Jews of Poland and Lithuania.

Even the poorest of the Jewish inhabitants send their children either to the Christian schools or to the Jewish religious schools, if they can not afford to give them a better private education; and with the exception of some aged people, the number of those who can not read and write German is very small; the Judæo-German jargon seems to be disappearing in the rising generation. In the cultured families a pure German is spoken, as well as good Russian and French; and as regards their home education, the Jews of Courland are not behind the intelligent Christian mercantile class.

Among the prominent Jews of Courland in the eighteenth century were the following: Rabbi Samuel ben Elkanah, of the Teomim family, author of "Meḳom Shemuel," Altona, 1722. He was born at Altona, and officiated as rabbi at Mitau, where he died in 1742. Daniel Ḥayyim Cleif (1729–94), rabbi at Hasenpot. Euchel, alderman at Hasenpot. Isaac Abraham Euchel (1756–1804), brother of the preceding. He spent considerable time at the house of his brother before going to Germany. David Abrahamson, physician; born 1740; practised medicine at Hasenpot. Bär ben ha-Ḳadosh Rabbi Benjamin, a native of Lithuania, where his father was killed during the uprising of the Haidamaks. He lived in Mitau about 1730, where he traded as a jeweler. He was held in high esteem by the dukes and knights of Courland, and made many gifts to the Jewish community of Mitau. Ẓebi Hirsch Ḥarif, rabbi at Mitau in the first half of the eighteenth century. Dr. Elrich; born in Prussia; practised medicine at Wilkomir, Lithuania, as government and city physician; settled in 1770 in Mitau, where he married (1784) the daughter of Kalman Borkum. He died there 1809. Aaron Horwitz, rabbi at Hasenpot and of "all the province of Courland," and later at Berlin, where he died in 1779. He was a friend of Moses Mendelssohn (Fuenn, "Keneset Yisrael," p. 83; Landshuth, "Toledot Anshe Shem," p. 85, Berlin, 1884). Eliezer Elias Löwenthal, physician; born at Tuckum 1763; graduated at Königsberg 1791; practised for some time at Bausk; and later removed to Odessa. Aaron Solomon Tobias, physician; practised at Hasenpot, where he died 1782. Carl Anton, convert to Christianity and disciple of Jonathan Eybeschütz; born in Mitau. Issachar Falkensohn Behr; practised medicine at Hasenpot about 1775.

Of the nineteenth century there may be mentioned the following men of prominence: Isaac Ahrony, teacher of German and Hebrew; born at Mitau 1798; died at Kherson 1842. From 1823 to 1830 he lived at Polotzk, then again in Mitau until 1840, when he emigrated with his family to one of the Jewish agricultural colonies in the government of Kherson. He soon removed to Kherson, where he instructed the children of a Jewish merchant. He published a pamphlet, "Die Thorah Lehrt Gottes- und Menschenliebe und Unterthanentreue," Dorpat, 1838. Abraham Bernard, physician; born 1762; practised at Mitau 1810–11. Marcus (Mordecai) Aaron Günzburg (1795–1846); went to Polangen as teacher in 1817, and later removed to Mitau, where he supported himself by teaching, and by translating and copying legal documents. Ezekiel Jekuthiel, rabbi at Mitau; died there 1823. He wrote notes on the Halakot Gedolot, which remained in manuscript, and which Benjacob saw in the possession of Jekuthiel's son Elijah, who also officiated as rabbi there ("Oẓar ha-Sefarim," p. 164). Wolf, father of Israel Lipkin (Salanter); was rabbi at Goldingen, and died there at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Ruben Birkhahn; died at Friedrichstadt 1822; was

a relative of R. Samuel ben Elkanah. His son Bezalel was born at Friedrichstadt 1778; died there 1849. Lazar Isaac Seume, physician; born at Hasenpot 1782; studied at the universities of Berlin and Würzburg; graduated at Dorpat 1805, and practised at Libau, where he later joined the Lutheran Church. Councilor Wulff; born in Prussia; settled in Courland 1780, and established a Jewish school at Mitau 1824, which had an existence of two years only. Reuben Joseph Wunderbar, teacher and author, 1812–67. L. Rappenheim, Jewish alderman at Mitau; was sent by the government in 1854 to inspect the Jewish colonies of South Russia ("Z. d. J." 1855, No. 31). Löb Kalman Löwensohn, teacher; born at Goldingen 1809; died at Jacobstadt 1866. He was engaged at the government Jewish public school, and also as teacher of Greek and Latin at the progymnasium of the nobility. He was an eminent scholar, and corresponded with Pauker and Mädler on problems in higher mathematics and astronomy, and with Ḥayyim Sack and other Hebrew scholars on Talmudic and rabbinical topics. Moritz Rosenthal; born at Bausk 1818; died at Friedrichstadt July 29, 1896. He was a descendant of Mordecai Jaffe. Simon Zarchi, rabbi at Jacobstadt from 1857 to 1860, when he went to Jerusalem, where he died. J. Brutzkus, editor. Leib Cahn, rabbi in Friedrichstadt 1864, and now (1902) rabbi at Moscow. Lipman Friedmann, rabbi at Friedrichstadt; his activity extended over the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Joshua b. Aaron Heller, author of "Dibre Yeshua'" and other works; was rabbi at Polangen in the second half of the nineteenth century; died at Telshi 1880. Solomon Pucher, governmental rabbi at Mitau (1861–96); born at Neustadt, near the Prussian frontier, 1829; died Nov. 29, 1899. Senior Zalman, rabbi of Goldingen. Louis Arens, an opera singer. Lazar Behrmann and his son Vasili. Eliezer ben Alexander Kleinberg, called Eliezer Bausker, son-in-law of Israel Lipschütz (Antikoler). He was rabbi at Bausk and Wilna, and died in the United States 1891. He helped David Tevele of Minsk to publish his work "Dibre Dawid," and his haskamot are to be found in several works. David Isaacovich Bernstein, Russian lawyer; born about 1840 at Jacobstadt; died Jan., 1901, at St. Petersburg. He received his education at the district school of his birthplace, and at the gymnasium of Dünaburg, and graduated from the University of St. Petersburg in 1866. L. Kantor, formerly editor of "Russki Yevrei," was rabbi at Libau. Isidorus Brennson, physician at Mitau; born there Sept. 15, 1854. He is the author of a biographical dictionary entitled "Die Aerzte Kurlands von 1825–1900." Mitau, 1902. From this work it is apparent that of the 582 physicians of Courland in a period of 75 years, 101 (17.3 per cent) were Jews. Of this number 16 embraced Christianity. Of the 172 physicians now practising in Courland, 33 (19.2 per cent) are Jews. See also Bausk and Mitau.)

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H. R.

COURT JEWS: Court Jews, called also court factors, and court or chamber agents, played a part at the courts of the Austrian emperors and the German princes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and at the beginning of the nineteenth. Not always on account of their learning or their force of character did these Jews rise to positions close to the rulers: they were mostly wealthy business men, distinguished above their coreligionists by their commercial instincts and their adaptability. Court rulers looked upon them in a personal and, as a rule, selfish light; as being, on the one hand, their favorites, and, on the other, their whipping-boys. Court Jews frequently suffered through the denunciation of their envious rivals and coreligionists, and were often the objects of hatred of the people and the courtiers. They were of service to their fellow-Jews only during the periods, often short, of their influence with the rulers; and as they themselves, being hated parvenus, often came to a tragic end, their coreligionists were in consequence of their fall all the more harassed.

Position and Duties.

The court Jews, as the agents of the rulers, and in times of war as the purveyors and the treasurers of the state, enjoyed special privileges. They were under the jurisdiction of the court marshal, and were not compelled to wear the Jews' badge. They were permitted to stay wherever the emperor held his court, and to live anywhere in the German empire, even in places where no other Jews were allowed. Wherever they settled they could buy houses, slaughter meat according to the Jewish ritual, and maintain a rabbi. They could sell their goods wholesale and retail, and could not be taxed or assessed higher than the Christians.

The Austrian emperors kept a considerable number of court Jews. Among those of Emperor Ferdinand II. are mentioned the following: Solomon and Ber Mayer, who furnished for the wedding of the emperor and Eleonora of Mantua the cloth for four squadrons of cavalry; Joseph Pincherle of Görz; Moses and Joseph Marburger (Morpurgo) of Gradisca; Ventura Pariente of Triest; the physician Elijah Ḥalfon of Vienna; Samuel zum Drachen, Samuel zum Straussen, and Samuel zum Weissen Drachen of Frankfort-on-the-Main; and Mordecai Meisel of Prague. A specially favored court Jew was Jacob Bassevi, the first Jew to be ennobled, with the title "von Treuenfeld."

At the Austrian Court.

Important as court Jews were also Samuel Oppenheimer, who went from Heidelberg to Vienna, and Samson Wertheimer (Wertheimher) from Worms. Oppenheimer, who was appointed chief court factor, together with his two sons Emanuel and Wolf, and Wertheimer, who was at first associated with him, devoted their time and talents to the service of Austria and the House of Hapsburg: during the Rhenish, French, Turkish, and Spanish wars they loaned

millions of florins for provisions, munitions, etc. Wertheimer, who, by title at least, was also chief court factor to the electors of Mayence, the Palatinate, and Treves, received from the emperor a chain of honor with his miniature.

Samson Wertheimer was succeeded as court factor by his son Wolf. Contemporaneous with him was Leffmann Behrends, or Liepmann Cohen, of Hanover, court factor and agent of the elector Ernst August of Hanover and of the duke Rudolf August of Brunswick. He had relations also with several other rulers and high dignitaries. Behrends' two sons, Mordecai Gumpel and Isaac, received the same titles as he, chief court factors and agents. Isaac Cohen's father-in-law, Behrend Lehman, called also Bärmann Halberstadt, was a court factor of Saxony, with the title of "Resident"; and his son Lehman Behrend was called to Dresden as court factor by King Augustus the Strong. Moses Bonaventura of Prague was also court Jew of Saxony in 1679.

The Models were court Jews of the margraves of Ansbach about the middle of the seventeenth century. Especially influential was Marx Model, who had the largest business in the whole principality and extensively supplied the court and the army. He fell into disgrace through the intrigues of the court Jew Elkan Fränkel, member of a family that had been driven from Vienna. Fränkel, a circumspect, energetic, and proud man, possessed the confidence of the margrave to such a degree that his advice was sought in the most important affairs of the state. Denounced by a certain Isaiah Fränkel, however, who desired to be baptized, an accusation was brought against Elkan Fränkel; and the latter was pilloried, scourged, and sent to the Wülzburg for life imprisonment Nov. 2, 1712. He died there 1720. David Rost, Gabriel Fränkel, and, in 1730, Isaac Nathan (Ischerlein) were court Jews together with Elkan Fränkel; Ischerlein, through the intrigues of the Fränkels, suffered the same fate as Elkan Fränkel. Nevertheless, Nathan's son-in-law, Dessauer, became court Jew. Other court Jews of the princes of Ansbach were Michael Simon and Löw Israel (1743), Meyer Berlin, and Amson Solomon Seligmann (1763).

Intrigues of Court Jews.

The great elector also kept his court Jew at Berlin, Israel Aaron (1670), who by his influence tried to prevent the influx of foreign Jews into the Prussian capital. Other court Jews of the elector were Gumpertz (died 1672), Berend Wulff (1675), and Solomon Fränkel (1678). More influential than any of these was Jost Liebmann. Through his marriage with the widow of the above-named Israel Aaron, he succeeded to the latter's position, and was highly esteemed by the elector. He had continual quarrels with the court Jew of the crown prince, Markus Magnus. After his death his influential position fell to his widow, the well-known Liebmannin, who was so well received by Frederick III. (from 1701 King Frederick I. of Prussia) that she could go unannounced into his cabinet.

The Great Elector.

There were court Jews at all the petty German courts; *e.g.*, Zacharias Seligmann (1694) in the service of the Prince of Hesse-Homburg, and others in the service of the dukes of Mecklenburg. Others mentioned toward the end of the seventeenth century are: Bendix and Ruben Goldschmidt of Homburg; Michael Hinrichsen of Glückstadt, who soon associated himself with Moses Israel Fürst, and whose son, Reuben Hinrichsen, in 1750 had a fixed salary as court agent. About this time the court agent Wolf lived at the court of Frederick III. of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. Disputes with the court Jews often led to protracted lawsuits.

The last actual court Jews were Israel Jacobson, court agent of Brunswick, and Wolf Breidenbach, factor to the Elector of Hesse, both of whom occupy honorable positions in the history of the Jews.

A history of the various court Jews—still to be written—would be a valuable contribution to the history of the German dynasties.

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D. M. K.

COURTSHIP. See Marriage.

COUSSERI (COUSSER, קוצר): Jewish family of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; lived in Riva di Trento and neighboring towns of northern Italy. The epitaph on the tomb of **Meshullam Cousseri** (died July 20, 1541) indicates Riva di Trento as the original home of the family. **Mordecai ben Meshullam** of Riva, author of the letters in the manuscript of Halberstamm (No. 390), according to which he was still living in 1560, seems to have been the son of Meshullam Cousseri. Steinschneider derives the name "Cousseri" from "Yekussiel," the German pronunciation of "Jekuthiel." According to David Kaufmann, it was abridged into "Ḳoussel" and "Ḳoss"; other formations are "Ḳousi," "Ḳousel," and "Ḳousser," קוזי or קוצי. Since "Ḳozer" as a prænomen is found in a Mayence document of 1470, in which the Jews of the Rheingau are granted one year's sojourn, it may be concluded that the family Cousseri was of German origin; in fact this is proved from a German translation of the piyyuṭim of Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom ha-Ḳippurim by Jacob ben Joseph Ḳozer of Ferrare. The name "Cuzzeri" still exists in northern Italy.

Bibliography: David Kaufmann, in *Rev. Et. Juives*, 1896, xxxiii. 312-314; 1897, xxxv. 302-304; see also pp. 111-112, note by A. Freimann.

D. S. Man.

COUTINHO (CUITIÑO, קויטיניו): Name of a Jewish-Portuguese family, members of which, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, resided in Amsterdam, Hamburg, Brazil, and the West Indies.

1. Abraham Pereyra Coutinho: Mentioned as living in Amsterdam in 1675.

2. Baruch Mendes Coutin: Member of the benevolent society Sha'are Ẓedeḳ, founded in Amsterdam 1678.

3. Daniel Coutinho: Mentioned with No. 1.

4. David Mendes Coutinho: Mentioned with No. 2.

5. Isaac Henriques Coutinho: Mentioned in a Jamaica document of the year 1698. Resided at Amsterdam in 1675.

6. Jacob Coutinho: Son of Moses Henriques Coutinho (No. 11).

7. Jacob b. Abraham Mendes Coutinho: A brother of Moses (No. 10).

8. Lourença Coutinho: Mother of the dramatic poet Antonio José da Silva, and widow of João Mendes da Silva; arrested in Rio de Janeiro as a confessor of Judaism, and brought before the tribunal of the Inquisition at Lisbon, where she was imprisoned, and died in 1713 at the age of sixty-one.

9. Manuel Rodriguez Coutinho: Punished (for the third time) by the Inquisition at Lisbon on the charge of a relapse to Judaism.

10. Moses b. Abraham Mendes Coutinho: From 1696 to 1711 the owner of a Hebrew printing-establishment at Amsterdam.

11. Moses Henriques Coutinho: Perhaps a brother of Isaac Henriques (No. 5); lived for a time in Barbados, and settled in Jamaica 1679.

12. Samuel Gomes Coutinho: Mentioned with No. 1.

Bibliography: *Monatsschrift*, ix. 333; Wolf, *Antonio José da Silva*, p. 11; Ersch and Gruber, *Encyklopädie*, § 2, xxviii. 69; *Publications American Jew. Hist. Soc.* i. 108, v. 55, 88; De Castro, *De Synagoge der Port.-Isr. Gemeente te Amsterdam*, pp. xlviii. *et seq.*; Grünwald, *Portugiesen-Gräber auf Deutscher Erde*, p. 103.

G. M. K.

COUTINHO, FERNANDO: Defender of the Jews, councilor of the supreme court, and afterward Bishop of Silves, in the reigns of Manuel and João III. of Portugal. When, in Feb., 1497, Manuel agitated the question of compulsory baptism of the Jews, Coutinho energetically protested against any forcible measures in matters of faith, saying that "no compulsion and persecution can make a sincere Christian out of a single Jew." When a Marano of Loulé in Algarve was accused, in 1531, of having spoken disrepectfully of the Virgin Mary, and the royal council sent the proofs to Bishop Coutinho, he refused to pass judgment. In his decision he justified himself by saying that the Maranos were to be considered as Jews and not as Christians; for in being forcibly baptized they had not thereby accepted Christianity, and hence could not be treated as apostates from the Christian religion. "Even if I were not a man of seventy," he continues, "and were I more in accord with the present time, I would still pronounce the verdict to be false; since it is clear and evident that the law condemns it. The provost who brought the action, and all the witnesses, ought to be tortured; for no witnesses are ever called that have not been bribed with money or otherwise. I will have nothing to do with the matter. I need not act the part of Pontius Pilate. Let other, younger men pass judgment."

Bibliography: The decision in Herculano, *Da Origem e Estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal*, i. 120, in *Symmicta Lusitana*, xxxi. 70 *et seq.*; G. Heile, *Beiträge zur Gesch. im Zeitalter der Reformation*, in *Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Gesch.* ix. 178 *et seq.*; Kayserling, *Gesch. der Juden in Portugal*, pp. 130 *et seq.*, 183 *et seq.*

D. M. K.

COVENANT (= ברית; Septuagint, διαθήκη; Vulgate, "testamentum").—**Biblical Data:** An agreement between two contracting parties, originally sealed with blood; a bond, or a law; a permanent religious dispensation. The old, primitive way of concluding a covenant (כרת ברית, "to cut a covenant") was for the covenanters to cut into each other's arm and suck the blood, the mixing of the blood rendering them "brothers of the covenant" (see Trumbull, "The Blood Covenant," pp. 5 *et seq.*, 322; W. R. Smith, "Religion of the Semites," pp. 296 *et seq.*, 460 *et seq.*; compare Herodotus, iii. 8, iv. 70). Whether "berit" is to be derived from "barah" =to cut- or from a root cognate with the Assyrian "berit" = fetter (see Nathanael Schmidt, in Cheyne and Black, "Encyc. Bibl." *s.v.* "Covenant"), or whether both Assyrian and Hebrew come from "barah" = to cut (compare "asar" = covenant and bracelet in Arabic; see Trumbull, *l.c.* pp. 64 *et seq.*), can not be decided here. A rite expressive of the same idea is (see Jer. xxxiv. 18; compare Gen. xv. *et seq.*) the cutting of a sacrificial animal into two parts, between which the contracting parties pass, showing thereby that they are bound to each other; the eating together of the meat, which usually follows, reiterating the same idea. Originally the covenant was a bond of life-fellowship, where the mingling of the blood was deemed essential. In the course of time aversion to imbibing human blood eliminated the sucking of the blood, and the eating and drinking together became in itself the means of covenanting, while the act was solemnized by the invocation of the Deity in an oath, or by the presence of representative symbols of the Deity, such as seven animals, or seven stones or wells, indicative of the seven astral deities; whence נשבע ("to be bound by the holy seven") as an equivalent for "swearing" in pre-Mosaic times (see Gen. xxi. 27, xxvi. 28, xxxi. 54; Herodotus, iii. 8; Josh. ix. 14; II Sam. iii. 12–20; W. R. Smith, *l.c.* pp. 252 *et seq.*). Salt was especially selected together with bread for the conclusion of a covenant (Num. xviii. 19; see W. R. Smith, *l.c.* p. 252; Trumbull, "The Covenant of Salt," 1899).

Covenant Between Men and Nations.

Every covenant required some kind of religious rite in which the Deity was invoked as a witness to render it valid (Gen. xxi. 23; Josh. ix. 19; Judges ix. 46; Jer. xxxiv. 18). The covenant made the life and property of the confederates ("ba'ale berit," Gen. xiv. 13) inviolable. To break "the covenant of the brothers" (Amos i. 9) was a heinous sin, and imposed the penalty of death (II Sam. iii. 28). The Mosaic law, therefore, forbade Israel making a covenant with the idolatrous inhabitants of Canaan or "with their gods" (Ex. xxiii. 32, xxxiv. 12; Deut. vii. 2). The covenant concluded by Solomon with Hiram (I Kings vi. 26), and those between the kings of Judah or Israel and the kings of Syria or Assyria and Babylonia (I Kings xv. 19; Hosea xii. 2; Ezek. xvii. 13), were therefore fraught with evil, nor could the covenant of Simon Maccabeus with Rome (I Macc. xiv. 24 *et seq.*) meet with anything but disapproval on the part of the Pharisees. The worst that can happen to a nation is to have its confederates ("anshe berit") conspire against it (Obad. i. 7). The pledge of matrimony also was, according to Mal. i. 13, 14; Prov. ii. 17; Ezek. xvi. 8, 61 (with which must be compared Job xxxii.), a covenant concluded before witnesses, and probably at some altar or sacrificial feast, at which the repast with

the wine seems to have been an essential feature (see Gen. xxiv. 54).

God's Covenant with Men.

The relation of man to the Deity was also conceived of in Biblical times as a covenant concluded by God with certain men or nations, from which all laws derived their sanctity and perpetuity. God, when creating the heavens and the earth, made a covenant with them to observe the rules of day and night (Jer. xxxiii. 25), and when the flood caused by the sin of all flesh had interrupted the operation of the law, He hung the rainbow in the clouds as a sign of the covenant, to assure men that it would not again be suspended on account of man's sin. He thus made a special covenant with Noah and his sons, requiring them to preserve and show due regard for all human life, while pledging the preservation of the order of earthly life for all generations (Gen. ix. 1–17). Regarding this so-called Noachian covenant see below.

God concluded a covenant with Abraham (Gen. xv. 18, xvii. 2, 7) by which He entered into a special relationship with him and his descendants for all time; and as a sign of this covenant he enjoined on them the rite of Circumcision. This Abrahamitic covenant, expressive of the religious character of the descendants of Abraham as the people of Yhwh, the one and only God, was renewed on Mount Sinai when, before the giving of the Law, Israel as a people pledged itself to keep His covenant (Ex. xix. 8). After the giving of the Law Moses sprinkled "the blood of the covenant sacrifice" half upon the people and half upon the altar of the Lord (Ex. xxiv. 6–8), to signify the mystical union of Israel and its God. Of this "everlasting" Sinaitic covenant between God and Israel the Sabbath is declared to be the sign forever (Ex. xxxi. 13–17). At the same time the tables of the Law upon which the pledge was made were called "the book of the covenant" (Ex. xxiv. 7), and the Ten Commandments "the words of the covenant" (Ex. xxxiv. 28); and so the tables containing these became "the tables of the covenant" (Deut. ix. 9, 15). Of peculiar significance to the people during its wanderings in the wilderness, and in its settled state in Palestine, was the Ark of the Covenant (Num. x. 33; Deut. x. 8, xxxi. 26; and frequently in Joshua, Samuel, and Kings), which was regarded as "the testimony" ("'edut") to the presence of the God of the Covenant in its midst.

Renewal of Covenant.

Four times in the history of Israel this covenant of Sinai was renewed: by Moses in the plains of Moab (Deut. xxix. 1, 9); by Joshua before his death (Josh. xxiv. 25); by the high priest Jehoiada after the idolatrous Queen Athaliah had been deposed and young Jehoash proclaimed king (II Kings xi. 17); and finally by King Josiah after the book of the Law had been found in the Temple and "all the words of the book of the covenant" had been read before all the people (II Kings xxiii. 2, 3). In fact, the Book of Deuteronomy dwells with special emphasis (see ch. iv.–v. and xxviii.–xxix.) upon the covenant made in Horeb for all generations; and Jeremiah (see ch. xi., xxxi., xxxiv.), as well as Ezekiel (ch. xvi., xvii.) also recurs often to the covenant; but Isaiah never mentions the word "covenant." This fact has led many modern Bible critics to assume that the covenant idea originated among the late prophets of Judea. But the accusation that Israel "forsook the covenant of the Law" was made as early as the time of the prophet Elijah (I Kings xix. 10), while both Hosea (ii. 18–20) and Jeremiah held out the promise that the covenant which Israel had broken, thereby forfeiting its existence as a nation before God, shall be written anew and upon the hearts of all, never to be broken again (Jer. xxxi. 31–34). It must be observed, however, that parallel with the Sinai covenant there is also continuous reference to the older covenant which God concluded with the Patriarchs as the guaranty of Israel's redemption and renewed salvation (Ex. vi. 4; Lev. xxvi. 42–45; Deut. iv. 31, vii. 12).

Covenant with Aaron and David.

Besides the covenant with the people of Israel, God concluded a special covenant with the priestly tribe of Levi, and specifically with the houses of Aaron (Num. xviii. 19; xxv. 12, 13; Deut. xxxiii. 9; Jer. xxxiii. 21; Mal. ii. 4; compare Ex. xxxii. 29; Deut. x. 8, xviii. 5) and King David (II Sam. xxiii. 5; Jer. xxxiii. 21; Ps. lxxxix. 4, 35; cxxxii. 12; II Chron. xiii. 5). These two covenants, together with the one made with Abraham (Gen. xv. 18), were meant to perpetuate the three possessions: the land, the Davidic monarchy, and the Aaronitic priesthood. The perpetual character of the Sinai covenant was accentuated by the seer of the Exile, and Israel itself was declared to be "a covenant of the people"; that is, a covenant-people among the nations united by the word of God (Isa. xlii. 6, xlix. 8, liv. 10, lv. 3, lix. 21, lxi. 8; compare Jer. i. 5).

Meaning of the Divine Covenant.

While every sacrifice was regarded as a renewal of the covenant with God (Ps. l. 5), the conception of religion as a covenant concluded by God with man is peculiarly Jewish. The idea of the covenant of God is therefore coeval with the beginning of Israel as the people of God. It is also easy to understand why "berit" (covenant) became synonymous with the Law (Isa. lvi. 6 *et seq.*; Ps. xxv. 10, 14; l. 16; I Kings xi. 11). On the other hand, the idea of Israel as the covenant-people became more powerful when a prophet, "the messenger of the covenant," who would renew the covenant in the person of Elijah (Mal. iii. 3 [iv. 5]) was looked for, and still more when the preservation or violation of the covenant—that is, the maintenance or extermination of Judaism—was the question at issue between the two parties during the Syrian persecution (Dan. xi. 28–32; I Macc. i. 15, 63; Judith ix. 13; Ps. lxxiv. 20; see Elijah).

Special stress was laid on circumcision and the Sabbath during the Exile as the signs of the Israelitish covenant (Ps. lvi. 4–6), and they were regarded as the bulwarks of the faith in the Maccabean era (I Macc. i. 15, 45–48).

From this point of view the history of divine revelation was, in the second pre-Christian century, seen in a new light. The broader and more cosmopolitan view dwelt on the covenant of God with

man. According to Ben Sira, God made a covenant of life even with the first man (Ecclus. [Sirach] xvii. 12, probably based on Hosea vi. 12; compare Sanh. 38b). But it is especially the covenant of Noah which was interpreted by the Rabbis to include all the laws of humanity.

Noachian and Abrahamitic Covenant.

The strictly nationalistic view found its vigorous expression in the Book of Jubilees, according to which the Noachian covenant, particularly resting on the sacredness of blood, was concluded upon the identical day, the fifteenth of Siwan, on which the Sinaitic covenant was concluded (Book of Jubilees vi. 11 *et seq.*); it puts the Abrahamitic covenant, however, in the foreground (*ib.* xv. 11–34, xxi. 4, xxiii. 16, xxx. 21, xxxiii. 19) as the only condition of eternal salvation for Israelites.

The Old and the New Covenant.

When Jeremiah spoke of "the new covenant" which the Lord "will make with the house of Israel and the house of Judah" (Jer. xxxi. 31) he immediately explained his words by saying: "I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts" (*ib.* xxxi. 33; compare xxxiii. 40). Judaism knows of no other than the old Sinaitic covenant. Eternal as the covenant with heaven and earth is God's covenant with the seed of Jacob (Jer. xxxiii. 25 *et seq.*). Christianity, however, interpreted the words of the prophet in such a way as to indicate a new religious dispensation in place of the law of Moses (Heb. viii. 8–13). The Septuagint translation of the term "berit" being διαθήκη, which signifies both a compact and a last will or testament (Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion more correctly translate "berit" συνθήκη = covenant), the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews writes: "A testament is of force after men are dead, but not while the testator liveth; wherefore the first testament could not be dedicated without blood, as in fact Moses did enjoin the people by the blood of the testament; Jesus, however, as the mediator of the new testament offered his own blood for the redemption of the transgressions under the first testament" (*ib.* ix. 15–25 *et seq.*, Greek). This strange view is based upon the idea expressed by Paul (Gal. iii. 15 *et seq.*, Greek). "A man's testament [A. V. "covenant" gives no sense] if it be confirmed, no one disannulleth or addeth thereto. Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made, and this seed is Christ. The testament then confirmed by God in Christ can not be annulled by the law four hundred and thirty years thereafter. The law was added because of transgressions till the seed should come in Christ." It was obviously in opposition to the Passover blood of the covenant (Ex. xii. 23; Ezek. xvi. 6) that the early Christians at their communion meals proclaimed their faith in the crucified Christ as "the new testament" (I Cor. xi. 25; Luke xxii. 20; Matt. xxvi. 28; Mark xiv. 24; see New Testament; Passover).

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E. C. K.

——In Rabbinical Literature: The term "berit" is used occasionally in Talmudic-Midrashic literature in referring to the laws of nature, which are regarded as a sort of covenant between God and things (see Gen. R. xxxiv.; Niddah 58b); or it is used in the sense of a contract, as, for instance, "a covenant made with the lips" (M. Ḳ. 18; Num. R. xviii.), or a covenant made with the "thirteen middot, that they may be efficient during prayer" (R. H. 17b; Yer. Ber. v. 9a), but it refers chiefly to God's covenant made with Israel, and with Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, Phinehas, and David (Derek Erez Zuṭa, i., end). Frequent reference is made in the liturgy to "the covenant with the fathers" (Lev. xxvi. 42, Hebr.). In one passage there is also a reference to the covenant made with the twelve progenitors of the tribes, by which a covenant like that made with the "fathers" is meant (Torat Kohanim; Beḥuḳḳotai, xxvi. 45). The intimacy existing between God and Israel as the descendants of the "fathers" was shown in the form of a covenant when Israel received the Torah (compare also Tanna debe Eliyahu R. iii.; Sifre, Deut. 4).

Repeated Covenants.

In view of the covenant between God and Israel concluded on Mt. Sinai, the phrase "the oath on Mt. Sinai" ("mushba' me-har Sinai"), referring to the duty of the Israelites to observe the Torah, frequently recurs in Talmudic literature. The following three ceremonies preceded this covenant: "milah" (circumcision), "ṭebilah" (baptism), "harẓa'at dam" (sprinkling of the sacrificial blood (compare Ex. xxiv. 6); hence they are deemed indispensable for the admission of a proselyte into the Jewish community (Ker. 9a; compare Proselytes and Proselytism). Besides the one on Mt. Sinai, a covenant was made on the departure from Egypt, and another shortly before the entry into the promised land (compare Deut. xxix. 11), when God made the Israelites swear that they would observe the Torah (Tan., Niẓẓabim, ed. Buber, p. 50; compare Soṭah 37b, top). Some especially important miẓwot are called simply "berit." In the first place stands circumcision (Shak. 135a; Mek., Yitro, ed. Weiss, 71), also designated "berito shel Abraham abinu" (the covenant with our father Abraham) (Abot iii. 17); and in the liturgy, in a passage dating from tannaitic times, "berit ḳodesh" (holy covenant). Akiba took "berit" (Ex. xix. 5) to mean the observance of the Sabbath and the recognition of God (Mek., Yitro, *l.c.*), while in the Zohar the Torah, circumcision, and God are designated by "berit" (Aḥare Mot, iii. 73b; compare also Zohar Pinḥas, iii. 220b, bottom).

The covenants between God and some of the elect mentioned in Scripture are a favorite subject of the Haggadah; and as early as the Book of Jubilees there is an explicit reference to the covenant between God and Noah when the latter left the ark (vi. 10, 11). God's covenant with the sons of Noah was, however, not made for all eternity, but was intended to be coeval only with the existence of this world (Gen R. xxxiv.). When God promised Noah to send no deluge, he also made a covenant with the

earth that men should be filled with love for their homes so that all parts of the earth might be inhabited (Gen. R. *l.c.*). The Haggadah treats with much detail of God's covenant with Abraham, mentioned in Gen. xv. 9–21, which is designated in the liturgy as "berit ben ha-betarim" (the covenant between the sacrificial pieces) (compare also the Syriac Baruch apocalypse, iv. 4). "God showed him Gehenna and the dominion of the nations on the one side, and the revelation on Mt. Sinai and the service in the Temple on the other side, and said: 'If your children honor these last two [the Torah and worship], they shall be spared the first two; if not, the Temple shall be destroyed, and you may now choose between suffering under the heathen and suffering in Gehenna as the punishment of your descendants.' Abraham was at first inclined to choose the latter, but God induced him finally to choose the sorrows of the exile as punishment for Israel, in order that they might be spared the torments of hell" (Gen. R. xliv.; Pirḳe R. El. xxviii.). The Apocalypse of Abraham is in large part a detailed description of the "berit ben ha-betarim." Abraham is often severely censured for having made a covenant with the pagan Abimelech (Gen. xxi. 27; Tanna Eliyahu R. vii.; Yalḳ., Gen. 95; compare also Abimelech in Rabbinical Literature).

Covenants Among Men.

E. C. L. G.

——**In Arabic Literature:** The belief in a covenant ("mithaḳ") existing between the divinities and their worshipers was prevalent in pre-Islamic times. The offering of sacrifices had no other object than that of strengthening the covenants between the divinities and the officiants, and blood was considered to be the best agent. A covenant concluded between men was often solemnized by dipping the hands in blood. The Banu 'Adi ben Ka'b and the Banu 'Abd al-Dar concluded a covenant, and to give it greater force the parties dipped their hands in a plate of blood (Ibn Hisham's "Life of Mohammed," p. 125). Mohammed taught, both in the Koran and the Tradition, that in the beginning God called all the souls of mankind together and made a covenant with them. "The Lord brought forth their descendants from the reins of the sons of Adam, and took them to witness against themselves" (Koran, vii. 171). In explanation of this verse Ubai ibn Ka'b relates that when God created the spirits of the sons of Adam He gathered them together and took from them a promise ("wa'dah") and a covenant ("mithaḳ"). Then Adam saw among them prophets appointed by special covenant (compare 'Ab. Zarah 5a, where this legend is given in detail).

Mohammed frequently reproaches the Jews with having broken the covenant: "O children of Israel! Remember my grace which I conferred upon you [when I said] keep the covenant with me and I will keep the covenant with you" (Koran, ii. 37). Mohammed connects the covenant which God made with the children of Israel with the giving of the Law on Mt. Sinai: "And when we made a covenant with you and lifted the mountain above you, saying: 'Receive with steadfastness what we have brought you, and remember what it contains'" (*ib.* ii. 60). The commentator Baiḍawi explains the expression "and the mountain was lifted above you" ("warufi' fauḳakum al-ṭur") by the following legend: When Moses brought the Torah, the children of Israel, seeing the numerous obligations imposed upon them, refused to accept it. Then God commanded Gabriel, and he tore out the mountain and suspended it over the Israelites. A similar legend is found in Shab. 88a: "'And they stood at the nether part of the mount' [Ex. xix. 17], said R. Abdimi bar Ḥana. From this expression we learn that God suspended the mount over them as a bat, and said to them: 'If you accept the Torah, it is all right; if not, you will find here your tomb.'" In regard to the covenant with the Prophets, Mohammed said: "Remember we have entered into covenant with the Prophets, with thee Mohammed, and with Noah, and with Abraham, and with Musa, and with Jesus, the son of Mary, and we made with them a covenant (sura xxxiii. 7).

G. I. Br.

——**Critical View:** The Hebrew "berit," usually translated "covenant" in the A. V., has a wider range of application than its English equivalent, since it is the ordinary term for any kind of agreement or compact. Naturally the word has to be considered in the sense of a solemn agreement; but it must be noticed that all agreements among ancient peoples were solemn and sacred, having the sanction of an oath or "curse," while covenant-breaking of any sort was held to be most sacrilegious. It is its comprehensiveness of meaning along with its intrinsic sacredness that gives the berit such great significance in the Hebrew Scriptures. The most binding covenant was naturally that made "before Jehovah" (I Sam. xxiii. 18), and the name Baal-berith is a reminiscence of some similar covenant made before the "Ba'al" of the land.

[This Ba'al seems originally to have been the patron deity of Shechem (Judges viii. 33; ix. 4, 46), which, being one of the oldest cities of the land, retained even in later days its prominence as the capital of a confederation. Jacob buys a piece of land; that is, enters into a covenant with it (Gen. xxxiii. 18, 19; xxxiv. 2). It is appointed as a city of refuge—in other words, a covenant city (Josh. xx. 7). It is here that Joshua delivers his farewell address (Josh. xxiv. 1). Its rôle under Jeroboam (I Kings xii. 25) points in the same direction. By the Ba'al of the chief city the covenant between the component tribes must have been sanctioned. Hence this Ba'al became the Ba'al-berit par excellence. Though unsupported by epigraphic proof, the theory that among the Phenicians a Ba'al called also "Ba'al Elyun," or "Elyun Beruth," had a similar preeminence as the protector of an alliance of various cities (Creutzer, "Symbolik," ii. 87), throws light on the function of this Ba'al.—E. G. H.]

Besides the oath formally taken or implied, a ceremony was often performed, such as "passing between" the parts of a sacrificial victim slain for the purpose (Gen. xv. 18; Jer. xxxiv. 15), or giving the hand, or partaking of salt in common. Very primitive, wide-spread, and potential was the blood-covenant.

A peculiar Hebrew custom is that of imposing a berit upon another or others; *e.g.*, the covenant

imposed by Joshua upon the Gibeonites (Josh. ix. 7, xi. 19), or that by Jehoiada the priest upon the people (II Kings xi. 17). So important is this apparently one-sided relation that it has molded the dominant prophetic conception of God's attitude toward His people. Thus the commands given at Sinai on "the tables of the covenant," and the whole giving of the Law, have come to be known as the Sinaitic covenant. Here the obligation is upon the side of the people. But in the progressive development of YHWH's relations to Israel as God of the covenant there is an increasing assumption of obligation on His part, with all solemnity of assurance as to the fulfilment (see, for example, Jer. xxxiii. 20 *et seq.*). The idea is indeed the most germinal of all religious conceptions, for when Jeremiah utters the profoundest sentiment of the Old Testament, that the Law of God should be written upon His people's hearts, the promise is called "a new covenant" (*ib.* xxxi. 31 *et seq.*).

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E. G. H. J. F. McC.

COVETOUSNESS: The inordinate desire to possess that to which one is not entitled, or that which belongs to another. Its prohibition forms the burden of the tenth commandment, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house; thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbor's" (Ex. xx. 17; compare Deut. v. 18). The Scriptures employ the following four terms as equivalents for "covetousness," differing in point of degree: (1) "Ḳin'ah" (from קנא), usually translated "envy." It signifies discontent with one's own possession because of the preferred possessions of others, as in Gen. xxxvii. 11; Isa. xi. 13; Ps. xxxvii. 1, lxxiii. 3; Prov. iii. 31, xxxiii. 17.

(2) "Awwah" (from אוה). This is the equivalent of "longing," and connotes the wish for another's belongings, as in the passage, "Neither shalt thou desire thy neighbor's wife," etc. (Deut. v. 18; compare Ps. xlv. 12, cvi. 14; Prov. xxi. 26; Eccl. vi. 2).

(3) "Ḥemdah" (from חמד). This is rendered "covetousness," and indicates the undue craving for that to which one has no right, as in Ex. xx. 17; Deut. v. 18, vii. 25; Josh. vii. 21; Micah ii. 2; Prov. xii. 12.

(4) "Beẓa'" (from בצע). The meaning, "gain," has reference to the appropriation of the property of another. Compare the passages: "Provide . . . men of truth, hating covetousness (Ex. xviii. 21); "For from the least of them even unto the greatest of them every one is given to covetousness" (Jer. vi. 13, viii. 10; see also Ps. x. 3, cxix. 36; Prov. i. 19, xv. 27).

Prophetic Denunciation.

The condemnation of covetousness is nowhere expressed more forcibly than, by implication, in the lament of Micah: "Wo to them that devise iniquity, and work evil upon their beds! When the morning is light they practise it, because it is in the power of their hand. And they covet fields, and take them by violence; and houses, and take them away; so they oppress a man and his house, even a man and his heritage" (Micah ii. 1–2; compare Hab. ii. 9: "Wo to him that coveteth an evil covetousness").

Covetousness never succeeds in the attainment of the object desired. The covetous man is despised by God. "For the wicked boasteth of his heart's desire, and blesseth the covetous, whom the Lord abhorreth" (Ps. x. 3). "He who violates the commandment Thou shalt not covet, is regarded as if he had transgressed all ten commandments" (Pesiḳ. R. 21; ed. Friedmann, p. 107a).

Naḥmanides (1195–1270), in commenting on Ex. xx. 17, holds that "if man subdues his desire he will never harm his neighbor." Isaac Aboab (*c.* 1300) contends that the execution of the nine preceding commandments depends on the fulfilment of the tenth. Says Aboab: "He who does not covet will not depart from God, serve strange gods, violate the Sabbath and holidays, show lack of respect for parents, murder, commit adultery, steal, or swear falsely." "Covetousness is the root of all jealousies, lust, transgressions, and the violations of commandments" ("Menorat ha-Ma'or," Introduction to section i.).

Significance of Covetousness.

The consequences attending covetousness are not lost sight of by Judaism. Covetousness is an evidence of moral decline. "A sound heart is the life of the flesh; but envy the rottenness of the bones" (Prov. xiv. 30). "He that hath no rule over his own spirit is like a city that is broken down, and without walls" (Prov. xxv. 28).

In some instances teachers have traced the direct effects of covetousness. The Pirḳe Abot (iv. 21) considers covetousness in its threefold manifestation the cause of man's removal from the world. "If you desire you will covet; and if you covet you will tyrannize and rob" (Mek. to Ex. xx. 17). Baḥya ben Asher, in dilating on the tenth commandment, says: "If you covet, you cause quarrel, trouble, and divorce."

Nemesis of Covetousness.

A gross injury resulting to the covetous from his inordinate desire for that not rightfully belonging to him is the loss of the property with which he is blessed. In other words, covetousness is responsible for its own ruin. That covetousness is the cause of the individual's discontent and unhappiness is certainly true. Perhaps this idea underlies the following remark: "He who looks enviously on that which does not belong to him not only fails to obtain that which he seeks, but also loses that which he has" (Soṭah 9a). A proverbial saying to the same effect is the Talmudical aphorism, "Because the camel wanted horns his ears were cut off" (Sanh. 106a). Even though covetousness does not result in violence, the wish to possess another's property suffices to merit condemnation. "The wish to be able to do wrong is worse than the deed itself" (Yoma 29a).

Covetousness is by no means unconquerable. Man can master this as well as all other passions. "Covetousness is a matter of the heart" (Solomon ben Melek, in Miklal Yofi to Deut. v. 21). Special precaution should therefore be exercised by man

not to permit covetousness to master him. This may be prevented by schooling oneself against it.

Cure of Covetousness.

"Remember that the object of your lust is unattainable, and your mind will be at ease" (Abraham ibn Ezra to Ex. xx. 17). Man should be satisfied with his lot. "Who is rich? He who rejoices in his portion" (Ab. iv. 1). Man should vanquish his desire. Such victory is a mark of spiritual power. "Who is strong? He who subdues his evil inclination" (*ib.*). "Keep thy heart with all diligence; for out of it are the issues of life" (Prov. iv. 23).

K. W. R.

COVILHÃO: City in the province of Beira, Portugal, which in the thirteenth century had a Jewish congregation and was the seat of a district rabbi. After the banishment of the Jews from Portugal, many Maranos resided in Covilhão, where their descendants are still to be found. In 1543 the fanatical populace desired to make victims of all the Maranos in a single auto da fé. A number fled the city, while many fell victims to the Inquisition.

Pedro Vaëz, a medical authority of the sixteenth century, practised in Covilhão.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Kayserling, *Gesch. der Juden in Portugal*, passim.

G. M. K.

COVO or **COVOS:** Name of a Jewish family of Salonica, Turkey, a branch of which lives at Widdin, Bulgaria. As the name indicates, the family was originally of Covo, near Milan, Italy. There have been several rabbis of this name.

D.

Asher Covo, or **Raphael Asher Covo:** Chief rabbi of Salonica, Turkey, and man of letters; born 1799; died 1874. He officiated for twenty-six years, rendering great services to his community. Sultan 'Abd al-Majid decorated Covo with the Order of Nishan-i-Medjidie. He wrote "Sha'ar Asher," a collection of responsa on the Shulḥan 'Aruk, with two appendixes. See Ḥazan, "Ha-Ma'alot li-Shelomoh," *s.v.*

S.

Elias Covo: Turkish rabbi and author; died at Salonica in 1689. He wrote "Adderet Eliyahu" (The Mantle of Elijah), containing forty-three responsa. These, together with responsa by Joshua Ḥandali, were printed at Constantinople in 1739 under the title "Shene Me'orot ha-Gedolim." See Azulai, "Shem ha-Gedolim," *s.v.*

G. M. Fr.

Isaac Covo: Palestinian Talmudist; born in 1770; died Aug. 18, 1854, at Alexandria, Egypt. Apparently he was of the family of Asher Covo, rabbi in Salonica and author of "Sha'ar Asher" (See Ḥazan, "Ha-Ma'alot li-Shelomoh," p. 6a). Isaac Covo succeeded Abraham Ḥayyim Gagin as the Sephardic ḥakam-bashi of Jerusalem in July, 1848. At that time his congregation was encumbered by debt. English sympathizers promised that if the venerable rabbi would visit London, they would wipe out the whole of the liabilities. Covo went first to Egypt, and had succeeded in raising £400 ($2,000) in Cairo and Alexandria, when death terminated his efforts. He was buried in the latter city.

Covo was the author of "Gersa de-Yanḳuta" (Teachings of Childhood) and "Tif'eret Baḥurim" (The Glory of Young Men), still extant in manuscript.

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L. G. J. D. E.

Jacob Hananiah Covo: Chief rabbi of Salonica; born there in 1825. Orphaned at the age of one year, he was educated by relatives. After passing through the yeshibot of Salonica, his native city, he continued his studies alone. Covo was a distinguished lawyer before becoming successor to the chief rabbi, Samuel Arditti (1888). For several years he was a member of the Mu'arrif-Majlisi (Council of Public Instruction). He founded the Mutual Aid Society ('Eẓ Ḥayyim) and a small rabbinical seminary (Bet-Yosef), and also reorganized the large Talmud Torah of Salonica. He has been decorated with the Order of the Medjidie, second class, and that of Osmanie, third and second classes.

S.

Joseph Covo I.: Chief rabbi and author; lived at Salonica at the end of the eighteenth century. He wrote a Hebrew work, "Gib'ot 'Olam" (Everlasting Hills), Salonica, 1744, a collection of responsa and sermons arranged according to the order of the pericopes. See Azulai, "Shem ha-Gedolim," *s.v.*

G.

Joseph Covo II.: Turkish rabbi and author; grandson of Joseph Covo I. He lived at Salonica at the end of the eighteenth century, and wrote "Ben Porat Yosef" (Fruit-Bearing Branch of Joseph), Salonica, 1797, a Hebrew work relating to the religious ordinances. See Azulai, "Shem ha-Gedolim," *s.v.*

S.

Raphael Ḥayyim Abraham Covo: Turkish rabbi and author; lived at Salonica, where he was chief rabbi from 1772 till his death in 1792; wrote the Hebrew responsa "Ḥayye Abraham," Salonica, 1804. See Ḥazan, "Ha-Ma'alot li-Shelomoh," *s.v.*

S. M. Fr.

COWAN, PHINEAS: English merchant, volunteer officer, and alderman; born at Chatham 1832; died at Buxton Oct. 22, 1899. From the first he took a keen interest in the Volunteer movement; he was a member of the Honorable Artillery Company; and in 1863 joined the Third London Rifles with three companies raised from his own workmen. He became lieutenant-colonel in this regiment, retiring in 1880 with the queen's permission to retain his rank. In 1883 he was elected sheriff of London and Middlesex during the first mayoralty of Sir R. N. Fowler, and in 1885 was elected alderman of the ward of Cordwainer, which office he resigned in 1892 owing to the claims of business.

Cowan served on the council of the Anglo-Jewish Association, and was closely associated with the Jews' Hospital and Orphan Asylum. He was a Conservative in politics, and in 1885 unsuccessfully

contested the newly formed constituency of Whitechapel with Sir Samuel Montagu, Bart.

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J. G. L.

COWEN, FREDERIC HYMEN: English conductor and composer; born at Kingston, Jamaica, Jan 29, 1852; at the age of four he was taken to England. From his earliest years he enjoyed exceptional advantages in being brought into contact with the greatest artists during his father's treasurership to Her Majesty's and Drury Lane theaters. At the age of eight he had composed the music of an operetta entitled "Garibaldi"; and, studying under Sir Julius Benedict and Sir John Goss, on reaching his twelfth year he was thoroughly at home in Beethoven's sonatas.

Cowen made his first appearance in public at the age of eleven, in the concert-room of Her Majesty's Theater; and the following year the young musician gave a concert at Dudley House, at which Trebelli, Joachim, and Santley assisted. When fourteen years old he left for Leipsic to enter the Conservatory; and there he studied under Reinecke, Moscheles, and Moritz Hauptmann. Returning to London, he gave several matinées at Dudley House, and then proceeded to Berlin to resume his studies. Among his more popular early works were the cantata "The Rose Maiden," 1870; "The Language of Flowers"; and the "Scandinavian Symphony," 1880.

Frederic Hymen Cowen.

From 1871 to 1877 Cowen accompanied Her Majesty's Opera; he was conductor of the Covent Garden promenade concerts, 1880; of the Philharmonic concerts, 1888–92; and was specially summoned to Australia as conductor of the Melbourne Centennial Exhibition, 1888–89. Later he was appointed to succeed the late Sir Charles Hallé in the conductorship of the Manchester, Liverpool, and Bradford concerts, 1896.

Cowen's chief works, besides those already mentioned, are: "The Corsair," cantata, 1876; "Pauline," opera, 1876; "St. Ursula," cantata, 1881; "Welsh Symphony," 1884; "Sleeping Beauty," cantata, 1885; "Ruth," oratorio, written for the Worcester Festival, 1887; "Song of Thanksgiving," 1888; "St. John's Eve," cantata, 1889; "Thorgrim," opera, 1890; "Signa," an opera performed in Milan in 1893 and subsequently produced in London by Sir Augustus Harris; "The Water-Lily," cantata, written for the Norwich Festival, 1892; "Harold," an opera performed at Covent Garden, 1895; "The Transfiguration," oratorio, composed for the Gloucester Festival, 1895; "In Fairyland," suite, 1896; "Idyllic Symphony"; "Dream of Endymion," 1897; "Ode to the Passions," 1898. Cowen has also published over 200 songs, duets, piano pieces, etc.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Young Israel*, Sept., 1898; *Who's Who*, London, 1901.

J. G. L.

COWEN, ISRAEL: American lawyer and jurist; son of Bennett and Bertha Cowen; born in Houston, Texas, Dec. 12, 1861; received his early education in the public schools of Texas and California, and in a private school in New York city. He then studied seven years in Germany, and, returning to Chicago in June, 1881, received the degree of LL.B. from the Northwestern University, being admitted to the bar Jan. 4, 1883.

Cowen was appointed master in chancery of the superior court of Cook county, Illinois, May, 1896, serving until March, 1899, and was nominated for judge of the superior court upon the Democratic ticket in 1900. He has been for several years identified with the order of B'nai B'rith, and in 1893 was chosen president of District No. 6. Since July, 1891, Cowen has held a membership on the Board of Delegates on Civil and Religious Rights. For many years he was a member of the executive committee of the Hebrew Sabbath-School Union, and is connected with many other national and local Jewish organizations. At the memorial services for Sir Moses Montefiore, held in the Chicago Opera House Aug. 30, 1885, he was the presiding officer.

Cowen has been an extensive contributor, in poetry and prose, to the religious and secular press, and has delivered many lectures in all parts of the country on both Jewish and public questions.

A. M. P. J.

COWEN (originally **Cohen**), **LAURENCE:** Journalist and politician; born in 1865 at Hull. For some years he lived at Newcastle-on-Tyne, where his father, E. Cohen, acted as hazzan. He went to London in 1888, and was on the staff of "Ariel," the paper conducted by Israel Zangwill. Later he established the journals "Commerce" and "Finance," of both of which he is (1901) the editor. These and "The Topical Times" are among the journals owned by his firm, "The Columbus Company, Limited," of which Cowen is the head. He is the founder and honorary secretary of the Article Club, an institution including most of the chief manufacturing firms in England. In 1899 he received the Knight Commander's Cross of the Order of Takovo, for services rendered in furthering the commercial interests of Servia. In Oct., 1900, he unsuccessfully contested Coventry in the Liberal interest.

Cowen in 1897 married Hélène Gingold, the novelist, granddaughter of Sulzer, the cantor and composer. His brother **Louis Cowen**, journalist, collaborated, under the pseudonym "J. Freeman Bell," with Israel Zangwill in his first book, "The Premier and the Painter," and in other productions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Jewish Chronicle*, London, Sept. 28, 1900.

J. G. L.

COWEN, LIONEL: Painter; born 1846; died Aug., 1895; brother of Frederic H. Cowen, the composer. Cowen, a painter of considerable ability, was a member of the Royal Society of British Artists,

and frequently exhibited at the Royal Academy. He died at sea in 1895, while on his way home from Hobart Town, Tasmania, where he had been for some years engaged in the practise of his art.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Jewish Chronicle*, London, Aug. 16, 1895; *The Times*, London, Aug. 9, 1895.

J. G. L.

COWEN, PHILIP: Jewish publisher and communal worker; born in New York city in 1853; educated in the public schools; was one of the founders and publisher of "The American Hebrew" (see AMERICAN HEBREW), and has published several works of importance in American Jewish literature. He was interested in the organization of the Young Men's Hebrew Association, active in caring for the Russian Jewish immigrants in 1881–82, and collected the Jewish church statistics for the census of 1890. In 1902 Cowen was appointed supervisor of "The City Record," an important office in the city government of New York.

A. S.

COZBI ("deceiving"): A Midianitish woman, daughter of Zur, the leader of a tribe. She was put to death along with the Israelite Zimri by Phinehas (Num. xxv. 14–18).

E. G. H. G. B. L.

CRACOW (Polish, **Kraków**): A city of Galicia, Austria, formerly the capital of the kingdom of Poland; founded about 700 C.E. There are no records of the early history of the Jewish community of Cracow, but it is probable that the Jews gained a foothold in the city after the German inhabitants had forfeited their privileges by a revolt against King Ladislaus Lokietek (the Short) in 1311, and that their position became more secure when that monarch removed his capital from Gnesen to Cracow (1312). The ruins of the palace of Lobzow, where Casimir the Great was said to have spent his leisure time with his beautiful Jewish mistress ESTERKA, are near Cracow, and a large mound of earth in the garden was reverenced as her grave as late as the first half of the nineteenth century. The only record of that period is the massacre in 1348, at the time of the Black Death riots. Records show that the Jews owned houses and lived in Cracow at the end of the fourteenth century, and that King JAGIELLO (or Jagellon) in 1400 bought from the Jew Jossman one of the stone houses which formed the new university (Sternberg, "Gesch. der Juden in Polen," p. 87). Riots against Jews occurred during the Easter week of 1407, when the mobs were incited by the priest BUDEK. The Jewish quarter was fired; and in the conflagration a church and several streets inhabited by Christians were destroyed. The visit of CAPISTRANO (Aug., 1453, to May, 1454) had there the same disastrous results for the Jews as it had in other places which he visited (see Responsa of R. M. Minz, No. 63, Cracow, 1617). In 1464 the Jews of Cracow were plundered, and thirty of them killed, by Crusaders. The attacks and riots became so frequent that King John Albert, in 1494, ordered the Jews of Cracow to settle in the present suburb of Kazimierz, which was then a separate city, and it has remained the Jewish quarter ever since. The Judengasse of Cracow proper is the only witness to the fact that Jews lived there before they were confined to Kazimierz. The change gave them no greater security, for their new quarters were attacked with the usual results as soon as the king left the capital.

Fifteenth Century.

The students of the Cracow University were generally prominent in attacks on the Jews, and their persecutions led to the establishment of relations between the Jews and the authorities of the university, in the records of which the Jews of Cracow are first met with as a corporate body. A Jewish banker was appointed to lend money to students on pledges, and being appointed by the rector, he had the title of privileged servant of the university. In this way the banker became the protector of his fellows against the insults and cruelties of the students. A tax, at first irregularly collected, was also imposed upon the Jews of Cracow for the purchase of books and writing material for the students. This tax, known as "kozubalec," developed into a form of blackmail, levied under the guise of protecting them from attacks by the students.

Little is known of the communal and intellectual life of the Jews of Cracow until the sixteenth century, when both appear well developed under the rule of Sigismund I. (1506–48), who first reduced to order the administration of Jewish affairs in his dominions. It is believed that R. Jacob POLLAK, who later became rabbi of Prague, stood, in his younger days, at the head of the Jewish community of Cracow (Dembitzer, "Kelilat Yofi," Preface); but the first rabbi of Cracow known as such is R. Asher, the grandfather of R. Meïr (MaHRaM) LUBLIN. In his time (he was there as early as 1507, and died about 1532) there were in Cracow a number of Bohemian Jews, under a rabbi named R. Perez. As the result of a dispute between them and the Polish community under R. Asher, King Sigismund decided in 1519 that the latter owned the synagogue and could prevent the Bohemians from entering it.

Those times, although not entirely free from violence and persecution, were probably the best which the Jews of Cracow ever enjoyed under Polish rule. Though legally confined to Kazimierz, Jews had places of business in all the principal thoroughfares of Cracow, and even on the Ringplatz. Large penalties were imposed on the city for every riot or act of violence against the Jews. This law, however, passed by the Diet at the instance of Chancellor Christoph Szydlowiecki, fell into disuse, and was suspended by Sigismund in 1536. He nevertheless refused to grant the demand of the German merchants,

Sixteenth Century.

in 1542, that the number of Jews in Cracow be limited, or to listen to their complaint that the Jews sent money out of the country by importing goods from Wallachia (Grätz, "Gesch." ix. 432); showing therein his willingness to protect the Jews of his capital against unjust discrimination. The waywode Peter Kmit, who rose in influence under Bona Sforza, Sigismund's second wife, did at one time spread the report that the Diet intended to grant to the Jews of Cracow complete liberty of commerce, but this was done for the purpose of extorting money from the Christian merchants. In 1539 Katharina Zelazewska, the widow of an alder-

man ("Rathsherr"), was burned at the stake for embracing Judaism. In 1556 cholera caused many deaths in the community, while riots by the students in December of that year, repeated in May, 1560, added to the distress of the Jews. At that time they numbered about 3,000. The "pinḳes" (communal records) shows that no deaths occurred between November, 1590, and the Feast of Tabernacles, in 1591 and only one between April and September in 1594. In January of the following year the Jews rescued all the king's treasures during a conflagration in the palace, but this did not prevent the hanging of thirteen Jews on a false charge in 1596.

The "taḳḳanot," or ordinances for the administration of the communal affairs of Cracow, preserved in the old "pinḳes," and dated 1595, comprise an almost complete municipal code. They provide for dayyanim (assistant rabbis) as administrators for charities and other institutions; include rules for marriages and for the engaging of servants and apprentices; and contain various other regulations; all of which tends to prove that the Jews formed a practically independent community, with the management of their own internal affairs. This set of rules is, however, not the oldest extant, there being some isolated regulations regarding education and other subjects dating back to 1538, and signed by David Jonathan, scribe and treasurer of the community of Cracow, together with the other rabbis, parnasim, and notables who usually appended their names to documents of that nature.

The Market at Cracow in 1869.
(From a drawing by A. Schönn, by permission of D. Appleton & Co.)

While Cracow shared the decline of Poland, which began in the seventeenth century, it still held its ascendency over the other Polish cities. A regulation of the Council of Four Lands, in 1606, decides that the gift to the king known as "spilkovi" (the "pin-tax" of later times) should always be given by the "ḳahal" (community) of Cracow, and be repaid to it from the treasury of the council, "as this is for the good of the Jews in Great and Little Poland, Podolia, and Ukraine" (Wettstein, "Ḳadmoniyyot," p. 26). The plague of 1623 devastated the Jewish quarters, and many of the communal institutions were closed.

Cracow did not regain its former prestige until about 1638, when arrangements were made to reopen the Talmud Torah. False accusations were very frequent at that period, when the community was disorganized and unable to protect its members. A certain R. Asher Anshel was burned at the stake in Nisan (April), 1631, R. Samuel Zanvil meeting the same fate in the following month. Four Jews were tortured and executed in Nov., 1637, and various other atrocities were perpetrated. The interesting regulations about barber-surgeons deciding who had, and who had not, the right to practise that profession, dates from Dec., 1639, and tends to prove that the community was now again in its normal condition. The terrible days of Chmielnicki and the wars of the Cossacks were now approaching, and although Cracow did not suffer in the fateful years of 1648–49, her turn came in 1655, when there was a general massacre of Jews, in which "hundreds and hundreds of heads of families lost their lives." There was no cessation even after peace was made, and in 1664 the druggist R. Matathia was burned "for blaspheming Christianity." A student riot on March 12, 1682, aroused the good king Sobieski to punish the rioters; but the Jews of Cracow found it safer to intercede in behalf of one of the leaders who was condemned to death.

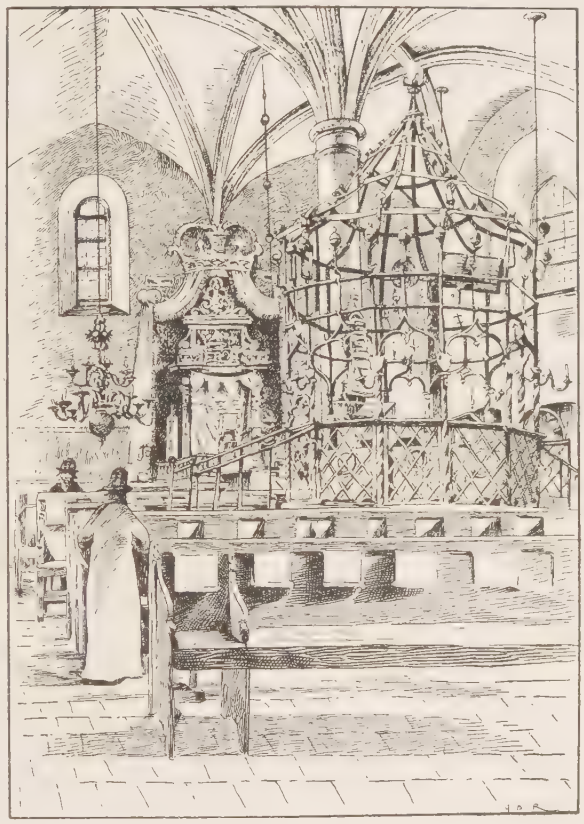
Seventeenth Century.

Their fortunes went from bad to worse in the eighteenth century, when the impoverished and de-

graded community became heavily involved in debt. In Jan., 1726, the leaders and representatives issued a "keruz" (proclamation), calling upon the Jews of Cracow to contribute a twentieth part of their possessions to settle with the commission which the waywode had appointed to liquidate the debts of the community. The proclamation stated that the commission was a great boon, and that the sacrifice which the Jews of Cracow were required to make was the only means of preventing the abolition of the community and averting terrible persecutions and possible exile. The last act of the community of Cracow, before the final partition of Poland, was the "herem," or great ban, pronounced there against the new sect of Ḥasidim on the 25th of Tishri (Sept. 29), 1785. It is signed by Rabbi Isaac ha-Levi and sixteen notables; but it had no more effect there than in other places, and Ḥasidism gained a firm hold in Cracow, which it has succeeded in retaining to this day.

Eighteenth Century.

After the city became a part of Austrian territory in 1795, the condition of the Jews was, if possible, rendered worse than before; but when it became in 1810 a part of the duchy of Warsaw, the Jews were in theory emancipated. Still this did not prevent the new government from enacting a law which made the kasher-meat tax paid by Jews a permanent feature of the revenue. The ill-fated duchy lasted only until 1813, and the Jews practically retained their old communal organization until the third great political change—the formation of the "Rzeczpospolita," or Free State of Cracow, by which the Congress of Vienna (1815) attempted to preserve the last vestige of Polish independence. The new commonwealth, which included Cracow and some of its surrounding territory, had about 18,000 Jews in a total population of 140,000. Roman Catholicism was the official religion of the state, and a special set of laws for the Jews was adopted by the commission on organization, which placed the old community in a very lamentable condition. The kahal was abolished, and the Jews were placed under the "Gemeindevogt" (chief of the community), but not as free citizens. They were under special jurisdiction of the authorities, and burdened with so many harassing and degrading restrictions that their fate was rendered the most deplorable in Europe (Jost, "Neuere Gesch. der Israeliten," ii. 314 *et seq.*). This lasted with some slight modifications until the Free State was incorporated with the Austrian dominions in 1846. It became a part of Galicia, and has since then shared the lot of all other Jewish communities in Austria.



Interior of the Old Synagogue at Cracow.
(From "Oesterreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild.")

In the memorable year 1848 the Jews of Cracow, with the aid of Christian citizens, elected their rabbi, Dob Berush Meisels, as a member of the Reichsrath, which met at Kremsier, where he made a good impression. In the short-lived emancipation of that year Jews settled in all parts of the city, but in 1850 they were forced back to Kazimierz, few only remaining in Stradom, another suburb nearer the center of the city. Since their real emancipation in 1861 they have spread all over the city, although Kazimierz is to-day as much of a "Judenstadt" as when Jews were prohibited from living in any other part of the city.

Cracow was the first city in Galicia to adopt (1872), with some modifications, the new order of management for Jewish communities which was suggested by the "Musterstatut," the model plan issued by the representative of the central government after the emancipation.

Cracow, from the earlier part of the sixteenth century, was known as a great center of Talmudical learning, and counted among its citizens some of the greatest rabbinical scholars of Poland. It did not always have a rabbi or "ab bet din," whose authority was supreme over all the learned men of the city; for it often happened that two or three distinguished men stood each at the head of a "yeshibah," or great school, and acted independently of one another. R. Asher, mentioned above, was only a "rosh metibta," and so also was his contemporary R. Moses Storch. Moses Isserles (d. 1572); his brother-in-law R. Joseph b. Mor-

decai Gerson Kohen (d. 1591); Eliezer Ashkenazi (d. 1586); Isaac b. David Shapira (d. 1582); Mordecai Singer (d. 1576); Joel, the stepfather of the above-mentioned Joseph Kohen; Eliezer Treves; Meïr b. Gedaliah; Moses Mordecai Margoliot; and many other learned men have all been rabbis, or great religious teachers, who decided religious questions separately or in conjunction with others; but none of them was ever elected to the headship of the entire community. Sometimes one scholar, or even one who was not a recognized rabbinical authority, was placed, by the ruler of the land, at the head of the community, with legal jurisdiction, though not with the religious authority of the office. Such cases were rare, and most scholars succeeded one another in the limited authority which the community chose to confer on the heads of yeshibot, who were not especially selected as rabbis of the whole community.

Rabbis and Other Notable Jews.

The first rabbi who enjoyed the title of "ab bet din" of Cracow and the province was R. Isaiah Menahem b. Isaac (1591–99). His successor, R. Meshullam Phoebus, or Feivush, of Brest (d. 1617), was in Cracow at least as early as 1605.

Types of Cracow Jews.
(From "Oesterreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild.")

Nathan b. Solomon Shapiro became the head of a yeshibah in 1617, and held this position until his death in 1633. He was not, however, rabbi of the community, that position being held by R. Joel ben Samuel Sirkes. Nathan was succeeded as "rosh metibta" by R. Joshua Höschel b. Joseph of Wilna (died in 1648); and R. Joel (died in 1640), was succeeded (1644) by R. Yom-Ṭob Lipman Heller four years later, who also succeeded R. Joshua, dying in 1654. Rabbi Joshua Höschel ben Saul (known as "Reb Heschele") of Lublin became rabbi of Cracow the same year, dying in 1664. He was succeeded by R. Aryeh Löb b. Zachariah, "the prophet" who died in 1671. His successor was R. Aaron Samuel Kaidanower of Wilna, who died in 1676, and was succeeded by R. Isaac Ḥarif Landau of Opatow, who died in 1683. The next rabbi, Aaron Teomim, who was chosen in 1687, did not arrive until 1690, and died four months after his arrival.

For about ten years, during which time no regular rabbi was appointed, R. Saul Katzenellenbogen of Pinczow attended to some of the rabbinical duties. In 1693 R. Jehudah Löb, son of R. David b. Samuel (Ṭure Zahab) of Lemberg, was chosen rabbi about 1700; he either died, or left for Brest. R. Saul, the son of the above R. Heschel, succeeded R. Löb, and died in 1707. There was again a vacancy for several years, for the next rabbi, R. Jehuda Löb b. Isaac of Shidlov, came to Cracow after 1714. He died between 1730 and 1732, and was succeeded by his son R. David Samuel Schmelka, who lived until 1741. He was succeeded by R. Isaac Joseph Teomim, who, in 1745, returned to Breslau to succeed his father. After an interregnum of nine years R. Isaac Landau of Zolkiev was chosen, and held the position until his death in 1767. He was succeeded by R. Aryeh Löb b. Samuel of Tarnow, who died 1776, and was followed by R. Isaac ha-Levi of Lemberg, who died in 1799. R. Moses Solomon of Warsaw (Brody?), formerly rabbi of Koretz, was elected to succeed him; but after preaching one sermon in the old synagogue he went to Warsaw, where he remained until his death in Dec., 1815. He retained, however, the title of rabbi of Cracow, for which he is said to have paid 500 ducats, and was so styled by others in references made to him in contemporary writings. R. Ẓebi David, son of the above R. Isaac ha-Levi, was acting rabbi until after the death of Moses Solomon, when he succeeded to the full title, and died at an advanced age in Dec., 1831. After much dissension the above-mentioned R. Berush Meisels was chosen rabbi, and nominally held that position over twenty years. His title, however, was for the greater part of that time disputed by a wing of the Ḥasidim, who considered R. Saul Landau as the rabbi. When the latter died, and R. Berush went to Warsaw in 1856, R. Alexander, the son of R. Saul, was chosen rabbi, but died a few weeks later. R. Simon Schreiber, son of R. Moses Sofer, was chosen in 1858, and remained rabbi until his death, March 26, 1883. Since then Cracow has been one of the many Austrian communities which have no rabbi, because the various factions can not agree in any selection. R. Ḥayyim Nathan Dembitzer, in succession to his brother R. Jacob Moses (d. 1863), was acting rabbi until his death in 1892. One of the dayyanim, "the rosh bet din," is at present (1902) the acting rabbi.

The most important members of the Cracow community were usually officers of the ḳahal, and at the

time when the Jews were under their own jurisdiction such officers carried with them not only religious but worldly authority. Until the abolition of the ḳahal in 1815, there were always four elected "roshim" (heads), five "ṭobim" (best, or chosen), fourteen ḳahal men, and three auditors, who practically ruled the community. Some-

Important Scholars.

times one would, on account of his great learning, or wealth, or abilities as a leader, enjoy special distinction, like R. Abraham Israel Hendels, who died in 1660, of whom it is said that he was "the leader of the community of Cracow for over fifty years." There were also many distinguished physicians, such as Isaac, the favorite of kings Alexander and Sigismund early in the sixteenth century, and Samuel, the surgeon to the queen, who is mentioned in a suit for slander in which the above R. Asher was a witness. The physician Solomon Kolahora (d. 1597) was a favorite of King Stephen Bathory. The family, which is later called "Kalihari," was still known in the last century, and has furnished many druggists, physicians, Talmudists, and "parnasim" to the community. Of the noted rabbinical scholars who were "dayyanim," or "rosh yeshibot," may be mentioned: R. Isaac ha-Kohen of Krementz, the father-in-law of R. Meïr Lublin; R. Joshua Kohen, who was "rosh bet din" over thirty years, and died in 1631; R. Jehuda Selkil, son-in-law of R. Joel Särkes; R. Berechiah Shapiro; R. Hirsch ha-Kohen; and R. Mordecai Krasnik, who flourished in the middle of the seventeenth century. The scribes or secretaries of the community, those whose names are found signed under the valuable records preserved in the "pinḳes," were usually also important men, and of them R. Matathia Delacrut (first half of seventeenth century), R. Isaac b. Hanoch (1660), and R. Jehuda Löb Kalischer (1738) deserve to be mentioned. The "shoḥeṭim," "bodeḳim," "menaḳḳerim," and even the butchers of Cracow were, in olden times, famous for their learning, and one of them, R. Ẓebi of Cracow, who died 1593, was the author of an authoritative work on "sheḥiṭah." Among the most prominent families in later times was the Mieses family, which removed to Germany in 1863, while reference should also be made to such scholars as Dr. M. Duschak and Dr. Landau. Of the scholars now living in Cracow, Dr. Rubin, and F. H. Wettstein deserve mention.

Besides the old synagogue which was mentioned above, there are in Cracow the "new" synagogue built by Israel Isserles (father of R. Moses) in 1553; the "high" synagogue, built in 1633; one which bears the name of its builder, R. Isaac R. Ye-

Synagogues.

ḳel (d. 1673), and which was built in 1644; the "ḳuppah" (treasury) synagogue, so called because it was built (in 1647) by the community, not by private donation; and Popper's synagogue, which was finished in 1798. Cracow has also a temple of the Progressive congregation, numerous small "batte midrashim" and "stüblach," as the Ḥasidic houses of worship are called. Among the more considerable batte midrashim, of which there are about eight, the most famous is the one which tradition has connected with R. Nathan Schapiro (the author of the "Megalleh 'Amuḳḳot"), whose memory is sanctified by the pious Jews of Poland.

The Jewish community, with a population of 25,000, is ruled by a "Cultusrath" of 30 members, of which the officers are: Dr. Leon Horowitz (former member of Reichs-

Present Conditions.

rath), president; Hirsch Landau, vice-president; Sigmund Pelican, secretary. Other officials are: Ch. L. Horowitz, acting rabbi; Pinḥas Dembitzer, Joseph Lederberger, Kalman Gutwirth, Abr. Moses Rappoport, and Samuel Landau, rabbinats-assessors; Moses Landau, president of ḥebra ḳaddisha. Dr. Tohn is the rabbi of the Progressive or Liberal congregation. The university now has several Jewish professors (there were four in 1887), and the chamber of commerce is represented in the Reichsrath by Dr. Arnold Rappoport, a grandson of S. J. L. Rappoport of Prague, who in 1889 founded the "Israelitische Handwerksschule" (see Bloch's "Oesterreichische Wochenschrift," 1889, No. 24). The city has also various charitable organizations, and received a considerable share of the benevolent foundations of the late Baron de Hirsch in Galicia, which also includes another "Handwerksschule." The Sefat Emet society, founded in 1892, marked the beginning of the revival of the Hebrew language, and the Colonisations-Verein für Palästina, which was founded in 1893, was the forerunner of the Zionist movement, which has rapidly spread in Galicia in the last few years, and of which Samuel Fuchs, the editor of "Ha-Maggid," is one of the pioneers.

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H. R. P. Wi.

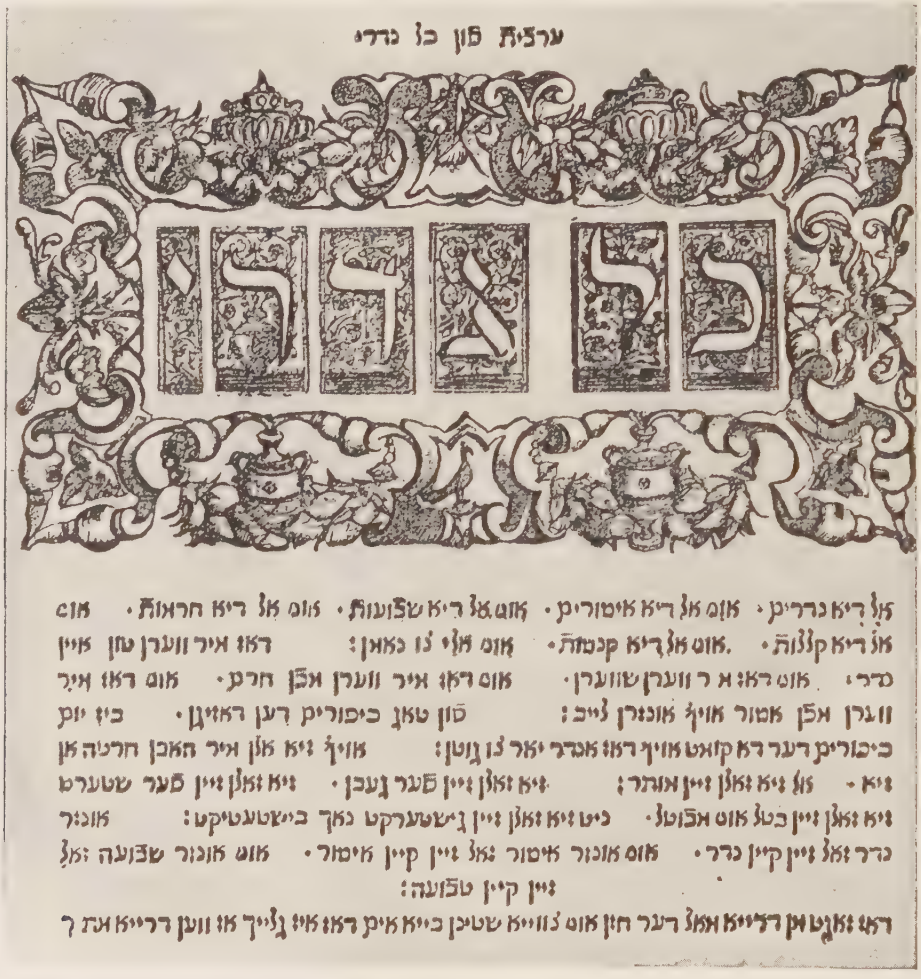
——**Printing:** Cracow had the first Hebrew printing-establishment in Poland. The first books issued there were stated by Wolf to be a Pentateuch and the five Megillot (1530), and a Haggadah (1531), which do not, however, bear the name of the printer, and Steinschneider accordingly denies the existence of a press at Cracow at that date. Samuel Asher and Eliakim, the sons of Ḥayyim Halicz, established a printing-office in 1534, which survived only a short time. Johannes Halicz became a printer of Hebrew in 1538, and in 1539 he associated with him Johannes Kurzias of Glogau; but their enterprise was also short-lived, and the last work from their press is dated 1546. About a quarter of a century later Isaac b. Aaron of Prossnitz, also known as Isaac "Meḥoḳeḳ," established a printing-press in 1569, which had a better fortune. He employed as corrector Samuel, son of the martyr Isaac Bohm, who

formerly lived in Venice, and the first book issued, the "Torat Ḥaṭṭat" of R. Moses Isserles, afterward reprinted three times, shows improvement over books previously printed in Cracow. Many books, some of which are now very rare, were issued from his press during the following thirty years. They included the Yalḳuṭ (1596). The earlier works, issued before 1580, when Samuel left him, vie with the best Italian products, and the title-pages are decorated after the Italian style. In 1600 R. Isaac returned to Prossnitz, but part of his plant remained in Cracow, where his three sons, Aaron, Moses Joshua, and Issachar Bär, began, in 1602, the publication of the Babylonian Talmud, finished in 1608. They did not place their names on the title-pages as printers until after their father's death (1612); but they are found, in accordance with the customs of the time, among the typesetters whose names were affixed at the end of each book. Their printers' mark was a ram.

Book-Printing.

The Polish establishments enjoyed a limited protection against foreign competition, the rabbis of Cracow and the Council of Four Lands having issued an edict that no Hebrew books printed in Poland should be reprinted in Italy, and the Italians, who had in Poland their best markets, thought it prudent to obey leaders who could effectively bar their products from that territory. Cracow was now declining, and the old printing-establishment was likewise losing ground. The last book it issued bears the date of September, 1628. There was also at that time another printing-office in Cracow, which issued one book, "Shomerim la-Boḳer," in 1627.

R. Nahum Meisels, a member of one of the best families of Cracow, embarked in the printing business in 1631. He imported new type from Venice, and made great efforts to secure prosperity for his venture. He printed many books, but the records of his business affairs show that he was generally financially embarrassed. He had frequently to bor-



Page with the Kol Nidre Prayer, from a Judæo-German Maḥzor Printed at Cracow 1571.

row on unfavorable terms, or to take in partners; to pledge his plant and books to creditors; and, at last, to sell his house. The calamitous years of 1648–49 added to his difficulties, and in the latter year he failed, closing with the publication of "Ẓuḳ ha-'Ittim," by R. Meïr of Shebreshin, in which the disasters of the Cossack war are described in the quaint rabbinical style of that period. What remained of the plant of R. Nahum Meisels, who died in 1659, was inherited by his son-in-law, Jehuda Löb Meisels, who began to print books on a small scale in that year and continued until 1670, when he, too, was forced to suspend work.

For over 130 years in the period of the decline of Poland, Cracow had no Hebrew printing-office. In 1803 the wealthy Naphtali Hirz ha-Kohen Schapiro opened an establishment, and in 1820 his son Aaron Solomon became his associate. They sympathized with the "Haskalah," or progressive ideas, and did much to encourage its literature, but were forced to close their establishment in 1823 after having sustained great losses. There was again an interval of about forty years, when Karl Budweiser, in 1863, began the printing of Hebrew books. The most notable among the works issued from his office, before he removed to Lemberg in 1874, are those of S. J. L. Rappoport and Mieses.

In 1879 Joseph Fischer established a Hebrew printing-office, which is now in a flourishing condition, and which has contributed to make Cracow a center of Neo-Hebrew literature during the last two decades. Since Ha-Maggid, the oldest of Hebrew weekly periodicals, removed to Cracow in 1892, that city has occupied an important position in the Jewish publishing world. Numerous Hebrew periodicals like "Ha-Eshkol," "Ha-Zeman," "Ha-Heker," "Mi-Mizraḥ umi-Ma'arab," "Ha-Dor," the Yiddish weekly "Der Jud," and the monthly "Die Judische Familie" (the last two published by the Aḥiasaf of Warsaw) appeared there; all of them, however, are now defunct. Cracow's proximity to Russia makes it a convenient place from which Russian publishers can issue books and periodicals for circulation in Russia, where permission to found a newspaper is difficult to obtain. Freedom from rigid censorship gives Cracow an advantage over greater centers like Warsaw or Wilna.

Periodicals.

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J. P. Wi.

CRADLE SONGS, JUDÆO-GERMAN: Songs written as lullabies; these exist in great variety and profusion among the Jews speaking Judæo-German or Yiddish, and among them may be quoted the following:

For boys:

Inter Yankeles wigele	Behind Jankele's cradle
Shteit a gilden tsigele;	Stands a golden goat;
Tsigele is gifurn handlen	Goat went to sell
Rozhinkelach mit mandlen.	Raisins and almonds.
Rozhinkelach mit mandlen	Raisins and almonds
Sanen di bäste schoire.	Are the best goods.
Yankele wet leirnen Toire;	Jankele will learn Torah;
Toire wet er leirnen;	Torah will he learn;
Briwelach wet er schraben,	Letters he will write,
In a eirlecher Id	And he will be a good Jew
Wet er af tomid farblaben.	And remain so for ever.

The last few lines occur in Bessarabia in the following form:

Lernen wet er keseider	He will learn properly
A por Shures, a por mailes.	A few lines, a few steps forward.
Moishinke wet paskenen shailes;	Moishinke will answer ritual questions;
Shailes wet er paskenen,	Ritual questions will he answer,
Droshes wet er darshenen.	And he will make religious speeches.

Another version, from the government of Suwalki, prophesies the boy's marriage:

Du west lernen Teire,	You will learn Torah,
Teire, Teire, in kepele,	Torah, Torah, will be in your head,
Kashe, kashe, in tepele.	Gruel, gruel, in your pot.
Puter mit breit shmirn.	You will put butter on your bread.
Der tate mit der mäme soln derleben	May father and mother live
Dir tsu der chupe firn.	To bring you under the canopy.
Firt men, firt men, tsu der chupe;	They take him, they take him, to the canopy;
Firt men, firt men, fun der chupe;	They take him, they take him, from the canopy;
Setst men aruf eibm on.	They seat him at the head of all.
In gold un in silber ongeton.	He is dressed in gold and in silver.
Git men a shtikl fleish.	They give him a piece of meat,
Sogt der chosn as di fleish is heis;	And the bridegroom says it's too hot;
Git men a shtikele of,	They give him a piece of poultry,
Sogt er di of i post.	And he says the poultry is too tough.
Darfar wet er derleben	For this he will live
Mit der kale shlofn.	To have a bride.
Shlof zhe, shlof zhe in dainem ru,	Sleep, sleep in peace,
Mach zhe daine koshere eigelach tsu;	Close your pretty eyes;
Mach zhe tsu, un efn ouf;	Close them and open them;
Kimt der tate un wekt dir ouf,	When papa comes to wake thee,
Sol er mir wekn, wi er wil,	Let him wake me as much as he likes,
Ich el mir stumachen di eigelach un shwaigen shtil.	I will close my eyes and keep quiet.

A Rumanian version looks forward to the period of the bar miẓwah:

A giter in a frimer Id wet mir dus kind blaben.	He will remain a good and pious Jew.
Toire tsiwe Moishe morushe.	Moses left us the Law as an inheritance.
Tsi der barmitswe wet es sugn a drusche;	He will make a speech at his confirmation;
Tsi der drushe wet er sech shteln.	He will rise to make a speech.
Der futer mit der miter wet unqueln;	Father and mother will swell with pride;
Gur dem oilem wet san drushe gefeln—	And the community will like his speech—
Gur dem oilem, gur der welt.	The community and the whole world.
Der futer mit der miter wet gibn nadn asach geld.	The father and the mother will give much money for his dowry.

The lullabies for girls are of a simpler nature, as may be shown by the following examples from the neighborhood of Kherson:

I.	I.
Shlof zhe, shlof, main taier kind;	Sleep, sleep, my dearest child;
Mach zhe tsu di eigelach gich un geshwind;	Close your eyes quickly;
Dain esn un dain trinken shteit shein greit do.	Your food and your drink are all ready.
Mach zhe tsu di eigelach af etlechene sho.	Close your eyes for a few hours.

II.

Dzhades un bern i do umedûm;
Sei geien in drousn arum;
Sei obn sheine meidelach weinendik gefunen,
Obn sei gechapt un araingeworfen in brunen.

II.

Beggars and bears are all around;
They even walk around outside;
And if they find pretty girls are crying,
They seize them and throw them into the well.

III.

Di sun is schon ufgegangn,
Der hon hot shon gekreit.
Er samelt keiches tsu dertrogn
Wos far dir is ongegreit.

III.

The sun has already risen,
The cock has already crowed.
He is gathering strength to bear
What you are getting ready for him.

IV.

Di lewone is shon arousgegangn
Fon ir getselt;
Asei heich sol dain masel shainen
In der gantsen welt.

IV.

The moon has already disappeared
From its tent;
So should your luck be
Over the whole world.

The following cradle song, the most elaborate collected ("Globus," xx.), is perhaps one of the most charming:

Shluf, man feigele,
Mach tsi dus eigele,
Shluf sech ois, man kind.
Di shlufst nit fraid.
Di weist nit ken laid;
Shluf sech ois gesint.
Ich, dan miter,
Bin dan beshitser;
Schluf sech ois gesint.
Der schluf der giter
Asoi, wi a hiter,
Shteit ba dir bis fri.
Mit san fligele
Iber dan wigele,
Dekt er dich sthil tsi.
Di shpilst sech af dan brist
Mit dane bentelech imsist.
Der takt hot ba dir ken wert;
In mit di fingerlech
Oif di klingerlech
Piano in konzert.
Di west oifshtein fin den wig,
Hosti arbet genig
Far dir ungegrait atsind—
Shtikn shichelach,
Laienen bichelech.
Shluf derwal, man kind,
As s'wet weren a roit fiekele
Oif dan bekele;
Wet men wisen dan main.
Di west a kik tun finder sat,
Shtein inge lat,
Rach geklait in shain.
Dech wel'n libn,
Presenten gibn,
Solste sugn nain.
Di eltern soln leiben
In nadn geibn
Toisenter asach;
Sech kishn in malechl,
Chusn mit der kalechl.
Mir wein sech frain glach mit ach;
Di west gain a kleid
Mit shlaires banait.
Di west sech drein aber in ahin;
In fin dan windele,
Man klain kindele,
Wet wern a karnolin;
Di west tantsn in sal
Af dem gepitsten pol;
Di west unmachn a wind
Demelst taminju;
Westi heisn daminju.
Shluf derwal gesint,
Di west tsi der chipe gain
Ungetin shain.
Demelst westi wern rain fin sind.
Di west sitsen bam tish
Di west esn gefilte fish.
Shluf derwal, man kind.
Di west habn a klains,
A fans in a shains;
Di west's libn wi ich lib dech;
Di west im oiskishen yeider glidele.
West im singn dus lidele:
Shluf sech ois gesint!

Sleep, my birdie,
Close your eyes;
Sleep enough, my child.
You sleep with joy.
You know of no sorrow;
Sleep with health.
I, your mother,
Am your owner;
Sleep with health.
The good angel of sleep
Will, like a guardian,
Stand by you till morning.
With his wings
Over your cradle,
He covers you well.
You play on your bosom
With your little hands.
Rhythm has no value to you;
And with your little fingers
You play on the bells
As if it were a piano in a concert.
When you shall go out from your cradle,
You will have work enough
Prepared for you—
To embroider shoes,
To pray from books.
Meanwhile sleep, my child,
And a red spot will appear
On your cheek;
They will know you're mine.
You will look sideways,
And young men will stand there,
Richly dressed and handsome.
They will love you,
And give you presents,
But you should refuse them.
Your parents shall live
And give you a dowry
Of many thousands;
Shall kiss each other on the mouth
The bridegroom and the bride.
We will take joy in joy;
You will wear a dress
With lace sewed on it.
You will turn around and around:
And your swaddling clothes,
My little child,
Shall become crinoline;
You will dance in a hall
On a polished floor;
You will create a wind
Then, my sweet one;
You will be called "lady."
Meanwhile sleep in health,
And you will go to the canopy
Nicely dressed.
Then you will be cleared from sin.
You will sit at the table
And eat stuffed fish.
Meanwhile sleep, my child.
You will have a little one,
A good one and a pretty one;
You will love it as I love you;
You will kiss every limb,
You will sing to it this song:
Take your sleep in health!

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J. M. Gr.

CRAJOVA: Chief town of the district of Dolschi; ancient capital of the Banat of Oltenie, Lower Wallachia. It may be assumed that Jews settled here at a very early period, some, doubtless, under Ladislaus Basarab between 1365 and 1367, after the expulsion of the Jews from Hungary by Louis the Great. At the beginning of the seventeenth century there was an organized community with a rabbi at Crajova. Many Jews coming from Turkey on business, settled in the city, and when Oltenie came under Austrian rule, in 1718, the community was probably augmented by new arrivals of Austrian and Hungarian Jews. The letter of privileges granted to the Bulgarian colonies (Oct. 1, 1727) by Charles VI. of Austria, forbade the Jews, as well as the Turks and the Greeks, of Crajova to display their goods at the fairs held in the city, the great annual fair being excepted. But when Oltenie again became part of Wallachia, in 1739, the privileges accorded to the Bulgarians were withdrawn, and the Jews of Crajova were once more free to ply their trades.

The community of Crajova, like all the Jewish communities of Wallachia, was under the jurisdiction of the Jewish starost of Bucharest, and therefore, since the beginning of the eighteenth century, under that of the ḥakam-bashi of Jassy. There was probably a starost-wekil at Crajova, who was raised to the rank of starost in 1805.

It is impossible to estimate even approximately the number of Jews formerly living at Crajova, for

Wallachia suffered greatly during the wars between Turkey and Austria, especially from the incursions of the bashi-bazouks and, later, from the armed hordes of Pasvant-Oglu. These inroads always forced the inhabitants of Crajova to disperse and seek refuge either beyond the Danube or beyond the Carpathians. According to the census of 1899 there were 2,891 Jews in a total population of 45,493. According to the statistics of trades made in 1900, which are very incomplete, there were 286 Jewish artisans. The Jewish population of Crajova is divided into two communities—Sephardim and Ashkenazim, the latter being the larger, and also the poorer. Each has its synagogue and its ḥebra ḳaddisha, but both use the same cemetery. They do not agree well together, in spite of the boys' school they maintain in common; but the Zion Society, now Independent Order B'nai B'rith, has done much to moderate their differences and lead to a better understanding between them. In consequence of these differences, however, Crajova is the only important Rumanian community without a rabbi.

Though the Jews of Crajova have lived in perfect accord with their Christian fellow citizens, the city has become during the last twenty-five years a center of anti-Semitic agitation. During the national festival of May 10, 1883, mobs went through the city, smashing the windows of Jewish shops and wounding some persons; a few days later one of the Jewish synagogues was set on fire. In 1884 a bomb was thrown into the theater while a Jewish company was playing. Since that time anti-Semitic hostilities and agitation have greatly increased, so that the Jews are leaving the city in great numbers.

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G. E. Sd.

CRANE: A rendering, in the A. V., of the Hebrew word סוּס or סִיס, which in the R. V. is more correctly translated "swallow." "Crane," however, is the proper rendering in the R. V. of the word עָגוּר, as in Isa. xxxviii. 14 and Jer. viii. 7. The first of these texts describes the crane as a bird that chatters; while the second points out its migratory character. The bird now identified with this crane, on the authority of Tristram and Hart, is the *Grus communis*. It is met with in Palestine in large numbers during the summer; and it winters generally in northern Africa. It is said to be the largest bird now found in Palestine, often measuring four feet in length. It gathers in large flocks at common roosting-places, where the chatter and clanging of its notes may be heard, especially at night, at a long distance. The peculiar anatomy of this bird has for some years engaged the attention of zoologists.

E. G. H. I. M. P.

CRANIOMETRY: The methods of measuring skulls for the purpose of determining certain topographical relations, the most important measurement of the skull being the cranial index, or the cephalic index in case the measurements are taken on the living. This consists in the ratio of the width of the head above the ears to the length of the head from the forehead to the most distant point at the back of the head. The cephalic index is expressed by multiplying the width of the head by 100 and dividing the product by the length. Thus, supposing a head to be 153 mm. wide and 186 mm. long, then $\frac{153 \times 100}{186} = 82.26$, the cephalic index. The broader or rounder a head is, the higher is its cephalic index, and vice versa. When the cephalic index is above 80 anthropologists term it "brachycephalic"; between 75 and 80, "mesocephalic"; and less than 75, "dolichocephalic."

There have been but few measurements of Jewish skulls, most of the measurements of Jews having been taken on the living. The following is a list of the measurements of 100 Jewish skulls taken by various anthropologists:

Origin.	No. of Skulls.	Cranial Index.	Observer.
Italian	3	76.33	Davis
Dutch	2	76.33	"
Polish	2	79.00	"
Various	15	78.4	Welcker
African	3	75.0	Pruner-Bey
Holland	5	77.48	Dusseau
Germany	4	....	Weissbach
Basel (13th and 14th centuries)	12	84.66	Kallman
Rome 2d century	5	78.5	Lombroso
Oran	1	74.4	Quatrefages
Paris	1	82.4	"
Constantinople	17	74.5	Ikoff
Crimea (Karaites)	30	83.3	"

The 30 Crimean skulls measured by Ikoff, being those of Karaites, can not, perhaps, be considered Jewish in the strict sense of the word; and no conclusion can be drawn from the remaining 70.

Cephalic Index.

Resort must be had to an analysis of the measurements of the living for the determination of the Jewish cranial type. Appended is a table of nearly 3,000 Jewish heads, from various countries, measured during the last twenty years:

Country.	Number.	Cephalic Index.	Dolichocephalic, —75.	Mesocephalic, 75–80.	Brachycephalic, 80+.	Observer.
Galicia	413	83.6 81.7	3.63	17.67	78.69	Mejer and Kopernicki
Russia	100	83.11	1.00	13.00	86.00	Blechman
"	100	82.5	1.00	18.00	81.00	Weissenberg
"	67	82.2	....	17.9	82.1	Stieda
Lithuania	69	81.7	0.9	15.94	84.06	Talko-Hrynewicz
Ukraine	438	82.2		13.47	85.61	
Italy	112	82.14	2.68	19.64	77.68	Lombroso
Various	19	82.2	....	26.3	73.8	Weisbach
Russia	139	80.9	2.16	31.65	66.19	Yakowenko
Bosnia	55	80.1	7.3	34.5	58.2	Glück
Baden	86	83.5	....	11.6	87.8	Ammon
Caucasus	53	85.2	....	1.7	98.3	Pantukhof
Russia	51	82.8	....	....	....	Ikoff
England	363	80.0	....	....	....	Jacobs
Poland	325	81.9	1.0	22.0	77.0	Elkind
Italy	34	81.6	....	....	....	Livi
Various	500	82.12	1.8	23.8	74.4	Fishberg

On an examination of the figures in this table a remarkable uniformity of the cephalic index of the modern Jews will be noticed. Excepting the Caucasian Jews, of whom but few have been measured, it is shown that nearly 90 per cent are between 81.5 and 83. This indicates a limited variability and differentiation. In fact, the differences are so slight (from 80 to 83) that they may be fairly assigned to the usual discrepancies between different series of measurements of a single and homogeneous race. Another remarkable fact is the striking absence of the dolichocephalic type, which is characteristic of all the other modern Semitic races and tribes, as the Arabs, Syrians, Abyssinians, etc. Among the modern Jews this ranges, as is seen in the table, from 1 per cent, in Blechman's series, to 7.3 per cent in Glück's. On the other hand, the brachycephalic type predominates, nearly all the series showing more than 60 per cent of heads having a cephalic index of over 80.

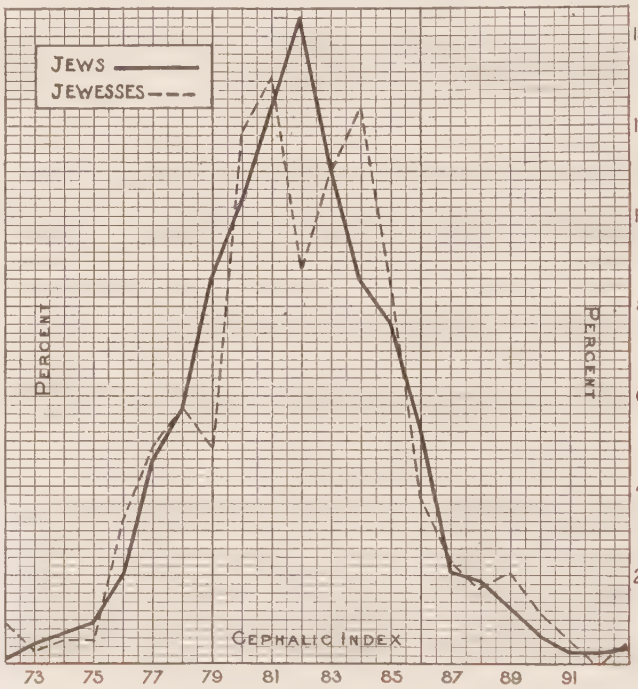
Modern anthropologists do not rely solely on averages for the purpose of ascertaining the character of a given race. The best test at present at the command of the anthropologist, of the homogeneity or variability of a race, is the seriation and coordination of the figures obtained by measurement, and the representation of them graphically in the form of a curve. In case the people investigated is a mixed race, its component elements are shown in the curve by different culminating points. From the literature on the anthropology of the Jews 1,071 measurements of Jewish heads in various countries have been collected, and the data has been arranged in curve-form. The figures from which the appended diagram is derived were obtained from the following sources:

Arrangement by Curve.

139	Russian Jews, measurements made by	Yakowenko.
100	" " " "	Blechman.
100	" " " "	Weissenberg.
67	" " " "	Stieda.
112	Italian " " "	Lombroso.
53	Caucasian " " "	Pantukhof.
500	Jews from various countries measured by	Fishberg.
1,071		

These 1,071 heads are classified as follows: dolichocephalic, 17 = 1.58 per cent; mesocephalic, 235 = 21.94 per cent; brachycephalic, 819 = 76.48 per cent.

What is most worthy of notice is the small percentage of dolichocephaly—only 1.58 per cent—and the large preponderance of brachycephaly, 76.48 per cent. The graphic representation of these 1,071 measurements is shown on the accompanying diagram. The cephalic index is marked from left to right, the percentage of persons having a given index being indicated above each index. Thus, 10.46 per cent of heads have an index of 80; 14.19 per cent, one of 82; and so on. The curve culminates at the index of 82—corresponding exactly to the average and also to the mean index. The largest percentage of people have this cephalic index; and around them are clustered the majority of heads—those having larger indexes to the right, and those with smaller indexes to the left. At the index of 75 the line of the curve begins to ascend regularly and rapidly, until it reaches 82, when it rapidly descends. It thus forms an acute pyramid with its apex almost in the middle. "A sharp pyramid generally denotes a homogeneous people: if they were all precisely alike, a single vertical line, 100 per cent, would result" (Ripley).



CEPHALIC INDEX OF 1,071 JEWS AND 345 JEWESSES.
The index is indicated along the base-line. The percentage of a given index is indicated by the altitude.

The cephalic indexes from which this curve was obtained were those of Jews in various parts of the world. Russian Jews are those observed by Yakowenko, Blechman, Weissenberg, etc.; Italian Jews (Sephardim), by Lombroso; Causasian Jews, by Pantukhof; while those measured by Fishberg include Russian, Polish, Austrian, Hungarian, Rumanian, German, and American Jews. Some, though very few, in the last-mentioned series are of African origin. When figures taken from such diverse elements of Judaism present such a homogeneity, it can safely be concluded that the cranial type of the modern Jews shows very little if any intermixture of foreign blood. So little has this been anticipated that Lombroso, in his frequently quoted comparison of 95 Italian and 112 Jewish heads, insists upon the variability of the latter;

whereas, if he had drawn a curve, the result would have shown several apexes among the Italians and only one, and that a steep one, for the Jews at the usual index (82—), leading to an exactly opposite conclusion to that of Lombroso.

There appears no perceptible difference between the cephalic index of Jews and that of Jewesses, as can be seen from the following table:

Observer.	Cephalic Index.	
	Men.	Women.
Talko-Hryncewicz	82.20	83.00
Majer and Kopernicki	81.70	80.30
Weissenberg	82.50	82.40
Elkind	81.90	82.90
Yakowenko	80.90	81.24
Fishberg	82.12	83.00

Skulls of Jewesses.

In the measurements of 345 heads of Jewish women collected by Fishberg (50 from Weissenberg's measurements, 80 from Yakowenko's, and 215 from Fishberg's), the following distribution is found: dolichocephalic, 9 = 2.61 per cent; mesocephalic, 67 = 19.42 per cent; brachycephalic, 269 = 77.97 per cent. These figures agree with those cited above for men. A curve drawn from the measurements of 345 heads of Jewesses here recorded has the appearance indicated in the accompanying diagram. It will be observed that this curve is not a smooth pyramid, as is the curve of the cephalic index of Jews. It shows, in fact, a decided double apex: one pointing at an index of 81, the other at 84, which seems to indicate a greater variability and differentiation in Jewish females than in Jewish males. This is contrary to what has been observed throughout the organic world. This point, recently brought out by Fishberg ("American Anthropologist," Oct.–Dec. 1902), is of sufficient scientific interest to merit further investigation.

The absolute figures obtained by craniometry of modern European Jews show a striking uniformity unknown among other civilized races. In the accompanying table the length of the head varies from 183 mm. in Majer's and Kopernicki's, Weissenberg's, and Yakowenko's series, to 188 mm. in Blechman's—a difference of only 5 mm., which is comparatively insignificant. The same is the case with the width of the head, which varies from 150 to 156 mm.—a difference of only 6 mm.

Observer.	Length of Head.	Width of Head.
	Millimeters.	Millimeters.
Majer and Kopernicki:		
Series I.	183	153
" II.	186	152
Stieda	187	154
Weissbach	185	152
Blechman	188	156
Weissenberg	183	151
Talko-Hryncewicz:		
Ukraine	185	153
Lithuania	187	153
Yakowenko	183	150
Glück	186	149
Elkind	184	151

Circumference of Jewish Skulls.

Of the other measurements of the head, the horizontal circumference is important enough to be mentioned here. A table giving figures on this subject is appended:

Observer.	Circumference of Head.	
	Men.	Women.
Talko-Hryncewicz	549 551	512 528
Majer and Kopernicki	543	535
Yakowenko	564	532
Weissenberg	550	536
Glück	546	...
Blechman	557	...
Stieda	552	...
Weisbach	558	...
Elkind	553	536

As is the universal rule, the circumference of the head of the male is greater than that of the female by about 2.5 cm. (1 inch). Another point worth noting is that (wherever data are obtainable) the circumference of the head among the Jews is, as a rule, greater than that among the races with whom they dwell.

The most important problem suggested by a study of craniometrical results concerning Jews is the relation of the type head of the modern Jews to that of the ancient Hebrews and to the modern Semitic skulls. The pure Semitic skull is dolichocephalic, as may be seen from a study of the heads of modern Arabs, Abyssinians, Syrians, etc. The cephalic index of these races is from 73 to 77. As is at present accepted by nearly all anthropologists, the shape of the head is the most stable characteristic of a given race. It is little if at all influenced by climate, environment, nutrition, or sexual and social selection. The only way the type of the head may change is by intermixture with other races. If the ancient Hebrews were of the same stock as the modern non-Jewish Semites, and if the modern Jews are their descendants, then a pure dolichocephalic type of head would be expected among the Jews. As has been seen, all the results of craniometry prove that the Jews are brachycephalic, and that the dolichocephalic form is only found among them in less than two per cent of cases.

This can be explained in two ways: either the modern Jews have very little Semitic blood in their veins, as Lombroso, Luschan, and others are inclined to think, or the ancient Hebrews may have been a brachycephalic race. In order to establish this, an examination is necessary of more skulls of ancient Hebrews, which are not available at present. The only skulls of ancient Hebrews recorded are five obtained by Lombroso from the catacomb of St. Calixtus in Rome, dating back to 150 C.E. Lombroso aptly remarks that these skulls are of great importance, because at the period from which they are derived (second century), there could not have been any considerable racial intermixture of the Jews with other peoples, and the cranial type

Ancient Jewish Skulls.

they represent should be considered pure. The cranial indexes of these skulls are 80, 76.1, 78, 83.4, and 75.1, giving an average cephalic index for the living of 80.5, which is far above the cephalic index of the non-Jewish Semites.

Of course, no positive conclusion can be drawn from only five skulls; still, the fact that among these are found two brachycephalic and only one dolichocephalic, points strongly against the opinion that the ancient Hebrews were a purely dolichocephalic race.

The twelve skulls from a Jewish cemetery in Basel, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which have been examined by Kollmann, are even more brachycephalic than those of contemporary Jews. The average cranial index of these skulls is 84.66; *i.e.*, a cephalic index of 86.66. This again shows that the brachycephalism of the modern Jews is not of recent origin.

It can therefore be stated that the modern European Jews are shown by craniometrical evidence to be a pure type, and that no evidence of appreciable racial intermixture is discoverable. The opinion that the Sephardim are dolichocephalic, while the Ashkenazim are brachycephalic, is not supported by craniometrical research on European Jews. The measurements by Jacobs, Lombroso, Livi, and Glück prove that the Sephardim are almost as brachycephalic as are the Ashkenazim, as can be seen from the accompanying table. Jacobs' measurements of the Jews in London show that the percentage of dolichocephalic is even larger among the Ashkenazim, being 28.3 per cent, as against only 17 per cent among Sephardim.

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J. M. Fr.

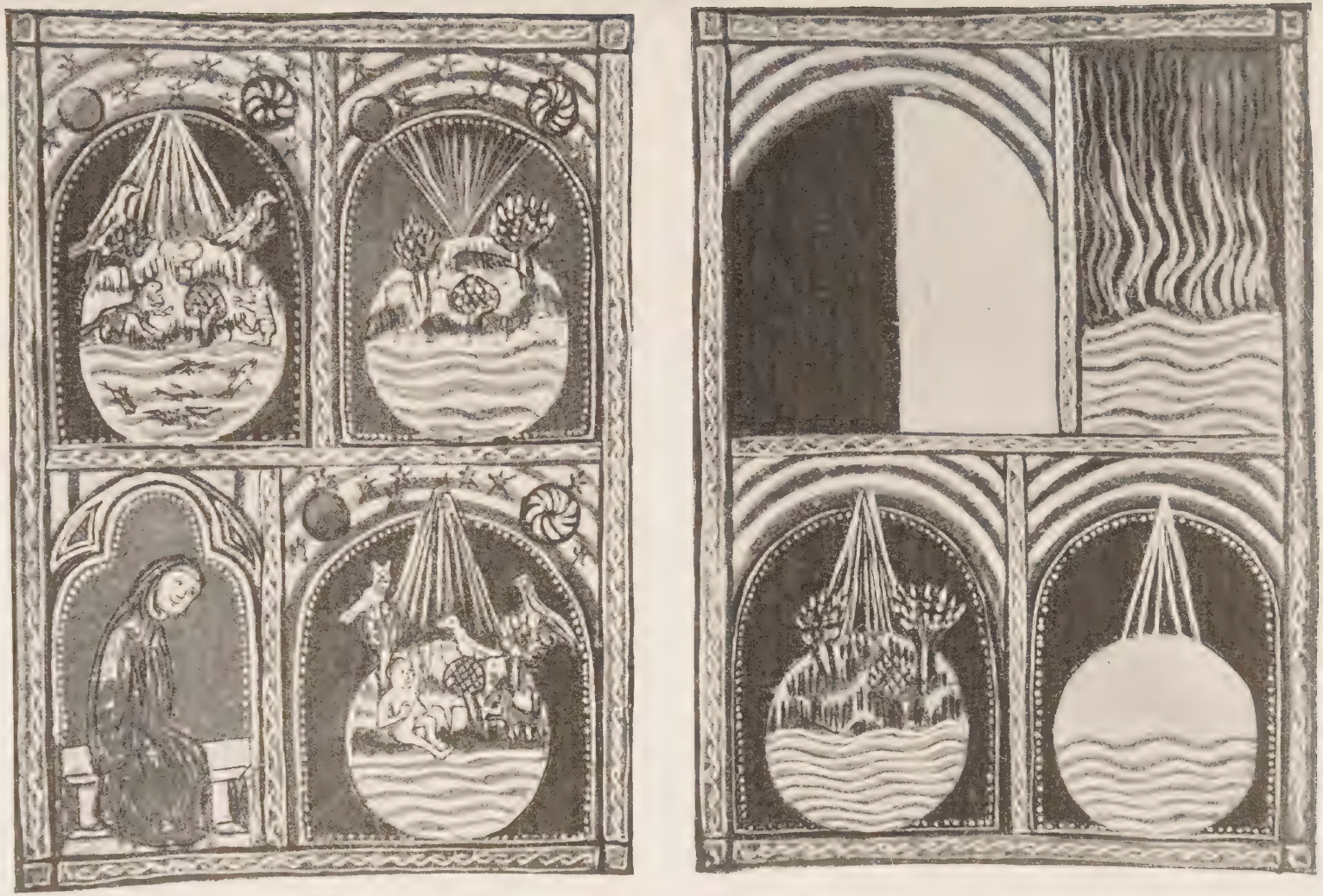
CREATION: The bringing into existence of the world by the act of God. Most Jewish philosophers find in בריאה (Gen. i. 1) creation *ex nihilo* (יש מאין). The etymological meaning of the verb בריאה, however, is "to cut out and put into shape," and thus presupposes the use of material. This fact was recognized by Ibn Ezra and Naḥmanides, for instance (commentaries on Gen. i. 1; see also Maimonides, "Morch Nebukim," ii. 30), and constitutes one of the arguments in the discussion of the problem.

Whatever may be the nature of the traditions in Genesis (see Cosmogony), and however strong may be the presumption that they suggest the existence of an original substance which was reshaped in accordance with the Deity's purposes (see Dragon; Darkness), it is clear that the Prophets and many of the Psalms accept without reservation the doctrine of creation from nothing by the will of a supermundane personal God (Ps. xxxiii. 6–9, cii. 26, cxxi. 2; Jer. x. 12; Isa. xlii. 5, xlv. 7–9): "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made; and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth." To such a degree has this found acceptance as the doctrine of the Synagogue that God has come to be designated as "He who spake and the world sprang into existence" (see Baruk She-Amar and 'Er. 13b; Meg. 13b; Sanh. 19a, 105a; Ḳid. 31a; Ḥul. 63b, 84b; Sifre to Num. § 84; Gen. R. 34b; Ex. R. xxv.; Shab. 139a; Midrash Mishle, 10c). God is "the author of creation," עושה בראשית ("bereshit" having become the technical term for "creation"; Gen. R. xvi.; Ber. 54a, 58a; Ḥag. 12a, 18a; Ḥul. 83a; Ecclus. [Sirach] xv. 14).

The belief in God as the author of creation ranks first among the thirteen fundamentals (see Articles of Faith) enumerated by Maimonides. It occurs in the Yigdal, where God is called קדמון לכל דבר אשר נברא, "anterior [because Himself uncreated] to all that was created"; in the Adon 'Olam; and it is taught in all modern Jewish catechisms.

Difficulties of the Conception.

Nevertheless, Jewish literature (Talmudic, pseudo-epigraphic, and philosophical) shows that the difficulties involved in this assumption of a creation *ex nihilo* (יש מאין) and in time, were recognized at a very early day, and that there were many among the Jews who spoke out on this subject with perfect candor and freedom. Around the first chapter of Genesis was waged many a controversy with both fellow Jews and non-Jews. The influence of Greek ideas is clearly discernible in various Midrashic homilies on the subject—*e.g.*, those dealing with the mode of divine creation (Gen. R. i., "God looked into the Torah, and through it He created"—a Platonic idea; *ib.* x.); with the view of God as architect (*ib.* i.; Ḥag. 12; compare Philo, "De Opificiis Mundi," iv.); with the creative word or letter (Gen. R. i.; Midr. ha-Gadol, ed. Schechter, pp. 10 *et seq.*; Pesiḳ. R. xxi.; Yer. Ḥag. ii. 77c); with the original elements (Gen. R. x.; Ex. R. xiii., xv.; Yer. Ḥag. ii. 77a); with the order of creation, the subject of the well-known controversy between the schools of Hillel and Shammai (compare Ḥag. 12a; Ta'an. 32a; Pirḳe R. El. xxxvi.); with the various acts of creation assigned to various days (Charles, "Book of Jubilees," 1902, pp. 11 *et seq.*); with the time consumed in creation (Ber. R, xii.); with successive creations (Pes. 54a; Gen. R. i.; Ab. R. N. xxxvii.); and, finally, with the purpose of creation (Abot vi.; Sanh. 98b; Ber. 6b, 61b; see also Bacher, "Ag. Tan." and "Ag. Pal. Amor.," Indices, *s.v.* "Weltschöpfung," etc.). The Slavonic Enoch (xxiii.–xxxv.) contains an elaborate presentation of old Jewish cosmogonic speculations, apparently under Egyptian Orphic influences (see N. Bonwetsch, "Das Slavische Henochbuch," Berlin, 1896; "The Book of the Secrets of Enoch," ed. by W. R. Morfill and R. H. Charles, Oxford, 1896).



II. STAGES OF CREATION. I.

From right to left: I. Chaos; Division of Light from Darkness; Separation of Earth and Water; Vegetation. II. Sun, Moon, and Stars; Fishes and Birds; Animals and Man; Sabbath Rest.
(From the Sarajevo Haggadah of the fourteenth century.)

The danger lest speculation on creation might lead to Gnosticism underlies the hesitancy to leave the study of Gen. i. open to all without restriction (Sanh. 37a; Deut. R. ii.; Ḥag. 19b; Midr. Teh. to Ps. cxxxvi.; Midr. ha-Gadol, ed. Schechter, p. 4). That such speculation is of no consequence to the practical religiosity which Judaism means to foster is well expressed in the caution not to "inquire into what was before the world was" (Mishnah Ḥag. ii.; Yer. Ḥag. ii.). See Cabala.

The Alexandrian Jews, under the sway of Platonic and Neoplatonic ideas, conceived of creation as carried into effect through intermediate agencies, though still an act of divine will, while the relation of the agencies to the Godhead is not always clearly defined, so that it is possible to regard them almost as divine hypostases—subdeities, as it were, with independent existence and a will of their own (Alexandrian Philosophy). The divine *σοφία* ("wisdom") has a cooperative part in creation (Wisdom ix. 9). While the Palestinian (II Macc. vii. 28) insists that all was made by God "out of nothing" (*ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων*), Wisdom (xi. 17) posits a formless arch-matter (*ὕλη*), which the Creator simply brought into order.

Philo proceeds to fully develop this idea. The Mosaic account of creation is not to be accepted literally (see Drummond, "Philo Judæus," i. 293). Creation was not in time. "It is folly to suppose that the universe was made in six days, or in time at all." The expression "six days" merely indicates the most perfect arrangement ("De Allegoriis Legum," i. 2; "De Opificiis Mundi," i. 3; "Quod Deus Sit Immutabilis," i. 277).

Views of Philo.

To the question whether the world had no real beginning, he gives, though inconsistent with himself, a negative answer. There was a time when the parts of the cosmos "deified by the heathen" were not; God alone was never non-existent ("Dec. Orac." ii. 190). "For the genesis of anything," he says, "many things must combine: that by which, that out of which, that through which, that on account of which" (= cause, material, instrument, purpose). God is the cause of the cosmos, while the four elements are the material ("De Cherubim," i. 161, 162). Nothing suggests that he regarded this material as other than uncreated. It was there when God arranged the new order of things. God is the demiurge ("De Eo Quod Deterius Potiori Insidiatur," i. 220; "De Plantatione Noe," i. 320; his expressions are *δημιουργός*, *κοσμοπλάστης*, *τεχνίτης*). As in other points, so on this, Philo is not rigidly consistent. There are passages again from which a belief in the creation of matter out of nothing might be assumed. He speaks of matter as corruptible, and "corruptible" is, in his theory, a correlative of "created" ("Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres Sit," i. 495).

It was not matter, but form, that God praised as good, and acknowledged thus as His creative work. Yet Philo protests that God is "not a demiurge, but a creator." What before was not, He made (*οὐ δημιουργός μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κτίστης αὐτὸς ὤν*, "De Somniis," i. 632; see Siegfried, "Philo von Alexandrien," p. 232). Drummond argues, against Siegfried, that God is here styled Creator only of the ideal, intelligible world, not of matter in the visible world (*l.c.* i. 304). In regard to Philo's Logos and the Memra of the Targum see Logos.

In the writings of the Jewish philosophers of the Middle Ages, creation is one of the problems most earnestly discussed. It belonged to the "four questions" (Maimonides, "Moreh," i. 71) which were regarded as fundamental. The alternative was between חדוש העולם, Ar. חדת אלעאלם ("creation"), and קדמות העולם, Ar. קדם אלעאלם ("eternity of matter").

In Medieval Jewish Philosophy.

The Arabian thinkers and schoolmen were perplexed by the same problem (Munk, "Mélanges," p. 421). They had been moved to discuss the subject by their studies (at second hand) of Plato and Aristotle. The Greek mind could not conceive of creation out of nothing—"Ex nihilo nihil fit."

Plato's *ὕλη* (consult his "Timæus") was eternal. Aristotle, too, maintained the eternity of matter ("De Cœlo," i. 10–12; "Phys." ii. 6–9). God is the source of the order of things predestined by Himself ("De Mundo," ii.), though Maimonides and Judah ha-Levi argue for the possibility of claiming for Aristotle the contrary view ("Moreh Nebukim," ii. 15; "Cuzari," i. 65).

Is the doctrine of the eternity of matter compatible with the Jewish conception of God? On three grounds this has been negatived: (1) It limits God's omnipotence and freedom. (2) It is in conflict with the Biblical account, and denies the possibility of miracles, though the Talmudic theory of miracles would not be affected. "God, when He created the sea, imposed the condition that it should divide itself before Moses' staff" (Ab. v. 9). (3) Great men, such as Moses and the Messiah, would be utterly impossible (Albo, "'Iḳḳarim," i. 12). The first point may be considered cogent, but the two others are not very profound.

In two ways do those of the Jewish philosophers who maintain the *creatio ex nihilo* attempt to prove their thesis: (1) by demonstrating the necessity of the Creation, and (2) by showing that it is impossible that the world was not created ("Cuzari," v. 18; "Moreh Nebukim," ii. 30). But in order to achieve this, they had first to disprove the arguments of their opponents. These were the same as those with which Mohammedan theologians (see Shahrastani, ii. 199 *et seq.*) had been confronted. Maimonides (*l.c.* ii. 14; compare also Aaron b. Elijah, "'Ez Ḥayyim," vi., vii.) arranges them into two groups: (1) מצד העולם עצמו (cosmological, Schmiedl's terminology), and (2) מצד האל יתּ' (theological).

In the first group there are the arguments: (*a*) Motion must be eternal, without beginning. Time is an accident of motion; "timeless (*i.e.*, changeless) motion" and "motionless (*i.e.*, changeless) time" are self-contradictory conceptions; therefore, time has no beginning. (*b*) The prime arch-matter underlying the four elements must be eternal. "To become" implies taking on form. But primal matter, according to its own presupposition, implied in the concept "prime," has no form; hence it has never "become." (*c*) Decay and undoing are caused by contradictory elements. But spherical motion excludes contradictory principles, and is without beginning

and end. (*d*) Suppose the world had a beginning; then either its creation was necessary—that is, eternal—or its previous existence was impossible (and thus it might not be now); but if it was possible, then possibility (potentiality) presupposes a subject carrying attributes involving the possibility. This subject could not but be eternal.

In the second group there are the arguments (*a*) God could not have been a creator in potentia without suffering change in Himself from potentia to reality. What caused this change? (*b*) The world created in time presupposes some exciting cause for God's will to create. Either God did not previously will to create, or, if He did, He had not the power. The world can not be thought eternal unless we admit defects in God. (*c*) The world is perfect, the product of God's wisdom. God's wisdom and His essence are coincident. God being eternal, His work must also be eternal. (*d*) What did God do before the world was?

How did Jewish thinkers meet these positions? They followed in the paths of the Arab Motekallamin. Especially did they lay emphasis on the proof of free determination," which the Arabic logicians had developed (דרך התיחד, Ar. "al-takhṣiṣ"). Admitting no "law of nature," they posited the principle of limitless possibility. Things are as they are, not because they must be so, but because a free Being outside of them wills them to be so. He might also have willed them to be otherwise. He who determines is also He who creates; that is, produces from nothing. The world is as it is because a Being determined its being, preferring its being to its non-being. Matter dependent for form upon another, even if eternal, can not exist. God is by inherent necessity. The fact that matter is as it is, shows that it was created to be as it is by the preference of the Creator.

In historical succession Saadia was the first to take up the problem, especially in his "Emunot" (i. 1–5). He argues for the creation from the irrationality of an endless limitless quantity—a favorite theme among the Motekallamin. His argumentation is extremely obscure. He enumerates thirteen theories concerning creation; among them, first, the Biblical; then that of the atomists; next the theory of emanation and dualism; finally, that in which the four elements are held to be eternal, a theory which he says had many adherents among the Jews.

Ibn Gabirol devotes a large part of his "Meḳor Ḥayyim" to the problem. He does not rely upon Biblical texts. His creation theory is as follows: The prime substance emanated out of itself Will, or the creative Word. This Will mediates between God and the world. From the Will emanated universal matter (element) יסוד כללי, from which came all beings. His position is a sort of pantheism, not altogether Biblical.

Baḥya ibn Pakuda, in "Ḥobot ha-Lebabot," maintains that (1) nothing is self-created; (2) there must be a highest first cause; (3) composition proves generation or creation.

Judah ha-Levi invokes the testimony of tradition in his "Cuzari" (i. 43–68; see also Maimonides' "Moreh," iii. 50; Abravanel, in his שמים חדשים, p. 34). He pleads for the authenticity of the Mosaic account as being corroborated by tradition; by the facts of human speech, which show the common descent of all men; by the identity of the system for counting time; etc.

Abraham bar Ḥiyya Albargeloni is another defender of creation. His "Sefer Hegyon ha-Nefesh" tries to explain the Biblical tradition on mathematical grounds. "Ὑλη" and "form" had potential existence until God called them into reality through His will in combination. But when we speak of time and the like with reference to God, we use human similes. Time is only a measurer. Therefore before the world was, there was nothing to measure and consequently no time. Ὑλη = "Tohu," and form = "Bohu"; both were preexistent, as the text shows by its use of the expression "the earth had been" (היתה. "Form" = בו הוא).

Maimonides is most timid in his defense of creation. He concedes that it can not be proved. The most that can be attempted is to weaken the arguments of the opposition schools ("Moreh," i. 67, 71; see Gersonides to Gen. i.). He endeavors to disprove the eternity of the world as far as he may, and to strengthen whatever seems to favor the contrary theory ("Moreh," i. 13–30). He makes much of Aristotle's indecision concerning the point at issue. He advances "arguments that approximate demonstrations" (see Maimonides, Moses). They have contributed nothing to the solution of the perplexity.

Views of Maimonides.

Of his successors, Albalag, Gersonides, and Naḥmanides either reject creation *ex nihilo* or seriously modify it. Ḥasdai Crescas (in "Or Adonai," iii. 1, 4) criticizes most severely Gersonides' assumptions that matter and God are equally absolute; while the former is void of everything, even of form, the latter is highest perfection. Why should equally absolute and necessary matter submit to the will of God? He charges Gersonides with inconsistencies in denying special providence while assuming the power of God over and in the special particulars of archmatter. His pupil Albo regards the denial of creation *ex nihilo* as tantamount to the denial of God's perfection ("'Iḳḳarim," i. 23).

The Karaites as a rule accept *creatio ex nihilo*. It is one of their articles of faith (see "'Eẓ Ḥayyim," xii.). For the speculations of the Cabalists see Cabala. Regarding modern views see Evolution.

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K. E. G. H.

——In the Koran and Mohammedan Literature: The Koran does not contain a descriptive and detailed account of the Creation; but it abounds in allusions to God's power as manifested therein, and in appeals to it in refutation of heretical assumptions (Polytheism; sura xvi.), or in support of certain dogmas (Resurrection; *ib.* xxii. 1–7). On the whole, these various references show that Mohammed had a general, vague, hearsay acquaintance with both the Biblical and Talmudical traditions of the Jews. "It is God," according to sura xi. 9, "that created the heavens and the earth in six days." Before

creation "His throne [compare כסא הכבוד] was upon the water" (see Gen. i. 2; suras l. 37, lvii. 4). Special emphasis is laid on the forming of the mountains, which are said to give stability to the earth (suras xxi. 22, xxxi. 9, xli. 9, lxxviii. 6). In this a reminiscence of the Biblical זרועות עולם (Deut. xxxiii. 27; compare Ps. xc. 2) is suggested, while the popular conceit of the Arabs has it that the earth, when first created, was smooth and flat, which induced the angels to ask who could stand on so tottering a frame. Thereupon God next morning threw the mountains on it (Sale, "Koran," p. 215, note g, Philadelphia ed., 1876). In the space of four days God distributed nourishment to all that asked (sura xli. 9). The earth and the heavens are said to have been originally a compact mass which God divided, while water is said to be the life-giving element (sura xxi. 9, 31). Things were created after a certain preestablished measure (sura liv. 49; the word "ḳadr" may also be rendered "decree"; but see Baiḍawi, *ad loc.*). "One word" alone brought the world into being "like the twinkling of an eye" (sura liv. 50). As Baiḍawi remarks, this word was "Kun" (Let there be!), though the statement is also explained to imply that God accomplished His work very easily and quickly, without manual labor or assistance (compare sura l. 37, and Talmudic בלא עמל ובלא יגיעה, Ber. R. xii.; see Baiḍawi, *ad loc.*). Nor did He create in sport (compare rabbinical לא לבטלה), but in truth, and for a definite term, to last until the day of final judgment (suras xliv. 35, xlvi. 2; Baiḍawi, *ad loc.*). With scant consistency, however, Mohammed speaks in another passage of a creation not in six but in two days. Baiḍawi (sura xli. 8) interprets "days" as "turns."

In Mohammedan Tradition.

Mas'udi ("Prairies d'Or," ed. Meynard and Courteille, i. 36 *et seq.*) gives in detail the following traditional order: "First water, which carried the divine throne, was created. From this primal water God caused a vapor to arise and form the sky. Then He dried the liquid mass, transforming it into one earth, which He split up later into seven. This earth was completed in two days—Sunday and Monday. The earth was placed on a fish that supported it [sura lxviii. 1; compare Pirḳe R. El. ix., and Ginzberg "Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvätern," p. 19, where it is shown that by this fish is meant the leviathan]. This fish and the earth God propped on blocks of stone, resting on the back of an angel, this again on a rock, and this finally on the wind. But the motions of the fish shook the earth mightily, so God put the mountains in place and rendered it stable. The mountains furnished food for earth's tenants. The trees were created during two days—Tuesday and Wednesday. Then God mounted up to the vaporous sky and made of it one heaven, which, in two more days—Thursday and Friday—He split up into seven. Hence the name for Friday, 'Jum'ah' (joining together), 'union' or 'assembly,' because on it the creation of the heavens was united to that of the earth. Then God filled the heavens with angels, seas, icebergs. Creation thus completed, God peopled the earth with the jinn, made of purest fire [sura lv. 14], among them being Iblis, the Devil. When about to create man (Adam), He informed the angels of His intention to make him His vicegerent on earth. The angels made objections [as in the rabbinical legend, Gen. R. viii.]. Gabriel was sent to bring clay from the earth, but the earth refused to supply it. Michael, also sent on the same errand, was unsuccessful. Finally the angel of death went forth, vowing that he would succeed. He brought back earth of various colors, hence the various colors among men. Adam was made of the surface ["adim"] soil. Forty years a portion of such soil was hung up to become a compact mass, and then left for another period of forty years, until the clay became corrupt. To this God then gave human shape, but left it without a soul for one hundred and twenty years. Finally, after enduring many indignities at the hand of Iblis, and being an object of terror to the angels, and at last causing Iblis' banishment, Adam was endowed with divine breath, according to some gradually; and when he was entirely permeated with this divine breath, he sneezed; whereupon God taught him to say: 'Praise be to God! may thy Master have mercy on thee, O Adam!'"

An altogether different account is found in the "Kitab Aḥwal al-Ḳiyamah," edited by Wolff ("Muhammadanische Eschatologie," Leipsic, 1872). The first object created was a tree with four thousand branches—the tree of knowledge; the second, the light of Mohammed—a pearl in the shape of a peacock, which was placed on the tree. Then God made the mirror of shame, placing it so that the peacock saw his reflected image; whereupon shame seized him and he prostrated himself five times before God. The light of Mohammed, too, blushed before God, and in consequence perspired. From the beads of perspiration taken from various parts of the body were created the angels, the upper and lower thrones of God, the tablet of revelation or of decree, the pen, Paradise and Gehenna, sun, moon, and stars, the dividing interval between heaven and earth, the Prophets, the Sages, the martyrs, the pious, the celestial and the terrestrial Ka'bah, the Temple in Jerusalem, the places for the mosques, the Moslems—men and women, the souls of the Jews, the Christians, the Magi, and, finally, the earth from east to west, and all that it contains. This apocalyptic account is comparatively late [but echoes rabbinical traditions concerning the light of the Messiah (Gen. R. i.), the כסא הכבוד, Paradise and Gehinnon (Pes. 54a); compare also Slavonic Enoch, xxv.—xxvi.—K.]. As to the theories of creation propounded in the various philosophical schools, see Arabic Philosophy; Aristotle in Jewish Literature.

Bibliography: Munk, *Mélanges*, Paris, 1859; Maimonides, *Morch Nebukim*, ed. Munk, *passim*; Dieterici, *Ichwan Essafa*, Leipsic, 1896; Steiner, *Die Mutaziliten*, Leipsic, 1865; Houtsma, *De Strijd over het Dogma*, Leyden, 1875.

E. G. H.

CREATION, BOOK OF. See Yeẓirah, Sefer.

CREATION, ERA OF. See Era.

CREATURE: A loose rendering in the A. V. of: **1.** "Nefesh" ("a breathing thing"; Gen. i. 20 *et seq.*, ii. 19, ix. 10 *et seq.*; Lev. xi. 46).

2. "Beri'ah" ("creation"; R. V. better, "a new thing"; Num. xvi. 30).

3. "Ḥayyot" ("heavenly animals"; Ezek. i. 5 *et seq.*, x. 15; Septuagint, ζῶον).

In Apocryphal literature "creature" is the translation of κτίσμα or κτίσις (בריאה or בריה), and denotes either creation in general (Wisdom v. 17, xix. 6; Judith ix. 12, xvi. 14; III Macc. ii. 2) or mankind (Ecclus. [Sirach] xvi. 16; Wisdom xvi. 24). In rabbinical literature "beriyyot" is the regular term for fellow creatures or mankind (Abot i. 12, "Love the creatures"; *ib.* ii. 10, iii. 11; Ber. 19b, "Respect of the creatures"). Hence, also, Mark xvi. 15; Col. i. 23; Rom. viii. 19; and I Peter ii. 13 (A. V. renders, incorrectly, "every human ordinance"; see Taylor, "Sayings of the Jewish Fathers," 2d ed., pp. 21, 141).

The phrase "a new creature," in the sense of "regeneration," which occurs in II Cor. v. 17, and Gal. vi. 15, represents the rabbinical "beriyyah ḥadashah." See Baptism.

E. G. H. K.

CREED. See Articles of Faith.

CREEPING THINGS: A loose expression used in the A. V. as the equivalent of רמש and שרץ. רמש ("remes" = creeping—that is, without, or with imperceptible, feet; applies to terrestrial and also to water animals. The R. V. more correctly translates it "teemeth" in Gen. ix. 2; Lev. xx. 25, and "moveth" in Lev. xi. 44; Ps. lxix. 34; Gen. viii. 19. Generally, however, "remes" stands for "reptiles," possibly also for very small quadrupeds. In the Talmud "remes" is used as a general name for worms infesting the intestines of man or beast (Niddah 21a), for which elsewhere the words תולע (Ab. iii. 1) and רמה occur. But, according to Tos. to Niddah 23a, *s.v.* ליתרי, only the serpent was called the "creeping thing," חיה הרומשת.

שרץ ("sherez," Gen. vii. 21; Lev. v. 2; xi. 10, 29; Deut. xiv. 19) applies only to animals that swarm, whether terrestrial, such as the weasel, mouse, lizard (Lev. v. 29); aquatic (Lev. xi. 10; Gen. i. 2; compare Ex. vii. 28 [A.V. viii. 3]); or even winged (Lev. xi. 20–23). The fundamental connotation of the verb and noun is undoubtedly the incalculably prolific multitudes of little animals which always appear in troops or swarms. The R. V. therefore gives the translation "breed abundantly" (Gen. viii. 17, ix. 7; compare Ex. i. 7).

In rabbinical Hebrew "sherez" is the generic term for amphibious reptiles ('Ab. Zarah 31b). The etymological implication of prolific increase is brought out in Ex. R. viii. 2; Lev. R. § 13 (the "'aḳrab" throws 60 young). It is also the typical term for ritual and moral impurity, in the oft-recurring phrase טובל ושרץ בידו ("one takes the bath of purification while holding a sherez in his hand"), applied to one who would do penance without repentance (Yer. Ta'an. ii. 65d, beginning). A distinction is made between שרץ ארץ ("land insect"), ש' מים ("water reptile"), and ש' עוף ("winged insect") (Pes. 24a). Maimonides ("Yad, "Ma'akalot Asurot, ii. 12 *et seq.*) says: "שרץ המים are all animals that are not fishes but live in the water, such as leeches, sea-dogs. רומש על הארץ ["romes" = creepers upon the earth] are worms produced by the decomposition of other substances, helminths; while שורץ על הארץ ["those that swarm on the earth"] are generated through copulation of the parent animals."

Bibliography: Nowack, *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Archäologie*, i. 74–87; Benzinger, *Arch.* p. 40; Hart, *Animals of the Bible*; Lewysohn, *Zoologie des Talmuds*, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1858.

E. G. H.

CREFELD. See Krefeld.

CRÉHANGE, ALEXANDRE BEN BARUCH: French Hebraist; born at Etain, in the department of Meurthe-et-Moselle, 1791; died in Paris Jan. 7, 1872. He acted as secretary to the Hebrew United Charities (Comité de Bienfaisance Israélite), and devoted himself to the circulation of religious works. He published: "La Semaine Israélite, ou le Tseena Ourena Moderne, Entretiens de Josué Hadass avec sa Famille sur les Saintes Ecritures," after the Hebrew, 2 vols., Paris, 1846; a French translation of the Haggadah of Passover, 1847; "Des Droits et des Devoirs du Citoyen: Instruction Tirée de l'Histoire Sainte," 1848; "Tefillat 'Adat Yeshurun," prayers of the French Jews, in Hebrew and French, 1850; "Minḥah Ḥadashah," prayers of the Sephardic Jews, in Hebrew and French, 1855; an illustrated translation of the Psalms, 1858; "Edouard Mortara, ou l'Enfant Volé" (n.d.); festival prayers for the use of Franco-Spanish and Franco-Portuguese Jews, in Hebrew and French, 6 vols., 1861–63; and from 1870 an almanac, "Annuaire Parisien."

S. J. W.

CREIZENACH, MICHAEL: German educator and theologian; born in Mayence May 16, 1789; died in Frankfort-on-the-Main Aug. 5, 1842. Creizenach is one of the most typical representatives of the era of transition, following the epoch of Mendelssohn, whose chief aim was the regeneration of Judaism by the methods of Talmudic dialecticism, which, as they imagined, would win over the Orthodox and yet achieve the necessary progress. Creizenach was educated in the traditional way, devoting his whole time to Talmudic studies; and he was sixteen years old when he began to acquire the elements of secular knowledge. This was during the French occupation, when a liberal spirit, greeted enthusiastically by both Jews and Christians, permeated the society of the ancient center of Catholic Germany. He studied mathematics with great zeal, and wrote text-books of the science. Through his influence a Jewish school was founded in Mayence, whose principal he was, at the same time giving private instruction. He was a very popular teacher, and counted many Christians among his pupils.

Michael Creizenach.

In 1825 Creizenach was appointed teacher at the Philanthropin in Frankfort, where he found in I. M. Jost an enthusiastic coworker in pedagogic and reform endeavors. He held services regularly in the hall of the school, and introduced confirma-

tion exercises. His literary works were also devoted to the advocacy of Reform on the basis of rabbinical Judaism. With this object he wrote his "Shulḥan 'Aruk," in which he essayed to prove that the Talmud as a whole was untenable, but that a compromise with modern ideas could be effected in the same dialectical way in which the Rabbis had harmonized the Law with the exigencies of their time. In the later parts of his work, however, he abandoned this view; advocating a return to pure Mosaism, which a year after his death was more distinctly proclaimed as the program of the Frankfort Reformverein, at the head of which was his son Theodor. In spite of his Reform tendencies, Creizenach was deeply interested in Hebrew literature, especially in Hebrew fiction, and during the last two years of his life edited with his friend Jost the Hebrew periodical "Zion."

Creizenach's works are: "Versuch über die Parallellentheorie," Mayence, 1822; "Lehrbuch der Darstellenden Geometrie," *ib.* 1822; "Geist der Pharisäischen Lehre," a monthly, *ib.* 1823–24; "Ḥeshbon ha-Nefesh, oder Selbstprüfung des Israeliten Während der Busstage," Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1838; "Ḥinnuk li-Bene Miẓwah, oder Stunden der Weihe für Israelitische Confirmanden," *ib.* 1841; Ibn Ezra's "Yesod Mora" (edited with a German translation), *ib.* 1840; "32 Thesen über den Talmud," *ib.* 1831; "Lehrbuch der Technischen Geometrie," *ib.* 1828; "Lehrbuch der Algebra," Stuttgart and Leipsic, 1835. His chief work, mentioned above, is "Shulḥan 'Aruk, oder Encyklopädische Darstellung des Mosaischen Gesetzes," etc., in 4 vols.: (1) "Thariag, oder Inbegriff der Mosaischen Vorschriften nach Talmudischer Interpretation," *ib.* 1833; (2) "Shurat ha-Din, Anweisung zur Regulirung des Israelitisch-Religiösen Lebens," etc., *ib.* 1837; (3) "Ḥizzuḳ ha-Torah, oder die Dringlich Gewordene Befestigung der Mosaischen Lehre," etc., *ib.* 1839; (4) "Dorshe ha-Dorot, oder Entwickelungslehre des Mosaischen Ritualgesetzes," etc., *ib.* 1840.

Bibliography: I. M. Jost, *Michael Creizenach*, in Isidor Busch, *Kalender und Jahrbuch für Israeliten auf das Jahr 5604*, Vienna, 1843; idem, *Neuere Gesch. der Isr.*

S. D.

CREIZENACH, THEODOR: German poet and historian of literature; son of Michael Creizenach; born April 17, 1818, in Mayence; died Dec. 6, 1877, at Frankfort-on-the-Main. He studied classical antiquities in Giessen, Göttingen, and Heidelberg, and then lived for several years at Paris as tutor in the house of Aaron Anselm Rothschild. Upon his return from Paris in 1842 Creizenach became teacher in the Jewish Philanthropin at Frankfort-on-the-Main, and was one of the principal founders of the Frankfort Jewish Reformverein; in 1854, however, he abandoned the faith of his fathers and embraced Christianity. Creizenach was made teacher of the Frankfort municipal high school in 1859, and appointed professor of history and literature at the Frankfort gymnasium in 1863.

In the literary world he attracted attention by such poetical productions as "Dichtungen," Frankfort, 1839; and "Gedichte," Frankfort, 1848; 2d ed., 1851. Being familiar with the personality and life of Goethe in his relations to Frankfort, he edited and published Goethe's correspondence with Madame von Willemer, under the title "Der Briefwechsel Zwischen Goethe und Marianne von Willemer," 2d ed., Stuttgart, 1878. In conjunction with O. Jäger he took charge of the new edition of Schlosser's "Weltgeschichte," 1870 *et seq.*; and in conjunction with Otto Müller edited a weekly publication, "Das Frankfurter Museum."

Bibliography: Adolph Kohut, *Berühmte Israelitische Männer und Frauen*, xi. 383, Leipsic, 1901; *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon.*

S. B. B.

CREMATION.—Biblical Data: The act of burning the dead. Cremation was not the prevailing custom among the ancient Hebrews, as it was among other contemporary nations (see J. Grimm, "Kleine Schriften," ii. 226). It was, however, not unknown to them, and was occasionally practised. The Pentateuch prescribes burning as the punishment in certain cases of unchastity (Lev. xx. 14, xxi. 9; Gen. xxxviii. 24). In Josh. vii. 15, 25, and perhaps I Kings xiii. 2, and II Kings xxiii. 20, the burning of the corpse is added to the death penalty. From this it may be concluded that the burning of the human body was looked upon with horror. In exceptional circumstances—for instance, in the case of an epidemic—cremation may have been resorted to. This at least is inferred from Amos vi. 10. From the unusual word there employed מסרף, held to be a dialectic variant for משרף, many have concluded that in Amos' time cremation was far from being repugnant to the feelings of the people, and the care that the body should be properly burned became a sacred duty, devolving upon the nearest of kin—in the passage quoted, upon the uncle or the mother's brother, who therefore was designated as the מסרף (see Ḳimḥi's Com. *ad loc.*, and his ס"השרשים, *s.v.* מסרף).

However, the evidence in support of this contention is very weak, מסרף probably meaning the maternal uncle without reference to an assumed obligation to direct the process of incinerating the bodies of his kinsfolk. Amos vi. 10 does not necessarily imply that the "bones of the dead" about to be removed from the house were burned. In a Karaite document by Jephet ben Ali (Felsenthal, in Kohut Memorial Volume, pp. 133 *et seq.*), מסרף occurs as "maternal uncle." Ibn Ezra, *ad loc.*, quotes Ibn Ḳuraish as authority for the meaning "maternal uncle," saying that it is unsupported; Abu al-Walid, in "Kitab al-Uṣul," ed. Neubauer, p. 494, mentions this meaning. The passage in Jer. xxxiv. 5 has nothing to do with cremation. A. V. renders it "so shall they burn odors for thee," a rendering accepted by Graf ("Der Prophet Jeremias," Leipsic, 1862) and Giesebrecht ("Der Prophet Jeremiah," in "Kurz. Hand-Comment. zum A. T." Göttingen, 1894). Nor can I Sam. xxxi. 12 be interpreted to imply that the corpses of kings were cremated, and that this constituted one of the royal prerogatives. It is far more likely that in order to guard the bodies from insult on the part of the Philistines, the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead burned them, and for this received praise.

To the author of Chronicles the cremation of royal remains appeared so offensive that he changed it

into a regular burial (I Chron. x. 12). He states the occurrences as follows: "And [they] laid him [King Asa] in the bed which was filled with sweet odors and divers kinds of spices prepared by the apothecaries' art; and they made a very great burning for him" (II Chron. xvi. 14). "And his people made no burning for him [King Jehoram] like the burning of his fathers" (II Chron. xxi. 19).

The custom of making "a very great burning" at the funeral of great men continued for several centuries. The Talmud ('Ab. Zarah 11a) records that at the funeral of Rabban Gamaliel the Elder (*c.* 117 C.E.) Aquilas, the proselyte, made "a very great burning."

——**In Talmudic Literature:** No mention is made of cremation in Talmudical literature. Both Oh. ii. 2, where the question is discussed whether the ashes of those who were burned are to be considered clean or unclean, and Niddah 27b, where a similar question is raised in regard to a burned corpse, the skeleton of which has been preserved, refer to cases of accidental burning. The Tosafot Ta'an. 15b, *s.v.* ונותנין, and 16a, *s.v.* אפר, are of the opinion that the ashes strewn on the reading-desk and on the heads of all that attended the service on fast-days were those of burned human bones. But אפר מקלה does not signify the ashes of burned bodies, but the ashes of the hearth. Nor does the Talmud contain any suggestion that cremation was once practised by the ancient Hebrews.

E. G. H. M. Sc.

——**In Modern Times:** The question whether, from the point of view of Jewish law, cremation may be allowed, has been extensively discussed in modern times. It is generally agreed that there is no express law to be found in the Bible demanding the burial of the human body; and though the Shulḥan 'Aruk (Yoreh De'ah, 362) contains the statement "Burial in the earth is a positive command," a position assumed also by Maimonides ("Sefer ha-Miẓwot," p. 261), this command is merely deduced from קבור תקברנו ("Thou shalt surely bury him") in Deuteronomy (xxi. 23; compare Sanh. 46b). It seems uncertain whether it was ever a custom in early times to burn the bodies of kings and nobles. Referring to such a burning, the Mishnah ('Ab. Zarah i. 3) says, "Every death which is accompanied by burning is looked upon as idolatry"; and the fact that Saul's body was burned (I Sam. xxxi. 12) is said to have been the cause of the three years' hunger at the time of David (Yeb. 78b; Rashi to II Sam. xxi. 1). Funeral pyres of costly clothes and other articles, to which reference is made (Tosef., ed. Zuckermandel, 119, 3, and parallels) in the case of Rabban Gamaliel the Elder, were also not unknown in Hasmonean times (Josephus, "Ant." xv. 3, § 4). According to the Shulḥan 'Aruk (348, 1) this is expressly forbidden in the case of ordinary people. Yom-Ṭob Lipmann Heller even tries to prove that the cases of burning mentioned in the Bible are to be explained as "embalming," by means of which all but the bones was destroyed (Tosafot to Pesaḥim, iv. 9).

On the other hand, it has been asserted by some authorities that burial is merely a custom("minhag"), and that no serious objection can be brought against cremation. In proof of this the following citation has been adduced from Midr. Wayasha' (Jellinek, "Bet ha-Midrash," i. 37): "Isaac begged his father on Mount Moriah: 'Burn me completely, and bring my ashes to my mother that she place them in an urn in her own room, and that whenever she enters the room she may remember me with tears.'" The same idea is referred to in a number of liturgical pieces. It is further asserted that תיכף למיתה קבורה can not be construed as opposed to some other form of disposing of the dead, since it simply means that a Jew should be careful so to dispose of the dead as to bring the body as quickly as possible into contact with mother earth. Many authorities went so far as to permit calcium to be strewn over the body in the grave, in order to hasten the process of decomposition (Solomon b. Adret, Responsum No. 369; Moses Isserles to Yoreh De'ah, 363, 2). This custom became general among the Portuguese Jews. On dogmatic grounds, it is further asserted, no opposition can be entertained against cremation (Maimonides, "Yad," Teshubah, viii. 2, 3); and Joseph Albo ("'Iḳḳarim," iv. 30) criticizes Abraham ibn Daud and Naḥmanides for opposing the practise. Some Italian cabalists were opposed to cremation on the ground that according to their system the soul was supposed to go from the house of the deceased to the grave and back again during the seven days following death "Il Vessillo Israelitico, "xxx. 105).

Orthodox Jewish authorities have as a rule opposed cremation on the ground that it is not in consonance with the spirit and traditions of Judaism.

Recent Declarations.

The Italian rabbinate made a declaration in this sense (*ib.* xxiii. 12). Zadok Kahn, grand rabbi of France, has decided that in the case of cremation the religious ceremony should precede incineration; that the rabbi should then retire and not be present during the act of cremation; and that the "Hashkabah" should be recited at the home. Herman Adler, chief rabbi of Great Britain, considers cremation a violation of Jewish law and custom; but he permits the "Lewayah" at the burying of the remains (*ib.* xliii. 394). The late haham of the Portuguese community in London, B. Artom, preached Nov. 7, 1874, a sermon on cremation, in which he asserted that it was opposed to the spirit and history of Judaism ("Jewish World," June 15, 1874; compare "Il Vessillo," xxiv. 294, 327). This position was also maintained by J. Hildesheimer in Berlin, Kohen in Inowrazlaw, and others. But Moses Israel Tedeschi, rabbi of Triest, published a responsum in 1890 in which he not only tried to prove that cremation was not opposed to the spirit of Judaism, but asked that at his death his own body should be disposed of in this way ("Monatsschrift," 1890, pp. 149, 153). In 1895 the rabbis of Württemberg declared cremation contrary to Jewish law because that law, with rare exceptions, forbids us to mutilate a corpse (see "Rev. Et. Juives," xxxii. 276).

One of the foremost advocates of cremation was Rabbi A. Wiener of Oppeln, who not only contributed articles to the "Flamme," but also became a member of the Gesellschaft für Feuerbestaltung. In 1892 the Central Conference of American Rabbis re-

solved "that in case we should be invited to officiate as ministers of religion at the cremation of a departed coreligionist, we ought not to refuse on the plea that cremation is anti-Jewish or irreligious" ("Year Book," 1892, p. 43).

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A. G.

CRÉMIEU: Town in the ancient province of Dauphiné, France. As early as the fifteenth century it had an important Jewish community. Raoul de Gaucourt, governor of Dauphiné, renewed in 1441 the privileges of the Jews of that town for seven years in consideration of the sum of fifty florins, which the Jews Moses Dandéli of Crémieu and Aguinet Solomon of St. Symphorien were to collect from their coreligionists. The Jews of Crémieu refused to pay the sum, and emigrated in large numbers. The dauphin Louis recalled them in 1449, and promised them that if they would reopen their banking-houses he would exact of them in future only one ounce of fine silver, instead of the half-mark that they had formerly been taxed.

Bibliography: Prudhomme, *Les Juifs en Dauphiné*, p. 64.

G. S. K.

CRÉMIEU-FOA, ANDRÉ: An officer in the French cavalry; born in Paris Jan. 20, 1857; died at Porto Novo, North Africa, Nov., 1892. Crémieu-Foa early embraced the military career. The "Libre Parole," the organ of the anti-Semitic party, published in 1892 a series of articles on the preponderance of the Jewish element in the French army. Captain Crémieu-Foa, then garrisoned at Meaux, challenged the editor-in-chief of the "Libre Parole," Edouard Drumont, to a duel, and inflicted upon him a slight wound. Thereupon, the signer of the articles, M. de Lamase, challenged Crémieu-Foa, alleging that the latter should have applied to him for satisfaction.

After the encounter between Crémieu-Foa and M. de Lamase, in which four bullets were exchanged without either of the principals being hit (June, 1892), Armand Mayer, one of the seconds of the Jewish officer, a comrade and coreligionist, was taken to task on the spot by the Marquis de Morès, one of the seconds of M. de Lamase, the marquis charging Mayer unjustly with having divulged the contents of the procès-verbal which had been drawn up at the conclusion of the first encounter, and which should have been kept secret. In the subsequent duel between Mayer and Morès, the former was killed. Crushed by this fatal issue, and exposed to still more violent insults on the part of the anti-Semitic press, Crémieu-Foa was about to issue more challenges when M. de Freycinet, then minister of war, ordered him to Tunis to organize one of the two squadrons of Sudanese spahis destined for Dahomey, West Africa, which place was then in revolt against the French protectorate. In the ensuing expedition under the command of Colonel Dodds, Crémieu-Foa distinguished himself in several combats previous to the taking of Abomey, so that he was mentioned for bravery in the order of the day, and received in the presence of the troops the congratulations of the commander-in-chief. He died at Porto Novo, Nov., 1892, partly in consequence of a wound sustained while reconnoitering, and partly owing to an attack of tropical fever.

Bibliography: Ernest Crémieu-Foa, *La Campagne Antisémitique*, Paris, 1892; Dr. Jean Bayol, in *Le Journal*, Nov. 18, 1892; *Arch. Isr.* 1892.

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CRÉMIEUX (COLONY). See Agricultural Colonies in the United States.

CRÉMIEUX, GASTON: French socialist and writer; born at Nîmes June 22, 1836; died at Marseilles Dec. 1, 1871. He entered upon an active career as attorney and counselor at law at Aix in 1856, after having taken all the honors at the lyceum of Nîmes; but after two years spent in a fruitless effort to acquire a remunerative practise, he returned to his native town, where his generosity in dealings with impecunious clients soon procured him the honorable appellation of "Avocat des Pauvres."

In the spring of 1862 Crémieux was admitted to the Marseilles bar, and then and there started upon an aggressive political and journalistic campaign against Napoleon III. and the centralizing and reactionary tendencies of his régime. Crémieux's audiences consisted largely of working men, to whom he preached the most advanced political and economic theories of international socialism. The International Working Men's Association, established in London in 1864, found in him a tireless worker. As a participant in an insurrection against the local authorities (Aug. 8, 1870), Crémieux was arrested and condemned to six months' imprisonment; but he was subsequently freed by the revolution of Sept. 4, and was made procurator of the republic at Marseilles. His handsome, youthful exterior and the broad philanthropic range of his ideas made him one of the most conspicuous figures in the public life of southern France.

At the outbreak of the Paris Commune, Crémieux declared himself for the rebellious Parisians and against Thiers and the Versailles government. On March 23 the insurrection in favor of communal home rule took the department of Bouches-du-Rhône by storm; and Crémieux was elected president of a provisory departmental administration. Radical though he was, he was firmly opposed to extreme measures involving useless bloodshed; and he thus incurred the displeasure of his fellow revolutionists. On the twenty-eighth of the same month the department was put under a state of siege; and the Commune of Marseilles took a desperate step in arresting and threatening the lives of a number of prominent upholders of the reactionary government. On April 4 the central government at Versailles sent Gen. Espivent de la Villeboisnet against the rebellious town, enjoining him to resort to the most energetic measures. By a heavy bombardment of the prefecture, the seat of the self-styled communal gov-

ernment, the commander of the Versailles troops compelled the insurrectionary leaders to surrender.

A few days previous to the overthrow of the Commune at Marseilles, Crémieux had imperiled his own life by protecting the lives of the imprisoned friends of Thiers. The victors established a martial tribunal, whose sentences sent many hundreds to death or exile. Crémieux was arrested and court-martialed June 28, 1871. The trial was a mere formality of law, the court having decided beforehand upon capital punishment for all prominent offenders. Within a few minutes sentence of death was passed on Crémieux in spite of strenuous efforts on the part of friends, who testified to the extraordinary clemency and moderation of the defendant in his dealings with disarmed enemies. He received the verdict with perfect composure, and afterward met his death unflinchingly. Crémieux left a widow and four children, one child having died during his imprisonment in Aug., 1870.

Bibliography: *La Grande Encyclopédie*, xiii.; Lissagaray, *Histoire de la Commune*, etc., Paris, 1878; *The Times*, London, Dec. 2, 1871.

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CRÉMIEUX, HANANEEL: French Hebraist and judge; born 1800; died 1878; son of Mordecai Crémieux. He was a Talmudic scholar, and was teacher of Hebrew to the Jewish children of Aix, besides often officiating in the capacity of shohet, mohel, and hazzan. In 1821 Crémieux entered upon what proved to be a successful business career, and later officiated for seventeen years as judge in the tribunal of commerce of Aix, Provence. In this capacity he was instrumental in securing the passage of the bankruptcy law which gave the assignee the right to institute legal proceedings against a corporation, the stockholders of which did not pay the amount of their shares, either in full or in part. Crémieux was one of the founders of the "Archives Israélites," and contributed to its columns, often anonymously. He was also a member of the consistory of Marseilles.

Bibliography: *Archives Israélites*, 1842, pp. 138, 140; 1878, pp. 140-142.

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CRÉMIEUX, HECTOR JONATHAN: French dramatist; born at Paris Nov. 10, 1828; died there in 1892; of the same family as Isaac Adolphe Crémieux. After a preparatory course of studies at the Lycée Bourbon he attended the Paris law school. In common with the majority of his fellow-students, he took an active part in the overthrow of the Orleanistic dynasty, and participated in the turbulent politics of the second republic. During the revolution of Feb., 1848, he secured a commission as lieutenant of the Garde Mobile. Though only twenty years of age, he carefully avoided committing himself to any extreme policy, and assumed a temporizing attitude, which he only abandoned shortly before the coup d'état of 1851, to attach himself to the administrative force of the usurper.

The revolutionary excitement of 1848 and the rôle played by Napoleon III. subsequent to the revolution, suggested to Crémieux the idea of adapting the history of Lodovico Fiesco, from the German of Friedrich Schiller, for the French stage. In collaboration with his brother Emile, he turned the sonorous masterpiece of the German poet into a spectacular tragedy of the "Hernani" type, in five acts and eight tableaux, full of stirring allusions to contemporaneous events. The emperor, solicitous to bestow political patronage upon those who had been daring enough to give him support in the risky affair of Dec. 2, rewarded Crémieux in 1852 with a clerkship in the Ministry of State; and this appointment, practically a sinecure, together with his first dramatic success, enabled him to enter upon a literary career and to exploit the financial possibilities of the Parisian stage of the second empire.

In spite of the never-wearying readiness of his pen, Crémieux could not hope to reap the whole harvest of success without assistance. During his whole career as a dramatic author he was perpetually collaborating with one or another, following therein the example set by the most popular and prolific French dramatists of his age. With Léon Battu he produced the melodramatic "Elodie, ou le Forfait Nocturne" (1852); with Taine the younger, "La Demoiselle en Loterie"; with Dennery, "Germaine," a dramatization of Edmond About's romance; with Woestyn and Bourget, "La Voie Sacrée, ou les Etapes de la Gloire"; with the Cogniard brothers, the fairy piece "Le Pied de Mouton." Ludovic Halévy, Philippe Gille, Henri Bocage, and Ernest Blum are only a few of his other collaborators. He also wrote librettos for Leo Delibes, Hervé, and Offenbach.

Crémieux's plays, written to suit the demand of the day and passing into oblivion with it, were produced at the Odéon, the Bouffes-Parisiens, the Variétés, and the Théâtre Lyrique. He tried his hand at every conceivable style of production in the dramatic category: opera, proverb, tragedy, melodrama, comedy, vaudeville, etc. Larousse, without claim to completeness, gives a list of thirty-five of his plays. But the only one which has retained its popularity is his libretto to Jacques Offenbach's "Orphée aux Enfers," a masterpiece of brilliant equivocation and mocking "blague" which has made the round of the stage of all countries and still firmly holds its position in the modern theatrical repertory. His collaboration with Offenbach brought him once more prominently before the eyes of his imperial master, who in 1864 made him Knight of the Legion of Honor. His extraordinary diligence and his favor with the public survived the empire and the first and second decades of the third republic. Crémieux committed suicide.

Bibliography: Larousse, *Dictionnaire*, xvi. and Supplement; Wells, *The Modern French Drama*, Boston, 1896; Arends, *Gesch. der Französischen Bühnenliteratur*, Leipsic, 1886.

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CRÉMIEUX, ISAAC ADOLPHE: French statesman; born at Nîmes April 22, 1796; died in Paris Feb. 9, 1880. He was educated at the Lycée Impérial, where he and a cousin were the only Jewish students. Crémieux was at that time an ardent admirer of Napoleon I., and it was he who, at the head of a deputation of the pupils of the Lycée, addressed the emperor in the court of the Tuileries. For many years he remained faithful to

this idol of his youth, and was the adviser and friend of the proscribed Bonapartes.

Crémieux was admitted to the bar at Nîmes on attaining his majority (1817), and soon became famous. He was a brilliant orator and a skilful advocate; combining eloquence with a wide knowledge of the law, rare powers of assimilation, clearness, irony, and the faculty of inspiring others with his own enthusiasm. Many of the most important cases in the south of France were soon entrusted to him, the most famous being that of the notorious royalist bandit Trestaillon, whose conviction he obtained.

As Advocate.

This case made Crémieux's name as familiar in Paris as it was in the department of the Gard: the young lawyer entered into relations with all the Liberals of Paris, and he thenceforth passed his yearly vacations in that city. His patriotism was shown in the famous case called "De la Marseillaise" (1819), when he was called upon to defend three young men accused of having sung the hymn of the Revolution. In spite of the president's opposition, he dared to praise it, and recited the poem in paraphrase, to let the jurymen pass judgment upon it. At the famous verse "Amour sacré de la patrie," all the jurymen had risen, and the accused were acquitted. After the revolution of 1830 Crémieux removed from Nîmes to Paris, where he bought Odillon Barrot's practise at the Court of Cassation. This he retained for nearly seven years, and then resumed his private practise, ranking with the leading lawyers of Paris.

Isaac Adolphe Crémieux.
(After the painting by Count du Houy.)

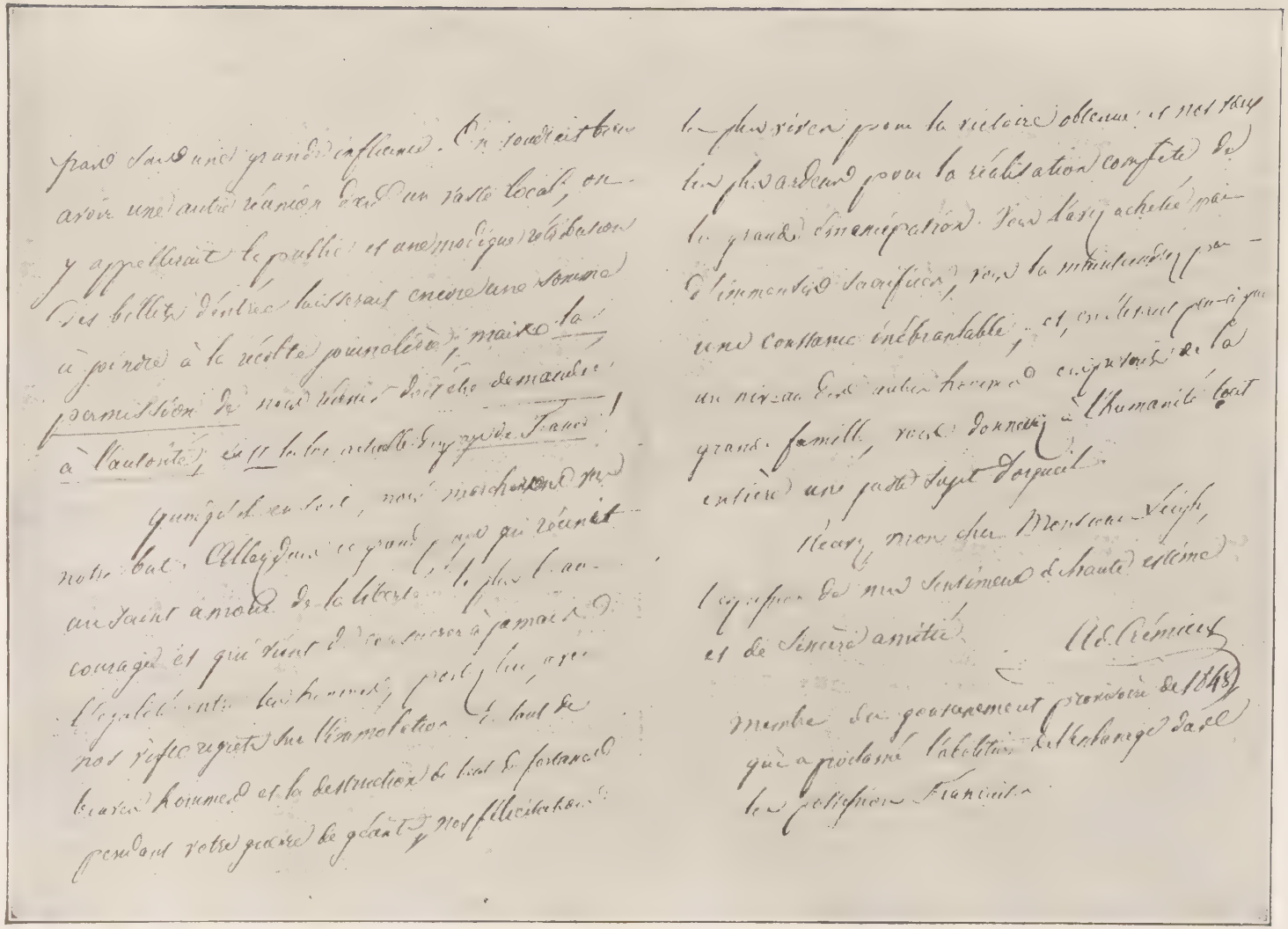
Crémieux was successful in obtaining the abolition of the humiliating oath known as the "More Judaico," which every Jew had been forced to take on coming into court; and this made Crémieux the leader of his coreligionists, whose social status and interests he protected during his entire career. In 1840 Crémieux took an important part in securing the acquittal, through Mehemet-Ali, of the Jewish victims of the famous Damascus ritual murder case (see Damascus Affair). His return from the Orient was a series of triumphs, the Jews of Vienna being foremost in their demonstrations of gratitude. He was also received by Prince Metternich, the then chancellor of the Austrian empire.

Participated in the Damascus Affair.

In 1842 the leaders of the opposition asked Crémieux to present himself for election in the arrondissement of Chinon, to supplant Piscatory, the ministerial deputy from Indre et Loire. After a hard struggle he was elected, and during the last years of Louis Philippe's reign he achieved brilliant successes, both as a lawyer and as a speaker. He was not only an able and disinterested defender of journalists and statesmen, but also the patron of all artists. At his reunions the most celebrated singers of the Opera and of the Théâtre des Italiens appeared; and on one occasion they were accompanied by Rossini, Meyerbeer, and Auber. Crémieux was one of the most brilliant orators of the "Campagne des Banquets," which brought about the revolution of Feb. 24, 1848; and his election as a member of the provisional government was due in a great measure to this fact. As minister of justice he was instrumental in abolishing capital punishment for political offenses, the exposure of the condemned to public curiosity, and the political oath. But the republic, of which he was so proud to have been one of the founders, came to an abrupt end.

As Minister of Justice.

Crémieux has often been blamed, and he doubtless blamed himself, for advocating Louis Napoleon's candidacy as president. He believed, however, in



Part of the Autograph Letter of Isaac Adolphe Crémieux Congratulating America on the Emancipation of the Slaves.

the sincerity of the prince's expressions of republican sentiments, and cherished the illusion that a nephew of Napoleon would sustain the republic in France, and redeem the "eighteenth of Brumaire." Moreover he was strongly prejudiced against General Cavaignac, who, after having refused, on the pretext of ill health, the portfolio of minister of war, offered to him by the provisional government, suddenly became well enough to be the chief executive.

Crémieux's illusions concerning the policy of Louis Napoleon soon vanished. Under date of Dec. 15, 1848, he addressed a letter to the newly elected prince, in which he exhorted him to be a "standard for reconciliation and not of disillusionment," and to remain true to his republican principles. He never saw Napoleon again. On leaving the prisons of Mazas and Vincennes, to which the coup d'état of his former friend had brought him, he retired from active politics and went back to his law practise, defending throughout France the newspapers that were persecuted, and the interests of all the proscribed republicans, among them Louis Blanc, Challemel-Lacour, Ledru Rollin, Pierre Leroux, and many others.

Open Letter to Louis Napoleon.

To enumerate Crémieux's many and important cases would be impossible. Among his clients were the sultan and the viceroy of Egypt. He journeyed to Bucharest in the interests of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, of which he had been one of the founders and of which he had become the president in 1863. Finally, in 1869, he had to give way to the voters of Paris, and, in spite of his seventy-three years, was compelled to take his seat in the Palais-Bourbon, to help overthrow the empire and again save his beloved France. But this time the task was impossible. The incapacity of the leaders and Bazaine's treason lost the army. Gambetta himself, formerly Crémieux's secretary and now his colleague in the Government of National Defense, could not create a new army or capable generals. The five months of terrible anxiety, followed by the inglorious peace, prostrated Crémieux. He offered a part of his wealth to help pay the millions demanded by the Germans, but Thiers would not listen to the plan of a national subscription. Crémieux was made a life senator. He gave 50,000 francs in aid of the victims of the flood at Toulouse, urged by the same sentiments that, in 1860, had led him to address the following appeal to his coreligionists in behalf of the Christians of Lebanon:

Memorable Pro-Christian Appeal.

"The Christians of the East are subjected to the most horrible persecution. Tortures, rape, assassination, pillage, burning, the murder of women, children, and old people, even mutilation of corpses—such is the picture presented by the whole region of the Lebanon. Blood is shed; misery and famine are spreading among a dense population, whom Mohammedan fanaticism is destroying in a war even against the intention and forces of the Turkish government, and whose sole crime is that they worship the Christ. French Jews, let us be the first to come to the aid of our Christian brothers; let us not await the results of diplomacy, which is always so slow and which will regulate the future; let us alleviate present needs. Let a large subscription be begun to-day in Paris, and let a Jewish committee be organized to-morrow. Do not let us lose one day, one hour; let the signal for abundant relief be given in the midst of this Jewish assembly, gathered in this capital of civilization. This signal will be answered by our brethren in England, Germany, Belgium, Holland, and all Europe; in the countries that recognize them as citizens, and in those that still refuse them this noble title. You, also, Jews of the American countries where religious liberty is triumphant, you will help the Catholics of Asia, who are so cruelly oppressed by superstition. Let the rich Jew bring his large offering, and the poor Jew his pious obolus. But a still greater thought shall rise from this first impulse. Who knows? Perhaps God, who rules over all, has permitted these catastrophes in order to give a solemn occasion to all the cults to aid one another, for mutual defense against the furious hatreds, the daughters of superstition and barbarity. A permanent committee in every country, with eyes open for all the victims of fanaticism, without distinction of religion, must be created and supported. The misfortunes that fall at this moment upon so many innocent victims arouse the sympathy of all. They suggest the thought of a future protection against this scourge, which our century repudiates with horror—religious persecution."

Crémieux's entire life is a proof of the nobility of his character. In 1832 he heard that his father, on leaving the prison in 1796, had found his business destroyed, and had been compelled to compromise with his creditors. Crémieux did not rest until he had found all these creditors or their heirs; and he returned to them not only the principal, which most of them had forgotten, but also the accumulated interest for thirty-six years. Thereupon he sought and easily obtained the rehabilitation of his father's name. He never sacrificed any of his convictions to his personal interests, and did not hesitate to antagonize the powerful influence of the Rothschilds in advocating, in the Chamber of Deputies, the acquisition of the railroads by the government.

His Character.

Always ready to aid his coreligionists, Crémieux never forgave them a mean action. Thus, he refused to aid Deutz, the despicable accuser of the Duchess of Berry, who appealed to him as being a Jew. On Jan. 30, 1880, Crémieux lost his wife, who, since 1824, had been his constant companion and helper. Both had frequently said that neither could live without the other, and Crémieux's death occurred ten days after that of his wife.

Bibliography: *La Grande Encyclopédie*; *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon*; Brockhaus, *Konversations-Lexikon*.

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CRÉMIEUX, MORDECAI BEN ABRAHAM: Rabbi at Aix, Provence; born at Carpentras in 1749; died May 22, 1825. He was the author of "Ma'amar Mordekai" (Treatise of Mordecai), a commentary on the Shulḥan 'Aruk, Oraḥ Ḥayyim, in two parts, Leghorn, 1784.

Bibliography: J. Milhaud, in *Archives Israélites*, 1849, pp. 11, 136; and 1840, p. 374; Nepi-Ghirondi, *Toledot Gedole Yisrael*, p. 241; *Allg. Zeit. des Jud.* 1840, p. 411; Azulai, *Shem ha-Gedolim*, ii. 42; Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 1657.

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CRÉMIEUX or CRÉMIEU, MOSES BEN SOLOMON: Scholar; born at Carpentras, France, in 1766; died May 4, 1837. He was a nephew and son-in-law of Mordecai Crémieux. In 1790 he removed to Aix, in Provence. Here he established a Hebrew printing-office, from which he issued (1829–1835) a corrected edition of the prayer-book used in the four French communities of Avignon, Carpentras, L'Isle, and Cavaillon, together with a commentary thereon, under the title "Ho'il Mosheh Be'er" (Moses Began to Explain). He also published (1833–36) notes on Ibn Ezra's commentaries on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, the Five Scrolls, Proverbs,

and Job. The former work is of greater intrinsic value than the latter.

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CREMONA: Italian city in the plain of Lombardy; capital of the province of Cremona. The beginnings of the Jewish community in this city appear to date back to the middle of the twelfth century, but the first authentic notice is of the year 1420, when the decurions of the city renewed some earlier privileges of the Jews. They lived in the Via Giudecca (now Via Zuecca), where there was a large synagogue, and in a few contiguous streets; and they had a cemetery in the vicinity, designated to-day as "S. Maria di Bethlem No. 2174." In 1456 Francesco Sforza took them under his protection because of their fidelity to the state. In 1466–68 they were so numerous that the citizens petitioned Princess Bianca Maria Visconti not to admit any more Jews. The treatment received by the Jews in the territory of Milan was generally just. Their chief occupations seem to have been in commerce, banking, and agriculture. They fared ill, however, under Spanish rule. Charles V. permitted the preaching friars to excite the populace against the Jews; but this permission was rescinded in 1541 by Guido Ascanio Sforza, chamberlain of Pope Paul III.

The first considerable disturbance in the ghetto of Cremona occurred when steps were taken to enforce the bull of Pope Julius III. ordering all Talmudic works to be burned (1553). It was in 1559 that the inquisitor-general of the city ordered the Jews to deliver to the Inquisition all their copies of the Talmud. Some of them obeyed; but deputies of the various congregations protested in a memorial, and the governor of Milan intervened in their favor. The Inquisition, however, remained obdurate, and the Dominicans came to its aid. One of these, Hieronymus of Vercelli, was a vicar acting as assistant to the inquisitor-general of Cremona; the other, Sixtus of Siena, was an apostate well known to the Jews from his previous fanatical preaching against them in various parts of Italy. As a result of their agitations, a censorship commission was organized, to which were appointed Vettoria Eliano, another convert, and a Jew named Joshua dei Cantori. The last-named had lived in a feud with Joseph Ottolenghi, a scholar who had opened a school in Cremona, had edited many Hebrew works, and had helped to make Cremona a center of Talmud learning. Joshua was ready to avenge himself on Ottolenghi and his friends by joining the Dominicans in their denunciations, and the commission gave a decision against the Talmud and rabbinical works. These proceedings finally wore out the patience of the governor; he yielded, gave orders that the Talmud should be burned, and ordered Spanish soldiers to aid in searching Jewish houses and the printing establishment for the proscribed works. In April or May, 1559, between 10,000 and 12,000 books were publicly burned. Seven years later, in 1566, Hebrew books were again seized, but were immediately restored by the Senate. When Pius V. ordered the Jews to wear the badge, and forbade the lending of money on interest, Cardinal Borromeo extended the application of these measures to all the Jews of Lombardy. In 1582 a Christian, having murdered a Jew, was punished on complaint of the community; whereupon the Christian citizens of Cremona sent a deputation to Philip II. requesting the expulsion of all Jews. When the Bishop of Cremona was elevated to the papacy in 1590 as Gregory XIV., the Jews were in danger of being plundered, and dared not leave their houses for several days.

On receiving the deputation from the citizens of Cremona, Philip II. ordered a census of the Jews, and in 1592 their expulsion. But this order was not carried into effect by Volasco, the governor of Milan; on the contrary, he lent his aid to Samuel Coën of Alessandria when the latter offered to carry a petition to Madrid. Coen succeeded in persuading the king to withdraw the order. The inhabitants of Cremona and Padua, however, offered considerable sums of money to Philip as an inducement to expel the Jews, and, advised thereto by his confessor, he acceded to their wishes. At the same time the Jews were accused of fraud in regard to the taxes, and were thereby deprived of the protection of the state. When the order of expulsion arrived, in 1596, the Jews were unable to leave because of the war in Lombardy between the French and the Spaniards, and the governor permitted them to stay until 1597. A new decree was then obtained from the king, ordering an immediate expulsion, and Volasco was forced to obey it. He tried to soften the lot of the unfortunate Jews by advising a gradual emigration, and by aiding and supporting them with money; he also, hearing that the fugitives were being molested and annoyed, strictly forbade any ill treatment or plundering. Only two families were allowed to remain until the trial in connection with the taxes was finished, and then, after a decision had been given in their favor, these too left. The fugitives went to Mantua, Modena, Monticelli, Reggio, Verona, and Padua. No Jews have lived in Cremona since that time.

Expulsion 1597.

In 1588 the community of Cremona numbered 456 persons and was well organized. It had supported in 1550 a Talmud Torah under the direction of R. Joseph Ottling. There was also a club for study, "Bet El," the by-laws of which, dated Nov. 26, 1582, are still extant ("Ha-Asif," iii. 220), besides a charitable society, "Honen Dal," whose constitution dated from 1591, when the community was already threatened with danger. The reputation of the community extended beyond its borders. The consent of the rabbis of Cremona was obtained on the occasion of the proceedings against Azariah dei Rossi's "Me'or 'Enayim" (see "Rev. Et. Juives," xxxiii. 86). The community was always ready to render aid to the persecuted, as in the case of the Maranos of Pesaro (*ib.* xx. 70); and when the communities of Italy sent a deputation to Rome to protest against the burning of Hebrew books, that of Cremona was the leader of the movement.

For many years there was a Hebrew printing establishment at Cremona, and when the publication of certain works was interfered with in other places, Cremona shared with Mantua the work of completing them. For example, the "Ziyyuni," one thou-

sand copies of which had been in course of publication and had been burned during the Milan troubles of 1559, was brought out in 1560. In 1556–61 and 1565–67 Vincenzo Conti published here in excellent form several important Hebrew works—the Psalms in 1561, the Pentateuch and the Megillah in 1566 (?). The device of the publisher shows Hercules with the hydra and the motto "Superavit ac virtus." Several other books were subsequently printed at Cremona (for instance, by Christopher Draconi, 1576); the editions were often very large, 2,000 copies of the Zohar being issued in 1559–60. The Jews regarded their works as safe from the Inquisition in the territory of Milan.

Rabbis of Cremona.

The earliest known rabbi of Cremona was Menahem Immanuel b. Abraham Raphael Coen Rapa Porto (1519). Then followed: Joseph Ottling (Ottolenghi [?]; 1555); Eliezer b. Elia Ashkenazi; Abraham b. Abraham Basola; Isaac b. Gershom Gentili; Abraham b. Kalonymus Pescarolo; Raphael b. Isaiah delli Piatelli; Moses Menahem Coen Rafa Porto; Abba b. Elia Zarfati; Joshua Sanvil ben Jekuthiel; David Aaron Norlenghi (1596); Nathan da Cremona; Joshua and Jacob b. Elhanan Heilbronn (היילפרון), born in Cremona; Abraham Menahem Coen Porto, who worked as corrector at Cremona in 1574.

Bibliography: *Alessandria*, in Jew. Encyc. i. 340; a "pinkes" of Cremona, and the statutes of the societies mentioned, in *Cod. Montefiore College*, No. 94 (see *Jew. Quart. Rev.* xiv. 178); Joseph ha-Kohen, *'Emeḳ ha-Baka*; *Cremona Illustrata*, Milan, 1865; A. Pesaro, *Cenni sull' ex-Comunità Israel. di Cremona*, in *Vess. isr.* 1882, xxx. 302, 339, 366; xxxi. 4; Is. Bianchi, *Sulle Tipografie Ebraiche di Cremona del Sec. xvi.*, Cremona, 1807; G. B. de Rossi, *Annali Ebreo-Tipografici di Cremona*, Parma, 1808; Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 3097; Mortara, *Indice Alfabetico*, s.v.

G. I. E.—G. J.

CRESCAS, ABIATHAR IBN, HA-KOHEN: Physician in ordinary to King Juan II. of Aragon (1458–79); skilful oculist and learned astrologer. In Sept., 1468, he freed the king, who was seventy years of age, from a double cataract of the eyes, which had caused his total blindness. Abiathar preached the memorial sermon at the funeral service held by the Jewish community of Cervera upon the death of Juan II. (Jan., 1479).

Bibliography: Zurita, *Anales de Aragon*, book xix., ch. 14.

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CRESCAS, ASTRUC DON: Provençal scholar; lived probably at Perpignan, in the fourteenth century. Samuel, son of Solomon Shalom of Perpignan (compare Azulai, "Shem ha-Gedolim," p. 188), consulted Crescas on a halakic question in a complicated case of marriage. Both Samuel's inquiry and Crescas' answer are still extant in manuscript.

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G. I. Br.

CRESCAS, ḤASDAI BEN ABRAHAM (or **BEN JUDAH**; misreading of חסדאי בן אברהם (קרשקש): Religious philosopher; born in Barcelona, Spain, 1340; died 1410. He was of an illustrious and learned family, in "Ḳore ha-Dorot" falsely designated as of the family עמישי (the abbreviation of על משכבם שלום יבוא, found at the end of the genealogy in his own preface to his great work). He was a disciple of the Talmudist and philosopher Nissim ben Reuben (RaN), and, following in the footsteps of both his ancestors and his teacher, he became a Talmudic authority and a philosopher of great originality (Joël, "Don Chasdai Creskas," p. 78, note 2, Breslau, 1866), important in the history of modern thought for his deep influence on Spinoza. While he did not occupy an official position as rabbi, he seems to have been active as a teacher. Among his fellow students and friends, Isaac ben Sheshet (RIBaSH), famous for his responsa, takes precedence. Albo is the best known of his pupils, but at least two others have won recognition—R. Mattathias of Saragossa (see "He-Ḥaluẓ," vii. 94), and R. Zechariah ha-Levi, the translator of Al-Ghazzali's "Refutation of the Philosophers" (see Steinschneider, in "Oẓar ha-Neḥmad," ii. 231). Crescas was a man of means. As such he was appointed sole executor of the will of his uncle Vitalis (Ḥayyim) Azday by the King and the Queen of Aragon in 1393 (Jacobs, "Sources of Spanish-Jewish History," pp. 134–137). Still, though enjoying the high esteem even of prominent non-Jews, he did not escape the common fate of his coreligionists. Imprisoned upon a false accusation in 1378, he suffered personal indignities because he was a Jew (Grätz, "Gesch." viii., ch. 4). His only son died in 1391, a martyr for his faith (see Crescas' pathetic words in Wiener's edition of "Shebeṭ Yehudah," Appendix), during the persecutions of that period. Nevertheless he kept his "eyes turned to the Father in heaven." How deep his faith was is shown by the circumstance that, notwithstanding this bereavement, his mental powers were unbroken; for the works that have made him immortal are all posterior to that terrible year. Another episode of his life worthy of note is connected with the appearance of the pseudo-Messiah of Cisneros, one of whose adherents he became. In 1401–02 he visited Joseph Orabuena at Pamplona at the request of the King of Navarre, who paid the expenses of his journey to various Navarrese towns (Jacobs, *l.c.* Nos. 1570, 1574). He was at that time described as "Rab of Saragossa."

Of his writings three have become known: (1) His letter to the congregations of Avignon, published as an appendix to Wiener's edition of "Shebeṭ Yehudah" (see above), in which he relates the incidents of the persecution of 1391. (2) An exposition and refutation of the main doctrines of Christianity. This "tratado" was written in Spanish in 1398. The Spanish original is no longer extant; but a Hebrew translation by Joseph ibn Shem-Ṭob, with the title בטול עקרי הנוצרים ("Refutation of the Cardinal Principles of the Christians"), has been preserved. The work was composed at the solicitation of Spanish noblemen (Grätz, "Gesch." viii. 411, note 2), and this explains the use of the vernacular. Crescas' object in writing what is virtually an apologetic treatise on Judaism was to present the reasons which held the Jews fast to their ancestral faith. He does this in a dispassionate, dignified manner, by contrasting the reasonableness of Jewish doctrines with the unintelligible perplexities of the Christian dogma. Crescas may also have had in mind, while thus defending Judaism, the many apostates who tried to demonstrate the genuineness of their Christian convictions by attacking

their native religion. He was a lifelong combatant in the ranks of those who would expose the falsehoods of these apostates.

His main contribution to literature is (3) a work entitled "Or Adonai" (Light of the Lord). In it he develops his philosophy and proves himself master in the realm of thought. He had intended this work for the first part of a complete presentation of the contents of Judaism. It was to be followed by a second, to be known as the "Ner Adonai" (Lamp of the Lord), in which he desired to treat of duties and ceremonies. But this second part was never written. He doubtless had in mind the example of Maimonides. The "Or Adonai," as a philosophical treatment of Jewish dogma, corresponds to Maimonides' "Moreh Nebukim"; the "Ner Adonai" was to have been written on the lines of Maimonides' "Yad ha-Ḥazakah."

Crescas' "Or Adonai," notwithstanding its signal merit as the production of an independent and original thinker, met with scant attention. The much less meritorious elaboration of his pupil Albo (the "'Iḳḳarim") found its way into the libraries and minds of innumerable readers, and was republished time and again, though its strong points are mostly purloined from Crescas; but the master and teacher suffered from neglect and even eclipse. (Munk, in his "Mélanges," forgets to mention him.) Only the haggadic commentaries which, always strikingly clear, embroider occasionally the text of his rigid speculations, were frequently quoted in "'En Ya'aḳob," by Jacob ibn Ḥabib, who characterizes them as "sweeter than honey." "Or Adonai" is found in manuscript in almost every extensive Hebrew collection, but the editions have been few and faulty. The first print is that edited at Ferrara in 1556, which edition is disfigured by intolerable carelessness. Other editions are the Johannisberg quarto and the Vienna (1860) octavo. Both have added to the old mistakes a considerable number of new ones (Philipp Bloch, "Die Willensfreiheit von Chasdai Kreskas," pp. ii., iii., Munich, 1879).

The "Or Adonai."

Neither the style of the author nor the inherent difficulties of the subject are sufficient to explain this lack of interest in the work. His vocabulary is precise, and the presentation concise. The book offers no insurmountable difficulties for earnest students. The matter is attractive enough, and not beside the range of the philosophical interests of the Jews. And yet those who read and commentated Maimonides and Albo passed Crescas by. It is the position taken by the author, the boldness with which he strikes at the very roots of the Maimonidean-Aristotelian thesis, that produced this indifference. In this he failed of the sympathy even of such as were glad to honor him as "the Ḥasid" (Joël, *l.c.* p. 2), Characteristic of the attitude and feeling of the more numerous class which idolized Aristotle as represented by Maimonides, are the words of Shem-Ṭob in his commentary to part ii. of the "Moreh Nebukim": "Perverted fool" and "without comprehension" are among the words employed, and he characterizes Ḥasdai's objection to Aristotle as "impudent [הזיות] nonsense" (Joël, *l.c.* p. 2, note 1). In other words, Crescas met the fate always in store for the iconoclast. Among the Arab philosophers Al-Ghazzali's experience is similar.

Crescas' avowed purpose was to liberate Judaism from the bondage of Aristotelianism, which, through Maimonides, influenced by Ibn Sina, and Gersonides (Ralbag), influenced by Ibn Roshd (Averroes) threatened to blur the distinctness of the Jewish faith, reducing the doctrinal contents of Judaism to a surrogate of Aristotelian concepts. Abu-Ḥamid al-Ghazzali wrote the "Tehafat al-Falasifa" (Destruction of the Philosophers; see Munk, "Mélanges," pp. 373 *et seq.*) with a like aim — namely, to defend orthodox belief as far as it was menaced first by the doctrines of the philosophers which teach that matter is eternal and indestructible, that the world is indestructible and permanent, and that God is merely a demiurge, and further by their efforts at demonstrating God's existence, their inability to disprove the possibility of dualism, and their denial of God's attributes.

Object of the Work.

Crescas makes no concealment of his purpose to vindicate orthodoxy against the liberalism of Maimonides and Gersonides. Of these two the former especially had endeavored to harmonize revelation and faith with philosophy. While, in those instances where this harmony could not be established, Maimonides refused to follow Aristotle to the exclusion of Moses, his successors seemed bent upon the opposite course. For them Aristotle was infallible. His concepts of God's providence, of creation, matter, and immortality were theirs. They had often enough been attacked by orthodoxy, but excommunications and invectives were then, as always, powerless to suppress thought. Crescas met them as a philosopher who recognized the right of philosophical speculation. He did not agree with those Christian and Mohammedan theologians who in their speculations were advocates of a twofold truth—one for the theologian and the other for the philosopher, the former not cognizable by natural man, because supernatural and irrational, the latter open to the intelligence of natural man (compare Isaac Albalag's מצד העיון, "philosophical," as opposed to מצד האמונה, "theological").

Well versed in philosophical literature, Crescas then proceeds to show that Aristotle is far from infallible. He is, as the Jewish anti-Aristotelian, of one intention with Giordano Bruno, and the precursor of Spinoza. He deplores that Maimonides, whose scholarship and honesty he admires, should have made of the fragile theses of Greek philosophy props for Jewish doctrine, saying that the example proved pernicious for his imitators. He believes it is high time to probe the proofs of "the Greek [Aristotle] who darkens the eyes of Israel in these days." This is his task. After having shown the untenability of the Aristotelian propositions, he would "establish the roots and the cornerstones upon which the Torah [= Jewish religion] is propped, and the pivots upon which it turns" (Preface). He does not denounce heretics, but exposes the weakness of the ground on which rest what he considers to be heterodox views. He desires to set forth the contents of Judaism and the limitations in respect to them of the scope of philosophy.

His book comprises four main divisions ("ma'amar"), subdivided into "kelalim" and chapters ("peraḳim"): the first treating of the foundation of all belief—the existence of God; the second, of the fundamental doctrines of the faith; the third, of other doctrines which, though not fundamental, are binding on every adherent of Judaism; the fourth, of doctrines which, though traditional, are without obligatory character, and which are open to philosophical construction.

The first main division opens with a thorough criticism of the twenty-five (twenty-six) Aristotelian propositions ("haḳdamot") which Maimonides accepts as axiomatic, and out of which he constructs his idea of God. In the first section he presents all the demonstrations for these theorems, especially those adduced by Tabrizi; in the second, he shows the inadequacy of these ontological and physical propositions, and thus demolishes Maimonides' proofs for his God-concept. Crescas, admitting that the existence of a first cause is susceptible of philosophic proof, but only by contingence (he rejects the Aristotelian assumption that an endless chain of causes is unthinkable; *i.e.*, the first cause of all that is must be regarded as existent), holds philosophy to be incompetent to prove God's absolute unity, as does Ghazzali. The first cause may be philosophically construed to be simple, for if it were composite another would have to be assumed for the compounding. Still, this would not necessitate the positing of God's unity. Other deities might with other functions still be in existence, even if our God were thought to be omnipotent. Therefore revelation alone is competent to establish God's unity. Without the "Shema' Yisrael," philosophy fails to be a trusty guide. He introduces a new element into his God-idea. His predecessors contended that God's highest happiness—the divine essence, in fact—was His knowledge. He rejects this as inadequate, and posits instead God's love, always intent upon communicating itself and doing good. He argues against Maimonides for the admissibility of divine attributes. From the human subjective point of view, attributes may appear to posit differences in God; but this does not mean that they do so in God objectively. In Him, in the Absolutely Good, they merge as identical unity; predicates, especially of only logical or conceptual significance, are incompetent to cause real multiplicity or composition.

The First Cause.

In the second division he enumerates those six fundamental doctrines as presupposed by revealed faith, without which Judaism would fall: God's omniscience, providence, and omnipotence; the belief in prophecy, freedom of the will, and that the world was created for a purpose. God's omniscience embraces all the innumerable individual beings; He has knowledge of what is as yet not in existence; He knows what of all possibilities will happen, though thereby the nature of the possible is not altered. God's knowledge is different from that of man: inferences from one to the other are not valid. (Here he sides with Maimonides against Gersonides.) God's providence embraces directly and indirectly all species and individuals. It rewards and punishes, especially in the hereafter. Crescas rejects the theories of Maimonides and Gersonides on this point. Love, not knowledge (intellectual), is the bond between God and man. From God's love proceeds only what is good, and punishment is also inherently good. God's omnipotence is not merely infinite in time, but also in intensity. Revelation, and it alone ("creatio ex nihilo"), makes it clear. Natural law is no limitation for God, but whatever is irrational proves neither God's omnipotence nor His lack of power; that is, God acts reasonably. Prophecy is the highest degree of human mentality. Maimonides makes it dependent upon certain conditions. While Crescas admits this, he differs from Maimonides in that he will not admit the refusal of the prophetic gift when these conditions are fulfilled. Connection and communion with God are not brought about by knowledge, but by love and reverence, leading us to Him if we keep His commandments. Very extensive is his presentation of the freedom of the will. He inclines toward its rejection; at all events, to its limitation. The law of causality is so all-pervasive that human conduct can not withdraw itself from its operations. Moreover, God's omniscience anticipates our resolutions. But the Torah teaches the freedom of choice and presupposes our self-determination. Thus he concludes that the human will is free in certain respects, but determined in others. Will operates as a free agent when considered alone, but when regarded in relation to the remote cause, it acts by necessity; or, will operates in freedom, both per se and in regard to the provoking cause, but is bound if analyzed with reference to the divine omniscience. Man feels himself free; therefore he is responsible and must be rewarded or punished. The accompanying sentiment (readiness or disinclination to act) makes the deed our own.

The Purpose of the World.

In the sixth section of this division, Crescas displays characteristic originality. Maimonides rejected as futile and unwarranted all inquiry into the ultimate purpose of the world. Crescas posits such an ultimate purpose and assumes it to be the happiness of the soul. In this life the soul is intently striving after union with the divine; the laws of the Torah help to realize this, the soul's, never quiescent yearning. After death, the soul will enter upon greater possibilities of love, in the higher existence. Former thinkers made immortality depend on knowledge. This is contrary to the teachings of religion, and also utterly unreasonable. Love brings about the soul's happiness of eternal duration in the hereafter and the communion with God thereupon ensuing. "The soul is the form and essence of man, a subtle spiritual substance, capacitated for knowledge, but in its substance not yet cognizant." By this definition he establishes the soul's independence of knowledge. Knowledge does not produce the soul. Man's highest perfection is not attained through knowledge, but principally through love, the tendency to, and longing for, the fountainhead of all good. Man's last purpose, his highest good, is love, manifested in obedience to God's laws. God's highest purpose is to make man participate in the eternal bliss to come.

The third main division devotes much attention to

the theories concerning CREATION. Whatever theory, however, be accepted, the belief in miracles and revelation is not affected. Religious tradition is so preponderatingly in favor of the assumption that the world and matter are created, and Gersonides' counter-reasoning is so inconclusive, that Crescas regards the denial of creation as heterodox. Immortality, punishment, reward, resurrection (a miracle, but not irrational), the irrevocability and eternal obligation of the Law, the belief in urim and thummim and Messianic redemption, are the other tenets treated as doctrines which should be accepted, but which are not, strictly speaking, basic.

In the fourth division thirteen opinions are enumerated as open to speculative decision, among them the questions concerning the dissolution of the world. (Crescas holds the earth will pass away while the heavens will endure.) Have there been other worlds besides our own? Are the heavenly bodies endowed with soul and reason? Have amulets and incantations any significance? What are the "Shedim"? What about metempsychosis?

An opponent of Maimonides on philosophical grounds, Crescas was also dissatisfied with the method of the "Mishneh Torah," for reasons often adduced by others as well; namely, the absence of indications of the sources, the rare mention of divergent opinions, and the lack of provision to meet new cases, owing to its neglect to establish general principles of universal application ("Or Adonai," Preface).

If among Jews he exercised for a long time only through Albo any perceptible influence, though he was studied, for instance, by Abravanel, who controverts especially his Messianic theories, and by Abram Shalom in his "Neveh Shalom," Crescas' work was of prime and fundamental importance through the part it had in the shaping of Spinoza's system. Spinoza's distinction between attributes and properties is identical with Crescas' distinction between attributes subjectively ascribed and their objective reality in God. The connection between Spinoza's views on creation and free will, on love of God and of others, and those of Crescas has been established by Joël in his "Zur Genesis der Lehre Spinoza's" (Breslau, 1871). See SPINOZA, BARUCH.

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K. E. G. H.

CRESCAS, MORDECAI EN, OF ORANGE: Prominent member of the community of Carcassonne, France; lived in the second half of the thirteenth century. As leader (syndic) of the Jews of the whole district, he succeeded in obtaining special jurisdiction for the Jews of Carcassonne, and secured a decree from Philip the Fair, assuring them of the peaceable possession of the synagogues, cemeteries, and other communal property in the city. If the words אזוב (ezob, lit. "hyssop") and אברנגה (abrengah) designate "orange," as several historians think, he may have been called also Mordecai ben Isaac Ezobi and Mordecai En Crescas d'Avrengah. In this case he would be the Talmudist of Carcassonne who was in correspondence with Solomon ben Adret of Barcelona (Responsa, iii., Nos. 214, 302), and the poet who, on his way to Béziers, exchanged some poems with Abraham Bedersi. It seems that toward 1304 he lived in Carpentras, and filled there the position of rabbi.

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G. I. LEV.

CRESCAS, VIDAL, DE CASLAR (דשקשלאר"י; called also **Crescas Caslari,** corrupted into **Kislad, Gislad,** and **Décadolas;** Hebrew name, **Israel b. Joseph ha-Levi**): Physician and liturgical poet of Avignon; member of the Yiẓhari family of that place. In 1327 Crescas translated into Hebrew the "Regimen Sanitatis" of his contemporary, the Spanish physician Arnold de Villanueva, under the title "Ma'amar be-Hanhagat ha-Beri'ut," the manuscripts of which are preserved in various libraries. Crescas wrote a poem for Purim, "Mi Kamoka" (Who Is Like unto Thee?), in about two hundred and forty stanzas, relating the story of the Book of Esther. A few stanzas have been published by Zunz, in "Allg. Zeit. des Jud." 1839, p. 681.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, *Hebr. Uebers.* p. 779; Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, pp. 7, 257, 619; Zunz, *Literaturgesch.* p. 504; idem, *Z. G.* p. 466; Landshuth, *'Ammude ha-'Abodah*, p. 153.

G. M. K.

CRESCAS, (DON) VIDAL, OF PERPIGNAN: French Talmudist; flourished in the first half of the fourteenth century. He was probably a native of Spain, going to Perpignan shortly before the outbreak of the Maimonides controversy. His position in this religio-philosophical discussion was, like that of many other rabbis, neutral, notwithstanding the efforts of his brother Don Bonafos Vidal of Barcelona, and of Solomon ben Adret, to induce him to take part against the philosophical faction. It is evident, on the contrary, from the letter he addressed to them, that his attitude toward the movement was sympathetic, although he himself was strictly orthodox. He held that while the young should be taught to study the Talmud, they should also have full liberty in the study of philosophy and science. Hence he emphatically sided with his friend Samuel Sulami, who had given shelter to the ostracized philosopher Levi ben Abraham of Villefranche, though thereby incurring the reproach of the orthodox. Although Crescas did not openly espouse the cause of the unfortunate philosopher, yet his letters show how deeply he sympathized with him (Gross, "Gallia Judaica," p. 464).

L. G. A. PE.

CRESCENZ, JULIUS BERNHARD: Anti-Jewish writer in Germany at the beginning of the seventeenth century. He wrote "De Judæorum Privilegiis," Darmstadt, 1604–12; "Geistliches Bedenken, ob die Juden und Ihr Wucher in dem Römischen Reich zu Dulden," *ib.* 1612.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fürst, *Bibl. Jud.* i. 192. G.

CRESCENZI, ALEXANDER: Jewish convert to Christianity; lived at Rome in the seventeenth century. In 1666 he translated from the Spanish into Italian Antony Colmenarde Ludesina's treatise on chocolate, printed with notes by Alexander Vitrioli, Rome, 1667. Mandosius speaks of Crescenzi as a mathematician who became celebrated on account of his report, which he edited with mathematical notes, on the eruption of Vesuvius in 1660.

Bibliography: Wolf, *Bibl. Hebr.* iii., No. 309b; Vogelstein and Rieger, *Die Juden in Rom*, ii. 287; *Monatsschrift*, xliii. 473.

D. M. Sel.

CRESPIN, ELIAS: Rumanian rabbi, teacher, and journalist; born about 1850 at Eskee Sara, eastern Rumelia; he fled to Rumania after the Turco-Russian war of 1878. He was the first in the East to found a Judæo-Spanish journal in Latin characters, "El Luzero de la Paciencia," which had an existence of two years (1886–87) and which he edited at Turn-Severin (Franco, "Histoire des Israélites de Turquie").

S. M. Fr.

CRESPIN, SAMUEL: Turkish rabbinical author; lived at Smyrna in the first half of the nineteenth century; son of Joshua Abraham Crespin, grand rabbi of Smyrna. He was the author of "Meshek Beti" (Steward of My House; Gen. xv. 2), novellæ to the Talmud, 2 vols., Salonica, 1833.

Bibliography: Benjacob, *Ozar ha-Sefarim*, s.v.

L. G. M. Fr.

CRESQUES LO JUHEU: Chartographer who flourished at Majorca and Barcelona at the end of the fourteenth century. Prince Juan of Aragon sent to Charles VI. of France in 1381, when the latter was a lad of thirteen years, a "mappa mundi" made by Cresques lo Juheu (see plate under Chartography); it has been suggested that this is the well-known Catalan map now in the Louvre, which marks an epoch in the history of map-making, as the recent discoveries of Marco Polo were added to the usual information contained in the "portulani" or sea-charts of the Mediterranean mariners. (See Chartography.) In 1390 Cresques obtained no less a sum than 60 livres and 8 sous for a map made by him for Don Juan, King of Aragon. In the Spanish persecutions of 1391 Cresques was forcibly converted, and was known as Jaffuda Cresques; he appears to have remained in Majorca for a considerable time and to have become known to the people there as "lo Juen buscoler" (the map Jew), or "el Judio de la brujelas" (the compass Jew). In 1419 Henry the Navigator, the second son of King John I. of Portugal, established a naval observatory at Sagres and summoned to him Mestre Jaime of Majorca, who was probably identical with Cresques.

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G. J.

CRESSON, WARDER: Religious enthusiast, and convert to Judaism. Born in Philadelphia, Pa., July 13, 1798; died in Jerusalem, Palestine, Nov. 6, 1860. He was directly descended from Pierre Cresson, one of the settlers of "Haarlem," N. Y., whose grandson, Solomon, migrated to Philadelphia about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Warder Cresson's father, the grandson of the last named, was John Elliott Cresson (1773–1814), who married in 1795 Mary Warder.

Warder Cresson, as a young man, was much given to speculation upon religious and sociological questions. Though all in his family were Quakers, and he was reared in that faith, in 1830 he published a pamphlet entitled "Babylon the Great Is Falling! The Morning Star, or Light from on High," in which he deplores the extravagance and evil tendencies of the times, and exhorts all Quakers to lead a better and less wayward life. He now went through a period of strong religious mania, joining successively various sects as each appeared to him to represent the true religion. About 1840 he made the acquaintance of Isaac Leeser, who took an interest in him, and he became deeply attached to Judaism, discarding all his other forms of belief. On May 17, 1844, he was commissioned consul at Jerusalem (the first to be so commissioned), though no despatches from him are now on file in the Department of State. He speaks of his departure for Jerusalem as follows:

Connection with Leeser.

"In the spring of 1844 I left everything near and dear to me on earth. I left the wife of my youth and six lovely children (dearer to me than my natural life), and an excellent farm with everything comfortable around me. I left all these in the pursuit of the Truth, and for the sake of the Truth alone."

Previous to his departure he had been successfully engaged in agriculture at Gwynedd, a suburb of Philadelphia, and had accumulated a competence.

He was much affected by the surroundings of the Holy City, became more and more inclined toward Judaism, and assumed the name Michael C. Boaz Israel. During these years (1844–48) he was a frequent contributor to Isaac Leeser's magazine, "The Occident," devoting much space to a criticism of the methods of the London Society for the Conversion of the Jews. While in Jerusalem he identified himself with the Sephardic community, and was on terms of intimacy with Hakam Jehiel Cohen and the present chief rabbi, Elyashar. In 1848 he determined to become a Jew, and in March of that year, after much opposition from the bet din and the chief rabbi, Abraham Hai Gagin, he was circumcised and received into Judaism. He returned to Philadelphia in Sept., 1848, to arrange his affairs in order that he might pass the remainder of his days in the Holy City.

Residence in Jerusalem.

When his wife and family learned of his determination they interposed every possible obstacle to the execution of his plans. He became estranged from all except one son, and had much difficulty in tracing the property which he had left in their care. They regarded his actions as indicative of a loss of mind, and in May, 1849, his wife (Elizabeth Townsend) and his son Jacob applied to the court and obtained a commission in lunacy. He appealed from this decision, and the trial of this cause,

Trial for Lunacy.

which extended over six days in May, 1851, was one of the famous cases of the time. Eminent counsel were retained on both sides and nearly one hundred witnesses were called. The decision of the lower court was reversed, and Cresson was discharged. The argument of Horatio Hubbell, Jr., one of his counsel, was published in "The Occident" (xxi.) in 1863, with interesting comments from the pen of Isaac Leeser.

During the period of his stay in Philadelphia he was a regular attendant at the Mickve Israel synagogue, taking part in the Jewish communal life, and rigorously observing the ceremonial laws. During that time he contributed to "The Occident," and in 1851 published his strangely jumbled volume, "The Key of David: David the True Messiah, or the Anointed of the God of Jacob," etc. Its value lies mainly in its autobiographical character.

Soon after the trial he returned to Jerusalem and actively supported the efforts then being made for the agricultural regeneration of Palestine. In the fall of 1852, when Sir Moses Montefiore and Judah Touro were working along the same lines, he announced his intention of establishing an agricultural colony in the valley of Rephaïm. In March, 1853, the columns of "The Occident" (x.) contained his circular, sent from Jerusalem, inviting attention to, and assistance for, his projects. Though interspersed with much theology and with many quotations from the Bible, the circular is one that only a practical farmer and a thinker upon educational subjects could have produced. The prevailing distress was to be relieved by the establishment of agricultural colonies, and the oppressed of Israel in all parts of the world were to be enabled to return to Zion. Ample provision was also projected for the education of the colony. But, the means not being forthcoming, his plans were doomed to failure. Yet he never seems to have given up hope, and during the years 1853–56 the columns of "The Occident" contained many communications from him on this subject.

Agricultural Colony in Palestine.

He married a Sephardic woman shortly after his return to Jerusalem. He lived the life of a pious Oriental Jew, dressed as a native Sephardi, and became a prominent leader of the community. At his death he was buried on the Mount of Olives, with such honors as are paid only to a prominent rabbi.

Besides the two works mentioned above, Cresson wrote: "The Two Witnesses, Moses and Elijah," London, 1844; "The Good Olive-Tree, Israel," *id.* 1844; "Jerusalem, the Center and Joy of the Whole Earth," Philadelphia, 1844.

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A. H. F.

CRETE or **CANDIA**: Island in the Mediterranean, about 55 miles south of the Morea. Jews had settled there long before the Christian era (I Macc. xv. 23 mentions Jews in Gortynia, Crete). Philo speaks of the Jews of Crete ("Legatio ad Caium," ed. Mangey, ii. 587). About 4 B.C. the false Alexander, on his way to Rome, visited the Jewish communities of Crete, which, believing him to be a scion of the Hasmoneans, provided him with large sums of money (Josephus, "Ant." xvii. 12, § 1). Cretan Jews residing in Jerusalem are mentioned in Acts ii. 11. Crete fell into the hands of the Romans in 67 C.E.; and the Jewish communities there shared the fate of others under the dominion of Rome: they were treated as Roman citizens under the pagan emperors, but became the objects of persecution as soon as Christianity had become established. Thus, under Theodosius II. (408), the Cretan Jews were expelled. The period of their banishment, however, must have been of very short duration; for it is recorded that in 440 a pseudo-Messiah arose among them, and that the faith of the Cretan Jews in him was so great that they neglected their business, abandoned their property, and waited for the day on which the new Moses would lead them dry-shod through the sea into the Promised Land (Socrates, "Historia Ecclesiastica," vii. 36).

In 823 Crete fell into the hands of the Saracens, but nothing is known of the fate of the Jews at that time. The island was reconquered in 960 by the Byzantines, who held it until 1204, when it was sold by the Marquis of Montferrat, to whose lot it had fallen, to the Venetian republic. An insight into the history of the Jewish communities of Crete during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries can be gotten partly from an interesting series of communal regulations issued in 1328, and partly from documents in the archives of Venice, published by Hyppolyte Noiret in the "Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athenes et de Rome." The regulations give the 15th of Elul, 1228, as the date of their proclamation in the synagogue, but Güdemann has shown that the date must be the 16th of Elul, 1328. They were reenacted at a later date by a certain Rabbi Zedaḳah. They speak of four congregations in the island, at the head of which were three leaders (ממונים). One of the synagogues was named "Elijah the Prophet." These regulations are signed by Baruch ben Isaac, Menahem ben Joel, Eleazar ben Matthias, Isaac ben Joseph, Shemariah ben Solomon ben Isaac ha-Kohen, Samson Agora, Elijah ha-Parnas ben Reuben, Parnas Capsali ben Solomon ben Joseph, Joshua ben Obadiah ha-Levi (Berliner's "Magazin," vii. 131), Judah Anatoli, Benjamin ben Joseph Bonifacio, Shemariah the Cretan, Ishmael the Physician, Menahem ben Jacob ha-Parnas, and Samuel ben Gamliel ben Shem-Ṭob. They demand attendance at the synagogue services and meetings, uprightness in dealing with non-Jews, extreme caution in the use of the ban, attendance of the whole community at funerals, complete separation of the betrothed before marriage, cessation of all work at midday preceding Sabbaths and festivals, the abandonment of the habit of frequenting courts of law, and cleanliness of the ritual bath, finally forbidding the ejectment of tenants for non-payment of rent. Religious conditions in the island must have reached a stage of serious deterioration, for in the section relating to public prayers complaint is made that very often not even a "min-

Under Saracens, Byzantines, and Venetians.

yan" (ten worshipers) were present. The people were accustomed, on Sabbaths and festivals, to promenade in the parks, to go rowing, or to attend the courts of law.

The Venetian documents cover the period between 1380 and 1485, when Jewish letters flourished in the island. Though numbering only 1,160 in a total population of 200,000, the Jews must have been of some consequence. In 1412 complaint is made that they own all the shops in Retimo and the neighborhood. Their importance is further indicated by the heavy taxes imposed upon them. Up to 1387, they had been taxed in the sum of 1,000 hyperperes. At that date the tax was raised to 2,500; increased in 1395 to 3,000. In 1403 they were compelled to bear one-half the expense incurred in repairing the walls of Candia; in 1439 they were constrained to assume the burden of the annual payment of 4,000 ducats toward the expenses of the war, though the rest of the island had to make but one payment of the same amount. Equally oppressive taxes were laid upon them in 1431, 1432, 1465, and 1485. In addition, they had to lend the government whatever sums were called for by the Senate; in 1410, for instance, 2,000 ecus for the sending of troops to Negropont; 20,000 ecus in 1431; 5,000 ecus in 1447; 3,000 ecus in 1452; 1,000 ecus in 1464. Occasionally the Jews protested against such exactions. In 1389 Shabbethai Retu, Melchior Cassan, and Justof Missin, of Candia, appealed to the Senate in the name of the Cretan Jews, and the sum was diminished to 2,000 hyperperes in consideration of the eminent services rendered by them to the Venetian republic. In 1415 a protest was again lodged with the Senate.

Under Venetian Rule.

Heavy Taxation.

At times "privileges" had to be bought. In 1386 the Jews of Retimo were allowed to reopen a synagogue closed by Pietro Grimani, upon payment of 800 hyperperes toward the expenses of constructing a port. In 1392 they were required to supply twelve men to guard the ramparts near the ghetto; but in 1395 this order was rescinded for a money consideration. In 1402 the Jews of Negropont were forbidden to acquire ground except in their own part of the city, all the gates in which, except three, were ordered to be closed. In 1412 complaint was made to the Venetian Senate that Solomon, son of Lazzar da Meïr, had secured permission for himself and his descendants to open shops in any part of Retimo. The concession was immediately revoked. In 1433 the Senate prohibited the Jews of Crete from engaging in the brokerage business. By 1398 the Jews of Khania were not allowed more than 12 per cent interest upon loans; in 1449 they were further prohibited from lending money on mortgages. On the other hand, it is recorded that in 1421 one Cherson, son of Solomon of Retimo, owed a considerable sum of money to three Christian noblemen.

In the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.

In 1389 the Jews complained that they could not pay the increased tax, because their numbers had been decreased by epidemics and emigration. But by 1395 their numbers had been considerably augmented, perhaps by exiles from Spain (1391) or from Venice (1394). Some, as the Delmedigos, had come from Germany. In 1453 a conspiracy against Venetian rule in Crete was hatched by Sifios Blastos, and another in 1462 by Jean Gavala. In both cases the conspirators were denounced by a priest and by a Jew named David, son of Elijah Maurogonato. In recognition of the service rendered by David the Senate granted certain privileges to the Jews. Jews were often known as exporters, and were concerned in the exportation of sugar to Austria (Berliner, "Aus dem Inneren Leben," p. 78).

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the communities of Crete were greatly enlarged by the arrival of Spanish exiles. On that occasion the Cretan Jews showed their racial solidarity by selling the golden ornaments in their synagogue in order to raise money to free many exiles from the hands of the captains of vessels who had claimed their passengers as their slaves. Unfortunately, the Cretan Jews were the victims of their generosity; for some exiles from Rhodes, in 1523, carried to Candia the plague, which made great ravages in the community. In 1669 Crete was conquered by the Turks, and its history from that time parallels that of other communities within the Turkish empire.

In 1869, on the advice of the chief rabbi of the island, Moses Ashkenazi, all Jews who were Greek subjects formally adopted Ottoman nationality. A statute of organization issued at this time by the grand vizier, Ali Pasha, decreed that the island should consist of a general assembly elected by the whole population. In 1873 the Jews of Khania were accused of a ritual murder; but, owing to the efforts of the French consul-general, the missing child was found in a neighboring village; and the Greek authors of the plot were imprisoned.

Recent History.

At the beginning of the Greco-Turkish war of 1897 there were 225 Jewish families in Crete, or 1,150 persons in a total population of 250,000, distributed among the three cities: Khania (200 families), Candia (20 families), and Retimo (5 families). They are engaged in commerce and in various manual occupations.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Candia was a center of Jewish learning. The families Delmedigo, Casani, and Capsali produced a series of distinguished rabbis and philosophers. Judah, the chief of the Delmedigo family, settled at Candia about 1400 (see DELMEDIGO family). The following members of these families were rabbis at Candia: Judah Delmedigo, disciple of Judah Minz (1510), Eliezer Delmedigo (*c.* 1560), Elijah Delmedigo (*c.* 1590), Samuel Menahem Delmedigo (about 1510), Elijah Capsali (1490–1555), Elkanah Capsali, and Samuel Casani, Elijah Capsali accepting later a rabbinate at Constantinople. Samuel Algazi was rabbi at Candia at the end of the sixteenth century. At present (1902) the head of the consistory is Abraham Elbogen.

Two religious customs were peculiar to Crete. The Haftarot for the afternoon of the Day of Atonement were recited in Greek, with the exception of the first three verses (Elijah Capsali, in "Likkuṭim Shonim," ed. Lattes, p. 22). The 18th of Tam-

muz was held as a feast, known as the "Purim of Candia," on which day the women abstained from work (Lampronti, "Paḥad Yiẓḥaḳ," fol. 81).

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E. C. I. BR.

CRIME: An act forbidden by human law and punished by human authority, in contrast to sinful acts which are thought to be evil in the eyes of God.

In the Mosaic legislation the principal crimes against person and property—murder, mutilation, and theft—are punished at the instance of the party injured, or of his kinsmen. The murderer is pursued and brought to justice, or is killed outright (Num. xxxv. 21) by the AVENGER OF BLOOD; mutilation and other injuries to the person are paid for in money (see ASSAULT AND BATTERY); the thief is condemned to make double restitution, and is enslaved if unable to pay.

But there were many offenses not so much directed against any one person as against the whole nation of Israel. They included all those grosser violations of God's declared will which were thought to bring down His wrath and vengeance upon the nation: such acts as idolatry, Sabbath-breaking, blasphemy of the sacred name, incest, adultery (for which the husband had no such civil redress as is afforded by common law). The witnesses to the evil deed were called upon by the Lawgiver, not only to prosecute the offender, but to help in the execution of the sentence (Deut. xiii. 7–11, xvii. 2–7). The duty of witnesses to prosecute is still the law of England, and those who happen to witness a criminal act are often put thereby to great expense. Besides death and banishment to the cities of refuge, the Biblical law has also the punishment of stripes, which are never to exceed forty in number (Deut. xxv. 3). The infliction of stripes is awarded by a judge, not by the congregation.

The crimes which were expiated by a fine, or compensation in money, embraced not only, as said above, larceny, robbery, and mayhem, but also even the ravishing of a maiden "which is not betrothed" (Deut. xxii. 28, 29). The sum which is awarded against the owner of an ox which kills a free man or woman, or a bondman or bondwoman, provided the owner had been properly forewarned of its vicious disposition (Ex. xxi. 29–32), is expiation for this kind of manslaughter. For the commission of a forbidden act through ignorance, a sin-offering is prescribed (Lev. iv. 1–3); for certain dishonest actions a sin-offering, together with restoration of the thing wrongfully withheld, plus one-fifth its value, is imposed. But these penalties are self-inflicted. The repentant sinner brings them upon himself by confession, and with a view to divine forgiveness (Lev. v.); while punishment in the ordinary sense is only adjudged upon the testimony of witnesses.

Crimes Expiated by Fines.

In the Mosaic legislation there are two practical motives assigned for the infliction of death for offenses against God or against the state: one, to deter others from offending in like manner; the other, to root out the evil elements in the nation and to keep the poison from spreading. Sometimes both motives are named together. Thus the man who rebels against the judgment of the high priest or supreme judge must die: "and thou shalt put away the evil from Israel. And all the people shall hear, and fear, and do no more presumptuously" (Deut. xvii. 12, 13); while in the case of the idolater condemned to death, we read: "So thou shalt put away the evil from the midst of thee" (*ib.* 7). This latter motive is brought out strongly in dealing with idolaters, who are regarded as "a root that beareth gall and wormwood" (*ib.* xxix. 17). The punishment by stripes, if not meant to correct and reform the offender, was at least so regulated and limited as not to degrade him.

Motives for Punishment.

But there was a view of crime older than the Pentateuch, and firmly embedded in the hearts of people and rulers. Vengeance should not fall on the evil-doer only, but on his children also—on his father, if alive, and on all his father's issue: only thus can God's wrath be appeased. The Pentateuch protests against this savage conception: "Fathers shall not be put to death for sons, and sons shall not be put to death for fathers; every one shall be put to death for his own sin" (Deut. xxiv. 16, Hebr.). As an illustration of actual practise based upon this conception, there is the act of Joshua, who—when Achan had put away gold and silver and fine raiment out of the spoils of Jericho, which had been doomed to destruction—not only has Achan put to death, but also his sons and his daughters. In like manner David, on the complaint of the Gibeonites against the dead king Saul, avenges them by hanging five of Saul's grandsons (II Sam. xxi. 1–9). But when, seven generations after David, Joash, King of Judah, was murdered, Amaziah, his son and successor, caused only the murderers to be put to death, and did not punish their sons, "according to that which is written in the book of the law of Moses" (II Kings xiv. 6). The declaiming of the prophets Jeremiah (xxxi. 29) and Ezekiel (xviii. 2) against the proverbial saying, "the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the teeth of the children are set on edge," shows that a desire to punish the children for the sins of the fathers was still alive among the people.

While English law has never inflicted death by the hands of the hangman on the traitor's or felon's children, yet as late as in the reign of James II. the forfeiture of the convict's property was enforced with such rigor that his helpless children often faced a slower death by starvation. Like cruelty prevailed in France and Spain. And it was equally severe in the old seats of Israel, except where and when the Torah prevailed (compare CONFISCATION AND FORFEITURE).

The Bible places the view that certain wrongful acts, such as murder, shall be punished by society, at least as far back as the days immediately following the Flood, when the sons of Noah were told: "Whoever sheddeth the blood of man, by man his blood shall be shed" (Gen. ix. 16); and Cain expresses the fear that, for the murder which he has committed, "every one that findeth me shall slay

me" (Gen. iv. 14); in other words, it was the duty of society, and even of the beasts of the field, to avenge the blood of Abel.

Talmudic Conception.

In the Mishnah we find that some "institutions" of the sages are enforced by penalties; but, generally, only those acts that are sinful, because forbidden in the Pentateuch, meet severe punishment. Some acts, plainly forbidden by the Law, are left to "death by the hand of Heaven," such as the intrusion of non-Levites in the place assigned to the Levites in the service of the Temple (compare Sanh. ix. 6 with Num. i. 51, xviii. 7, as reconciled in Sanh. 84a). Even civil redress for wrongful acts is sometimes withheld, where the application of the law is not clear, and vengeance is left to the powers above (B. M. iv. 2).

The criminal jurisprudence of the Mishnah may be regarded as almost modern in its bearings. The avenger of blood has dropped out; the idea of making fathers and sons suffer for each others' guilt lies now so far in the dim past, that the sages give to the text in Deuteronomy (xxiv. 16)—which forbids such savagery, the law of individual responsibility being sufficiently covered by the concluding words, "every man shall be put to death for his own sin"—this entirely new meaning: "fathers shall not be condemned on the testimony of their sons" (Sanh. 28a). The "congregation" which is to judge of matters of life and death becomes a court of twenty-three learned judges. An execution by stoning or burning is regulated so as to inflict the least possible pain (see Capital Punishment). All possible advantages are given to the accused in order to temper the severity of the Pentateuchal law (see Accusatory and Inquisitorial Procedure; Acquittal in Talmudic Law).

Classification of Crimes.

Offenses are classified according to the gravity of the punishment: those punished by stoning, by burning, by beheading, and by strangling coming first; next in gravity are those punishable by stripes, the most serious being those for which the Mosaic law prescribes excision ("he shall be cut off from his people"; see Karet); then come those wrongful acts which the written law redresses by fine, forfeiture, or sacrifice, it being understood that whenever the Scripture imposes a duty or a penalty, stripes are excluded. There can be no stripes for theft, for double, fourfold, or fivefold compensation is expressly named as the penalty for the act. Nor can a battery be avenged by stripes, for the Law says "eye for eye," that is, compensation for the loss of the limb or organ; "bruise for bruise" that is, compensation for the pain; and so for other violence done (Ket. 32b), though the offense entailed both pain and loss of money. It is not easy to determine the proper classification of an involuntary killing, with its penalty of banishment; but it comes, like murder, before a court of twenty-three judges.

The sages believed that death under the sentence of the law, provided the condemned man confessed his guilt, was full atonement, and that he would have his share in the world to come (Sanh. vi. 2); that the infliction of stripes was equivalent to the excision with which the law threatens the offender (Mak. iii. 15), though the latter view is disputed on technical grounds (*ib.* 23b; Meg. 7b). But where the only redress is a money compensation to the injured party, the sages taught that payment alone was not sufficient to secure the forgiveness of God, unless the guilty party had first sought to appease his injured neighbor (see Assault and Battery).

Substitutes for "The Four Deaths."

A suggestion occurs more than once in the Talmud (Sanh. 37b; Ket. 30a *et seq.*) that, though Israel has lost its freedom, and its judges can no longer wield the sword of justice, "the four capital punishments have not ceased. He who deserves stoning will fall from the roof, or a wild beast will trample him down; he who deserves burning will fall into a burning house, or be bitten by a poisonous serpent. . . . He who deserves the headsman's sword will be delivered to the [heathen] government, or will fall among robbers." Death by the sword was the punishment for murder, and it thus appears that the Rabbis were not unwilling to see Jewish murderers put to death under the laws of Rome or of Persia. The list of offenses punished by death is given in the Mishnah (Sanh. vii., viii., ix., xi.) under the headings of "the stoned," "the burnt," "the beheaded," "the strangled." There are 18 offenses involving the punishment of stoning; 5, of burning; 2, of beheading; 6, of strangulation (compare Capital Punishment).

Irregular Justice.

Besides the regular forms of punishment for crime, Jewish law recognizes certain irregular methods. "If the thief be found breaking in and be smitten that he die, there shall be no bloodguiltiness for him" (Ex. xxii. 2, R. V.)

On the analogy of this Biblical case the Rabbis decide several others (see Burglary). In three cases the person on the point of committing a crime may be killed: where he pursues a neighbor in order to kill him; where he pursues a male to commit sodomy; and where he seeks to ravish a betrothed damsel; for Deut. xxii. 27 indicates the duty of all that hear her cry to help her. But it is not lawful to "save by death from sinning" in the case of the Sabbath-breaker, or of the idol-worshiper, etc. (Mish. Sanh. viii. 7). Where one is suspected of murder, and, though the testimony of the witnesses is not sufficient, the judges are convinced of his guilt, they should cause him to be locked up in a cell, on a scanty diet of bread and water (*ib.* ix. 5). The disputants in the Gemara on this passage are not agreed on the question how great the deficiency in such testimony might be and the judges still be justified in inflicting death by ill treatment and starvation. There had been no trials for murder during hundreds of years in the countries where these disputes took place.

He who steals one of the holy vessels, he who curses God, naming Him with an idol [the wording of the original is rather obscure], and he who cohabits with an idolatress—these are permitted to be killed by zealots. The right of zealots in the last of the three cases is evidently drawn from the example of Phinehas (Num. xxv. 6–8). Lastly, it is

said: "When a priest dared to serve in the Temple while unclean, his brethren the kohanim did not bring him before a court of justice, but the young men among them dragged him outside of the place of assembly and brained him with axes" (Mish. Sanh. ix. 6). See also Burglary; Capital Punishment; Corporal Punishment; Karet; Criminal Procedure; Robbery.

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L. G. L. N. D.

CRIMEA: A peninsula of southern Russia, on the northern shore of the Black Sea. It was formerly known as Krim-Tartary, and in ancient times as Tauric Chersonese. As shown by inscriptions (see Bosporus) unearthed in various parts of the Crimea, organized Jewish communities existed there long before the destruction of the Temple. Jerome in his commentary on Obadiah (verse 20) reports, on the authority of his Jewish teacher Hananiah, that, according to a tradition prevalent among the Jews, the Assyrians and Babylonians conveyed their Jewish captives to the coasts of the Black Sea. As to the inscriptions and monuments found in the vicinity of Kertch and Yenikale see Harkavy in "Yevreiskiya Zapiski," published by A. Pumpyanski. The Crimean Jews were Greeks in language, customs, and social life, and enjoyed equal rights with their fellow citizens. But, while their neighbors influenced them, they also exercised a formative influence upon the religion of their neighbors; and the associations termed *σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὕψιστον*, that existed there, although not altogether Jewish, certainly showed traces of Jewish monotheistic influence ("Voskhod," 1901, No. 4; compare Schürer, "Die Juden im Bosporanischen Reiche," in "Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie," 1897, p. 204).

In 47 C.E. the Romans conquered the Crimea, but the period of their domination was brief; for about the middle of the first century the Alans seized the country. In the second century they were displaced by the Goths; the latter, in their turn, being dislodged by the Huns in the fourth century. Although there are no records concerning the fate of the Jews during this period, it may safely be assumed that the successive masters of the country did not recognize any difference between the Jews and other inhabitants. Theophanes (671) speaks of the Jews of Phanagoria (Harkavy, "Ha-Yehudim u-Sefat ha-Slawim," p. 129). At the beginning of the seventh century the Chazars, a Turkish tribe which occupied the northern shores of the Caspian, overran the plains of the Crimea and gave their name to the greater part of the peninsula. The Chazars being of a mild and tolerant disposition, the Jews under their domination enjoyed complete freedom. This attracted to the Crimea many Jews from neighboring countries, especially from the Byzantine empire during the reign of Leo III. the Isaurian (718), who persecuted them relentlessly. They soon exercised a great influence over the Chazars. As the latter adopted settled habits and began to feel the need of a religion, many of the better classes, including the Chaghan, embraced Judaism. Thus the Crimean Jews became practically the rulers of the country until 1016, when the Chazars were dispossessed by a combined effort of the Russians and Byzantines. An account of all the Crimean cities in the possession of the Chazars (965) is given in King Joseph's letter to Ḥasdai ibn Shaprut.

Chazars.

Another Asiatic people of Turkish stock, the Pecheneges, who had established themselves in the Crimea at the beginning of the tenth century, expelled the Russians. During the domination of the Pecheneges, which lasted about a century and a half, the peninsula enjoyed great prosperity. At the beginning of the thirteenth century the Crimea became a province of the empire of the Kiptchaks, or Tatars. The new masters behaved generally with tolerance to the subjected people, and the Jews enjoyed equal rights with other inhabitants. A change, however, took place in their condition in 1258, when Berke, the third ruler of the Crimean Tatars, with his followers, embraced Islam, and the relations between the newly converted Mohammedans and the Jews became strained. About 1263 the Genoese established themselves at Kaffa, and the seaboard known as Gothia, extending to Cembalo (Balaklava), was ceded to them in 1315. Although many Jews lived in these places, little is known of them during the period of the Genoese domination, which lasted until 1475, when Mohammed II. subjected the Crimea and enslaved the Genoese and other Christians. In Taman at that time reigned the descendants of the Genoese Jew Simone de Guizolfi, who had secured this dukedom in 1419 by marrying the Princess Bichachanim.

Travelers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Busbeck, Cureus, etc.) tell of a considerable Jewish population in the Crimea (see Loewe, "Die Reste der Germanen am Schwarzen Meere," pp. 90, 115, 174, 183). Judging from some letters patent of 1594 granted to Jews of Karasu-Bazar, they were the victims of the rapacity of the Tatars. In these letters patent the khan deemed it necessary to prohibit the local authorities from stripping his protégés of their property—a proof that this was a common practise. A similar clause is found in another grant of 1743. A collection of letters patent granted to the Crimean Jews by various khans was published by Z. Firkovich (son of A. Firkovich), who pretends that these letters were given to the Karaites. The truth is that they were stolen by Karaites from the Krimchaki of Karasu-Bazar (Harkavy). Travelers in the Crimea in the seventeenth century report Jews as living at Kaffa (Theodosia), Karasu-Bazar, Koslow, Turleri, Bakhchi-Sarai, and Mankup (Des Lucca, "Relation des Tartares," i. 17).

Under the Khans.

As shown by an epitaph in the cemetery of Chufut-Kale (Firkovich, "Abne Zikkaron," No. 512), the Karaites of that city were attacked in 1778 by the Tatars, twenty-seven persons being killed. Chufut-Kale, situated on a rocky mountain, became the forced abode of the Karaites, who were allowed to spend only their business hours in the Tatar capital. Arriving opposite the palace of the khans,

they were required to alight and proceed on foot till out of sight. It can not be ascertained whether the Rabbinites also suffered from the riots of 1778, or whether they were subjected to the same treatment. In 1783 the Russians conquered the Crimea, and the history of the Jews there becomes merged in that of the Jews of Russia. From a letter (1784) sent from Chufut-Kale to Lutzk it is learned that the Jewish communities suffered heavily from the war between the Russians and the Tatars.

There are three classes of Jews in the Crimea: the Krimchaki, the Karaites, and the Polish-Lithuanian Jews. The Krimchaki are the oldest settlers of the country. The time of their settlement in the Crimea can not be ascertained. They themselves assert that they went there in the sixth century. A tradition prevails among them to the effect that the manuscript ritual, which is still preserved in their synagogue at Karasu-Bazar, was transmitted from generation to generation for twelve centuries. It was composed by Moses of Kiev (compare Harkavy, "Altjüdische Denkmäler"). It is known under the title "Ḥazanya," and, with the exception of some slight variations, is the general Rumanian ritual. Harkavy, however, believes that the settlement of the Krimchaki is relatively of recent date. At present the greater number of them live in Karasu-Bazar, where they have their synagogue, presided over by a rabbi. In order that no profane discourse shall be held in the synagogue, they gather in the courtyard of the synagogue and wait there until the whole community is assembled. Then they enter and proceed at once with the service. As soon as this is concluded they leave the sanctuary in a body. They distinguish themselves by many other customs derived from the Tatars, whose language and customs they still retain. Thus, for instance, the ceremony of marriage takes place at dawn. Instead of using a "baldachin" ("ḥuppah"), they cover the bridegroom and the bride with a "ṭallit," while the bridesman and bridesmaid ("shoshbinim") twirl chickens round the heads of the couple seven times. Then, after killing the fowls, the bridegroom recites the consecrating formula, and the ceremony is concluded. The bride is not allowed to leave the house for seven days. The Krimchaki are engaged in handicrafts, viticulture, and agriculture. They are renowned for their scrupulous honesty.

The Krimchaki.

The Crimea was in the Middle Ages, and still is, the headquarters of the Karaites. Although the inscriptions on the scroll of the Law (Pinner, No. 10) preserved at the St. Petersburg Library, are proved to be forgeries, it is beyond doubt that in 1381 there were four Karaite communities in the Crimea — at Kaffa (Theodosia), Kale, Koslow (Eupatoria), and Yenikale—as is proved by a document of that date which is preserved at the St. Petersburg Library (Neubauer, "Aus der Petersburger Bibliothek," document 46).

The Karaites.

A strong literary movement existed in the Crimea for many centuries. Among the most renowned scholars of the Crimea were: Jacob ben Moses ha-Temani (of Teman, Greece), author of "Sefer ha-Piṭron" (about the tenth century); Jacob ben Solomon of Mankup, author of a Hebrew grammar (about the twelfth century); Ezechiah ben Gedaliah ha-Nasi, a pupil of Abraham Kerimi (1348); Samuel ha-Ḳodesh ben David, author of "Massa' la-Ereẓ ha-Ḳedoshah" (1641); Moses ben Elijah ha-Levi, author of "Massa' la-Ereẓ ha-Ḳedoshah" (1654); Joseph ben Jacob of Kale, liturgist; Isaac Ḥazzan ben Moses, liturgist (d. 1664); Hillel Ḥazzan Kenui, liturgist; Jacob ben Mordecai, liturgist (died 1701); Abraham ben Jacob Yerushalmi, author of "Emunah Omen" and several astronomical works (1713); Joseph Ḥazzan of Kale, liturgist; Moses Chelebi Sinani, author of a work on the slaughtering of animals (d. 1722); Simḥah ben Joseph of Kale, author of "Me'il Shemuel" (d. 1743); Moses Pasha of Kale, author of a commentary on the "Azulah" of Aaron I.; Samuel ben Abraham of Kale, author of "Ner Shemuel" and other works; Elijah Yerushalmi ben Baruk, author of "'Asarah Ma'amarot" (eighteenth century); Simḥah Lutzki, author of the bibliographical work "Oraḥ Ẓaddiḳim," and of many other works (b. 1740–41); Simḥah ben Joshua, former Rabbinite, author of Biblical commentaries (1818); Joseph Solomon ben Moses (known under the abbreviation "Yashar"), ḥakam of Koslow, author of "Ṭirat Kesef" (1825); Abraham ben Joseph Solomon, liturgist; Mordecai ha-Ḥazzan Sultanski, author of "Abḳat Rokel" and many other works (d. 1862); Abraham Firkovich, author of "Abne Zikkaron" (1786–1874); Solomon ben Abraham Beim, ḥazzan of the Karaite community of Odessa (b. about 1820). See Karaites and individual articles on the various scholars.

List of Karaitic Authors.

Information concerning the condition of the Karaite communities in the Crimea in the second half of the eighteenth century is furnished by several documents preserved in the St. Petersburg Library. In a letter dated 1755 and addressed to Abraham ha-Shofeṭ, the writer gives details which are substantially as follows: "The total Karaite population of the four communities numbers 500 families: 300 at Kale; 100 at Koslow; 50 at Kaffa; 50 at Mankup. Near Kaffa is Sulchat, where formerly existed an important community, possessing the largest synagogue in the Crimea. To-day it is of little importance, possessing only a ḥazzan and a shoḥeṭ, who recite the prayers morning and evening. All the synagogues, schools, and habitations of the Karaites are of stone. In each of these communities there is a school in which study is carried on throughout the day under the supervision of a teacher; in Kale there were four schools, three of which, however, are now closed. In the first lived Samuel ben Joseph, the author of a commentary on the "Mibḥar," which he did not finish; in the second lectured R. Samuel, the author of "Ner Shemuel"; in the third, Elijah ha-Ḥazzan, the scribe; and in the fourth, Elijah Melammed ben Isaac. Samuel Ḥazzan lectured at Koslow; Hillel ben Isaac, at Kaffa; Judah Ḥazzan ben Shelomoh, at Mankup. In 1735 the Crimea was invaded by the Turks. At Koslow they destroyed fifty boxes filled with books belonging to Elijah ben Isaac Ḥazzan.

Condition in 1755.

Another letter (1764) shows that the Karaites con-

sidered it lawful to have two wives. In 1796 Catherine II. relieved the Karaites by reducing by one-half the poll-tax of twelve rubles which they, in common with the Rabbinites, had hitherto paid. When Nicholas I. issued the edict obliging Jews to serve in the army (1827), the Karaite S. Bobowich went to St. Petersburg, and, appealing to the edict of Catherine II., obtained the release of the Karaites from this obligation. They thus remained free from military service until 1874, when a new law was enacted compelling every Russian subject to serve in the army.

Freedom from military service was not the only advantage the Karaites had gained over the Rabbinites. Other privileges—for instance, that of living and trading in any part of the empire—were granted to them. In 1837 they obtained for their rabbis the privileges enjoyed by the clergy of other faiths. A consistory, dealing with all the matters concerning Karaite worship in the Crimea, was established at Eupatoria. It is presided over by a ḥakam assisted by a ḥazzan and a shammash. These officials are elected by the people, but the election must have the assent of the government. Once the popular choice is sanctioned they can not be removed without the permission of the civil authorities. In addition to the salary which these officials draw from the Karaite communities, the government grants them 140 acres of land: 60 to the ḥakam, 40 to the ḥazzan, and 40 to the shammash. In 1894 the government established at Eupatoria a Karaite seminary of five classes, the inspector and the teachers of which enjoyed the same privileges as those of the gymnasium.

Karaitic Constitution.

The most important of the Karaite communities found in the Crimea is that of Eupatoria, which numbers about 500 families. The Karaites are engaged in trade, in which they succeed well, owing to the privileges they enjoy. It is very probable that, besides the Krimchaki, there were not many Rabbinites in the Crimea during the later period of the domination of the khans. The relatively happy condition of the Jews in Poland at that time had tempted most of the Crimean Rabbinites to emigrate thither. This circumstance accounts for the fact that in 1462 thirty Rabbinites, who had been shipwrecked near Kaffa, were compelled to appeal for help to the Karaites, and also explains the absence of Crimean-Rabbinite contributions to Jewish learning.

A few prominent men from the earlier times of the Tatar domination deserve to be mentioned: Abraham Kerimi (fourteenth century), author of "Sefat Emet"; his son-in-law Eliakim; Moses ben Jacob, the exiled (1449) liturgist and author of many works; Asher ha-Kohen (1449); Kalman Ashkenazi (fifteenth century); Isaac Panyanto; Jeremiah Isaac Banin; Moses Kokos (1584); Baruk of Kale, author of "Meḳor Baruk," and his brother Mordecai of Kale; David ben Eliezer Laḥno, author of "Mishkan David."

With the occupation of the Crimea by the Russians the Rabbinites gradually increased, and communities consisting chiefly of Polish and Lithuanian Jews are found throughout the country, which forms a part of the government of Taurida, Simferopol being its capital. The most important communities are: Armiansk-Perekop, Bakchi-Serai, Chufut-Kale, Eupatoria, Yenikale, Karasu-Bazar, Kertch (Bosporus), Kaffa (Theodosia). The Jewish population in the four Crimean districts is divided as follows: Eupatoria, 3,192 (5.06 per cent of the whole population); Perekop, 1,549 (3.01 per cent); Kaffa, 9,670 (6.05 per cent); Simferopol, 17,687 (8.85 per cent).

Many Jewish antiquities were unearthed in the last century in various places in the Crimea. These antiquities consist of: (1) Judæo-Greek inscriptions, the authenticity of which is beyond any doubt. They give evidence that organized Jewish communities existed in the Crimea long before the common era. (2) Tumulary inscriptions to the number of 751, collected by the Karaite ḥakam Abraham Firkovich, in his "Abne Zikkaron," Wilna, 1872. The inscriptions were found in the cemeteries of the following places: 546 in Chufut-Kale, called "Emeḳ Yehoshofaṭ," dating from 151 to 1842; 5 at Sulchat, dating from 910 to 1140; 72 at Mankup, dating from 866 to 1777; 28 at Kaffa (Theodosia), dating from 1078 to 1845; 100 at Eupatoria, dating from 1593 to 1852. A. Harkavy expressed doubts concerning the dates of some of these inscriptions, believing them to have been altered by Firkowich. In Harkavy's opinion none of these inscriptions antedates the thirteenth century. In his "Abne Zikkaron" Firkovich gives the text of epigraphs which he pretended to have found on scrolls of the Law and on Bibles which he had collected and sold to the St. Petersburg Library. These epigraphs, which, if genuine, would throw some light on the history of the Jews in the Crimea during the domination of the Chazars, were manufactured by Firkovich himself, as has been demonstrated by A. Harkavy. See Firkovich, Abraham.

Antiquities.

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H. R. I. Br.

CRIMINAL PROCEDURE: The method indicated by law for the apprehension, trial, and for fixing the punishment of those persons who have broken or violated the law. The prosecution and trial of criminals in Biblical times is enveloped in doubt. The only example of anything like a regular trial of a criminal case found in the canonical books is that of Naboth in I Kings xxi.; but the only thing clear from that scanty account is that Naboth was convicted on the testimony of witnesses, and not upon an extorted confession. The requirement of two witnesses is clearly stated in many passages of the Pentateuch. For everything else, for all matters of detail, we have to look to the Mishnah, slightly aided by quotations from the Baraitas.

In treating of the course of proceedings the Mishnah (Sanh. iv. 1) says: "In capital cases they [meaning the judges] "open with a view to justification and not to guilt"; but the real meaning of this passage had been lost even as early as the time of the Amoraim (Gemara, *ib.* 32b). According to the Mishnah, capital cases must not be tried on the day preceding a Sabbath or festival, for the court must adjourn to the next day, before it can convict, and courts may not sit on days of rest. While any of the "disciples" present may volunteer an argument for acquittal, they are not allowed to argue for conviction. In capital cases those sitting at the ends—that is, the youngest judges, not the judges of highest standing—gave their opinion first, in order to avoid any undue influence by the latter. None but "priests, Levites, and Israelites"—to the exclusion of converts, as well as of persons whose daughters are disqualified from marrying into the priesthood—are competent to judge capital cases (Mish. Sanh. iv. 2). The Sanhedrin (of 23 or 71) sat in a half-circle so that the members could see one another, and two court clerks stood before them, one to take down the words of the condemning, the other to take down those of the acquitting, judges (*ib.* 3). In capital cases the witnesses were cautioned, after being brought into the court-room, in these or similar terms:

"Perhaps you speak by way of guess or estimate, or from what you have heard, as a witness who heard from the mouth of another witness, or of some trustworthy man. Perhaps you do not know that we are going to test you by formal and by free cross-examination. You should know that cases of life and death are not like cases about money. In a case about money the false witness can repay the money lost and he is forgiven; in a capital case the blood of the accused and of all his posterity clings to him to the end of the world; for so we find it as to Cain, who killed his brother, of whom it is said: 'The bloods of thy brother are crying out against thee' [Gen. iv. 10, Hebr.]—his blood and that of all his posterity. Or perhaps you say: 'Why should we trouble ourselves about this man's guilt?' But it is written: 'When the wicked perish, there is gleeful song'" (Prov. xi. 10, Hebr.).

"By way of guess or estimate" in this exhortation means "from circumstances"; and such evidence was deemed wholly insufficient for a regular conviction (see Crime).

In prosecutions for theft, embezzlement, and other crimes, which were only punished by fines, double compensation, etc., the procedure was the same as in cases for damage to property ("dine mamonot"), taking place before three ordained judges ("mumhim"). Involuntary manslaughter, punishable by exile to the cities of refuge, was tried under the same forms as capital cases. The Mishnah leaves it to be inferred that these forms were also applied to prosecutions for misdemeanors punishable by stripes. Compare Accusatory and Inquisitorial Procedure; Acquittal in Talmudic Law; Crime; Sanhedrin.

L. G. L. N. D.

CRIMINALITY: The average tendency to commit crime. The critics of the Jews have always contended that the general standard of morality among the Jews was lower than that of their Christian neighbors, and their tendency toward crime therefore greater. Such a charge was made by Johann David Michaelis in his review of Dohm's apology for the Jews. Michaelis says that while the Jews form only one-twenty-fifth of the population of Prussia, they furnish one-half of the criminals ("Orientalische und Exegetische Bibliothek," 1775–1785, xix. 7). This statement is false in every respect. The Jews, even now, after the partition of Poland, form only 1 per cent of the population of Germany. Further, David Friedländer has proved from official records that in 1789, in Prussia, of 1,703 criminal convictions only 22 were of Jews. Still Friedländer did not draw the conclusion that Jews were better men than the Christians; he merely contended that in order to judge the moral status of a community other conditions, such as occupation, education, and the political situation of the country, must be taken into consideration.

Difficulty of Comparison.

The difficulties which beset an unprejudiced scientific examination into the figures on which the charge of criminality is based are manifold. First, owing to the numerical insignificance of the Jews, any investigation should extend over a long period of years and over a considerable area. It is known, for instance, that, at a certain time, in the two penitentiaries of the grand-duchy of Hesse there were, among 600 convicts, only 5 Jews, while, supposing them to be as criminally disposed as their neighbors, they should have had about 25 representatives in the penitentiary ("Mittheilungen des Vereins zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus," 1896, p. 44), it is wrong, however, to draw favorable conclusions from these figures, for the statistics may have been different a few weeks later. It would also be unfair to point to the fact that, among the 45 persons convicted in Germany between 1882 and 1892 for infringement of the navigation laws, there was not one Jew, and that, during the same period, only 12 Jews were punished for malfeasance in office, while their proportionate representation should have been 73 offenders of this class. The facts are that few Jews are seamen, and they do not very frequently hold public office in Prussia. Similarly it would be misleading to speak of a lower standard of morality among Jews because they have, during the period 1882–92, furnished 191 cases of fraudulent bankruptcy, when their pro rata would have been 20, and 1,116 cases of bankruptcy, when their pro rata would have been 69. These figures do not prove that a Jew is ten and twenty times more apt to become bankrupt, because they must be compared with the number of Jewish and of Christian merchants, before a conclusion can be arrived at. In fact, while the Jews form only 1 per cent of the population, over 16 per cent are merchants. The number of Jewish criminals in Germany appears to be larger than it is, as Jews who evade military service are included in the total. As a matter of fact, however, this is due to emigration, which is of greater moment to Jewish young men to whom the avenues of public offices are closed. If this class of offenders be deducted, the proportion of criminality will be found much smaller.

The greatest difficulty in the way of a thorough study of the subject consists in the fact that statistical material is incomplete, both geographically and chronologically. Few countries furnish complete statistics, and none go back further than a few

years. From these statistics it appears that the proportion of Jewish criminals to the whole population is in general below the average, that crimes of violence are exceedingly rare among them, while bankruptcy, forgery, and gambling are found more frequently among them than among non-Jews; but this is simply explained by the fact that these are the chief offenses of the mercantile classes to which Jews mainly belong. The figures given below are based on official statistics.

For Württemberg, Von Steudel gathered statistics, given in "Monatsschrift für die Justizpflege in Württemberg," 1841, covering the period from Dec. 31, 1827, to June 30, 1839. According to him the Jewish convicts were:

Year.	Number of Jewish Prisoners.	Jewish Percentage in Total Number of Criminals.	Jewish Percentage in Total Population.	Year.	Number of Jewish Prisoners.	Jewish Percentage in Total Number of Criminals.	Jewish Percentage in Total Population.
1827....	8	0.6	..	1834..	8	0.6	..
1828....	6	0.5	..	1835..	11	0.8	0.7
1829....	10	0.7	..	1836..	14	1.0	..
1830....	5	0.4	0.6	1837..	9	0.7	..
1832....	6	0.5	..	1838..	12	0.6	..
1833....	9	0.7	..	1839..	8	0.8	0.7

This would indicate a degree of criminality slightly above the normal.

In Germany there were convicted, during the period 1882–92, 38,288 Jews and 3,973,667 non-Jews. To maintain an equality in crime would have required the conviction of 47,306 Jews. In 1882 there were 998 criminals to every 100,000 inhabitants; while among the same number of Jews there were 844 criminals. In 1891 the number of criminals among 100,000 inhabitants had increased to 1,073, while among the Jews it had decreased to 799.

For Austria the percentage of the Jews in the whole population is 4.8, while, according to the official statistics, the Jewish percentage in total number of criminals was as follows:

1881	4.2	1886	4.2
1882	4.1	1887	4.2
1883	4.0	1888	3.9
1884	4.0	1889	3.5
1885	4.1	1890	3.6

Even in Galicia, which has been always described as a hotbed of moral corruption, the figures are in favor of the Jews, for in 1889 there were among 7,102 convicts only 656 Jews, while, according to their percentage (11.68) in the population, there should have been 829.

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D.

CRISPIN, ISAAC IBN: Spanish moralist and poet; lived at the beginning of the twelfth century. Judah al-Ḥarizi praises him among the renowned poets of the twelfth century; and, judging from the title השר הנדול ("The Great Prince"), which he prefixes to Crispin's name, the latter must have occupied a high official position ("Taḥkemoni," ed. Constantinople, iii. 9b).

Crispin was the author of an ethical work entitled "Sefer ha-Musar" (Book of Instruction). This book, mentioned by Al-Ḥarizi, is, according to Steinschneider, identical with the "Mishle Anashim Ḥakamim" (Neubauer, "Cat. Bodl. Hebr. MSS." No. 1402, 8), and with "Mishle 'Arab," still extant in two manuscripts in the possession of Baron de Günzburg. Under the latter title it was published in the supplements of "Ha-Lebanon," 1867–68. The "Sefer ha-Musar" in this case would be, if not a mere translation, an adaptation from the Arabic, as stated in the introduction to the "Mishle Anashim Ḥakamim" (see Steinschneider, "Oẓerot Ḥayyim," p. 368). This adaptation was in its turn translated into Arabic by Joseph ibn Ḥasan, under the title "Maḥasin al-Adab," which is still extant in manuscript (Neubauer, "Cat. Bodl. Hebr. MSS." No. 1220, 4). Like the original Hebrew, the "Maḥasin al-Adab" is divided into fifty "ḳasidas," which agree with those of the "Mishle 'Arab," published in "Ha-Lebanon." The "Sefer ha-Musar," or "Mishle 'Arab," is mostly written in verse.

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G. I. Br.

CRISPUS: The ruler of the synagogue at Corinth, who became a Christian, with all his house, through the preaching of Paul (Acts xviii. 8). In one of his letters to the church at Corinth (I Cor. i. 14), Paul speaks of Crispus as one of those whom he had baptized. There is a tradition that Crispus became such an important factor in the early Church that he was ordained Bishop of Ægina ("Apost. Const." vii. 46).

E. G. H. I. M. P.

CROATIA: Southwestern part of the Hungarian crown provinces; consists of Croatia, Slavonia, and the Military Frontier, included since 1868. The earliest allusion to Jews in Croatia is found in a letter of the Spanish vizier Ḥasdai ibn Shaprut, addressed to Joseph, king of the Chazars. Two men, named Mar Saul and Mar Joseph, were the bearers of this letter; and they had come with the ambassador of the "king of the Giblim" to Ḥasdai at Cordova. Since both words, "Giblim" and "Croats," have etymologically the same meaning—*i.e.*, "mountain people"—it is generally assumed that by "Giblim" is meant the people of Croatia. This is the only evidence, however slight, of the settlement of Jews within the present limits of Croatia in the tenth century. The proximity to Constantinople, as well as the active commerce with Italy, and more especially with Venice, leads to the conclusion that Jews were living in Croatia in the Middle Ages; but as yet the only historical evidence for this hypothesis

is an ordinance of the Venetian doge, dating from the sixteenth century, which forbade the Jews in Dalmatia to own any real estate, and, consequently, to settle there. It is recorded that at about that time a Jewish physician on his way through Ragusa was permitted to stay in that city six months. The political unity which always existed between Hungary and Croatia resulted, naturally, in a common legislation; but it is not known whether the various pro-Jewish and anti-Jewish laws of the empire practically affected Croatia also. A single datum the only one within a hundred years, appears about the middle of the seventeenth century. At that time there is found in the literature, side by side with the common "Jidov" (derived from "Judæus"), the expression — still used by the people—"tschifut," borrowed from the Turkish. The former expression undeniably proves that the first Jews came to Croatia with the Turks during the time of the Turkish rule. But it seems that these Turkish Jews left together with the Turks; for in the eighteenth century the first Croatian Jews appear with German names; hence they had immigrated from the north. An edict of the year 1729 forbids Jews to live either in Croatia or in Slavonia. Yet a small number lived there, as, for instance, in Essegg in 1751, who were looked upon as "black sheep," and had no rights. They fared still worse at Semlin (Zimony), to which town they came during the Belgrade peace negotiations (1739): they were not allowed either as regular or temporary residents.

Earliest Mention.

The enumeration of the Jews of Croatia under Maria Theresa (1773) showed hardly twenty-five families. It was only after the edict of toleration of Emperor Joseph (1782) that the immigration from the north and the south increased, at first in the villages and cities near the Hungarian frontier. Hungarian pedlers, who before this had visited Croatia, now settled here. The emperor's edict especially benefited the Jews of Semlin, who had managed to remain there in spite of the decrees against them. There were Jews in Warasdin in 1770; the hebrah there was founded in 1803, the congregation in 1811. The first Jew appeared in Kreuz in 1794; the Jews of Agram—who consisted of only two Jewish families under Maria Theresa —bought a plot for use as a cemetery in 1811; as early as 1820 there was a congregation in Karlstadt; and isolated families lived in the outlying country, going even into the mountain districts, where today not more than two or three families are to be found. In 1830 the gates of the free city of Pozega were opened to the first Jewish tax-farmer; and about the same time the Jews of the surrounding smaller villages had a rabbi at the head of their congregation. The congregations of Croatia were already formed in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

A liberal legislation slowly bettered the condition of the Jews after 1782. On complaint of the Jews of Cirkvena against the intolerance at the office of the commanding general of Warasdin (in connection with the petition of the Hungarian Jews), a decree was passed (1791) permitting the Jews to live undisturbed wherever they chose, and confirming them in the condition in which they had been since the edict of toleration. A light is thrown upon this condition by the decree of the Warasdin magistrate, of the year 1781, which is a curious mixture of modern toleration and medieval prejudice. Under it no Jews besides the twenty-nine families already living in the city are allowed to settle there permanently. Other Jews must receive from the magistrate a certificate of residence for a few days; if this is prolonged without permission, the community has to pay a fine of twenty ducats. In accordance with the state law, they may not own real estate, but they may live in any street. The council of the community has the right, in lawsuits, to pass judgment up to fifty florins, from which there is no appeal; and, furthermore, it may use coercive measures or call in the police to guard its privileges and authority. It is also required that the council provide for the widows and orphans, the sick, and the poor; and they are permitted to engage a rabbi. Even on the Military Frontier the Jews, if living in the Hungarian crown provinces, or paying the toleration tax, have been allowed to peddle since 1787. This tax lay heavy upon the Croatian Jews, who were hoping in vain for a reduction in 1839, when they sent a delegation for that purpose, and addressed a petition for the granting of civil rights, to the Reichstag in Presburg.

The Reichstag again granted them some privileges (1840); but the tax of toleration remained in force. They were now permitted to live anywhere, to build factories, to engage in business or trade, to devote themselves to the arts and sciences, and to acquire real estate in those places where custom formerly had permitted it. About 1850 the congregations were incorporated and chartered, and registers of vital statistics were instituted by the government. The attempt of Rabbi Rokonstein to introduce a hierarchy by making the rabbinate of Agram the chief rabbinate for the whole country, was frustrated by the government, which established the autonomy of every individual community, and recognized the appellation "chief rabbi" merely as an honorary title to be given to rabbis of merit, without combining therewith a higher rank.

Increased Toleration.

In 1859 the Jews obtained the privilege to keep Christian servants; and in the following year they at last acquired the right to own real estate anywhere. The petition for complete equalization, which they sent to the Parliament in 1861, received no attention whatever. In 1873 the Croatian Diet decided upon the emancipation of the Jews: until then the Jewish religion had been merely tolerated, especially on the Military Frontier. The decree of 1840 was not valid in this district; and only a certain number of Jews were allowed to settle. Semlin alone had a school. The war office, while allowing them to engage in honest trades and occupations, did not permit anything that might lead to usury; and they were excluded from the farming of the revenues, except in connection with the catching of leeches. When the Military Frontier was annexed to Croatia, in 1868, the Jews were allowed to live anywhere and to acquire homesteads. Until then there

had been only one congregation in Semlin, with one rabbi. To these restrictive measures in the old Military Frontier it is due that in many sections there were no Jews at the beginning of the twentieth century. The decree of emancipation of 1873 gave to the Jews full civic rights; and the state treasury granted them a moderate sum for Jewish institutions (religious instruction and synagogue-building). The increase of the Jewish population in Croatia is shown in the following statistics: 1840–41, 380 souls; 1857–64, 850; 1869–79, 876; 1880, 13,488; 1890, 17,261; 1900, about 20,000, equivalent to 0.31 per cent of the entire population in 1857 and about 1 per cent in 1900.

The immigrants came from Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary (Great Kanizsa) into Croatia; from Hungary (Bonyhád) into Slavonia; from Turkey into the Military Frontier. With the exception of a small number of "Spaniolen" (Sephardim) they have the German rites.

There are twenty-seven communities in Croatia: two, at Agram and at Essegg, have over 2,000 souls each (4 per cent and 8 per cent respectively of the entire population), and fourteen over 200 souls each. Eleven congregations have rabbis; the others have rabbinical delegates. There are four Jewish schools, at Agram, Essegg, Semlin, and Vukovár. With the exception of two, the communities are progressive; most of them have new temples with organs, a ḥebra ḳaddisha, and one or two benevolent societies. The several communities are not bound together by any sort of organization whatever.

Statistics.

The Jews of Croatia are engaged in all occupations, even in agriculture, but especially in trade, wholesale and retail. The wood industries are flourishing since Jewish business men have taken hold of them and have introduced stave and cane factories; they have also opened the one cotton-spinning and weaving establishment in the province. In professional life there are 30 Jewish lawyers (out of a total of 200), 10 Jewish judges, and about 50 Jewish physicians, either holding official positions or practising privately. In the arts and sciences the Jews of Croatia have not distinguished themselves. Even in Jewish science very little has been done; a few religious books by Dr. Jakobi (see Agram), a few treatises relating to the history of social life by Dr. S. Spitzer, and some articles on the history of the Croatian Jews (in the "Journal of the Country Archives," 1901–02) having been the entire output in this field up to the end of the nineteenth century. A society, founded by the Jewish youth of Agram in 1899, for the study of Jewish history and science, heralds a new era of intellectual activity.

The relations of the Jews of Croatia with the other denominations have been until very recently most friendly. Anti-Semitism, even in 1883, found no support. The peasantry, again, is indebted to the village Jews for new means of livelihood and the marketing of its products; and in the cities the assimilation of the Jews with the Croatians prevents race-hatred. Numerous Jews hold offices as town councilors, some even as mayors, and honorary positions in philanthropic and national societies are held by them. It is only in the last few years that attempts have been made by the clerical party to injure the Jews economically in many industries by establishing cooperative associations.

D. G. S.

CROCODILE: This well-known amphibious reptile (*Crocodilus vulgaris* or *niloticus*) is not mentioned by a specific Hebrew name in the Bible. There are passages, however, in which allusions to it occur, and which give a faithful description of it (compare Brehm, "Illustriertes Thierleben," iii. i. 112). Whether Ps. lxviii. 30 (A. V. margin) refers to the crocodile in the phrase "the beasts of the reed" is still an open question. Upon these beasts destruction is invoked, which would be strange if they were meant to denote Egypt; for the crocodile is the most characteristic animal of that country, and the psalm is pervaded by a friendly spirit toward the empire of the Pharaohs. It is thus more reasonable to hold with Duhm ("Die Psalmen Erklärt," in Marti's "Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament") that swine are meant, as designating the population of the Jordan valley, which, at the time of the composition of the psalm, consisted largely of non-Jews. It is interesting to note in reference to Ex. viii. 2 that the word ẓefardea' (A. V. "frogs") was explained as referring to crocodiles (Arabic, "timsaḥ") by all the commentators whom Ibn Ezra mentions in his commentary to this passage.

The Leviathan.

In Job (xl.–xli.) the description of the Leviathan certainly resembles that of the crocodile. Some of the particulars given—the impenetrable scales (xli. 15); the sharp scales (*ib.* verse 30); the teeth (verse 14); the thick armor (verse 7); the strongly marked difficulties besetting its capture; the futility of ordinary implements, as the hook, noose, and harpoon; and the impotence of the usual weapons, the spear, mace, and arrow (verses 2, 7, 26)—establish a strong presumption in favor of the identification. Against this evidence it has been urged that the other characteristics are not specific enough, as they are common to several large water-animals.

There is some possibility, however, that the writer was describing the crocodile from personal observation. "We have good evidence," says Canon Tristram in "The Natural History of the Bible" (8th ed., p. 261, London, 1889), "of its existence at the present day in the marshes of the Zerka, or Crocodile River." This fact, well known to Pliny ("Historia Naturalis," v. 17) and Strabo (p. 758), and confirmed by Pococke, was corroborated, according to Tristram (*l.c.*), by the Arabs with whom he conversed. W. M. Thomson ("The Land and the Book," popular edition, i. 73) testifies to the presence of crocodiles in the marsh of Zerka: he believes that he heard the splashing of crocodiles making their way "through this hideous swamp in quest of prey" (*ib.* p. 77). The latest testimony to the same effect is that of Schumacher ("Pal. Explor. Fund Quarterly Statement," Jan., 1887, p. 1), who reports having seen a crocodile in that neighborhood.

Although these coast districts did not belong to the regions familiar to the Hebrew writers, it is not reasonable to preclude the possibility that the poet in Job wrote of what he himself had seen, or from

information supplied to him by those who had made personal observations of the animal. Even Gunkel ("Schöpfung und Chaos," p. 48), who, with Cheyne, would probably relegate this chapter to the domain of mythology, concedes that the poet meant to describe, not a mythological creature, but a monster actually living in his day, and that some of the characteristics mentioned are those of the crocodile. According to Gunkel, however, the bulk of the chapter is an adaptation of mythological material; the monster being taken from the Babylonian creation-myth. His objections are cogent and his theory must be admitted as having great probability as regards other passages, in which the crocodile is referred to under such designations as "tannim" ("dragons," R. V., Jer. xiv. 6), "rahab" (Isa. li. 9; Ps. lxxxix. 10), and "leviathan" (Ps. lxxiv. 14; Job iii.). But with reference to Job xli. 1 all facts point to the conclusion that the word "leviathan" is probably a later emendation, influenced by the mythical passages (F. Delitzsch, "Hiob," Leipsic, 1902). The enumeration of the characteristics is too complete to admit of any other explanation.

Mythological or Real?

The Arabs call the crocodile "timsaḥ," or "waral," both of which words have passed into Syriac. At one time they must have used the flesh of the animal for food; for the eating thereof is expressly forbidden to faithful Mohammedans. This may, however, be due to a reminiscent confusion of the crocodile with the "koaḥ" (Lev. xi. 30), mentioned among the unclean animals, and which the R. V. translates "land-crocodile" (marked in the margin as uncertain); while the A. V., following the Vulgate and the Septuagint, has "chameleon." According to Bochart ("Hierozoicon," i. 1069), the land-monitor, the "waral al-ard" of the Arabs (*Psammosaurus scincus*), is meant, or perhaps even a larger monitor, the "waral al-baḥr," the Nilotic monitor. Bochart also seems inclined to make the "ẓab" of Lev. xi. 29 identical with the "koaḥ," or land-crocodile (*ib.* i., book iv., ch. 1). This latter is a lizard, if not a toad; and as such it is explained by the Talmudists (Ḥul. 127a). According to Ḳimḥi, the Hebrew "koaḥ" (Lev. xi. 30) is a lizard (in Linné the *Lacerta stellio*). The Talmud characterizes this species as not dangerous to man and as having a soft, tender skin (Ḥul. 122a), which is easily removed from the body (Shab. 107). In Arabic it is called "ḥirdhaun." This חרדונא, in the Targ. for ẓab (the Syriac "ḥardana"), is translated by "crocodile," and distinguished from a land-lizard, as the "ḥardona" of the sea. This latter name occurs in a Talmudic caution that at prayer the curved posture of the "crocodile" (?) be not assumed (Yer. Ber. 3d). The Talmudic "ben nefilim" (Ḥul. 127a) has also been identified with the crocodile. But it seems to be the *Psammosaurus scincus* (Arabic, "saḳanḳur"). The crocodile is perhaps designated by the Talmudic קרוקיתא (Ned. 41a), which in B. B. 73b occurs in a fabulous connection as אקרוקתא, if this be not a corruption of עקרבא ("scorpion"). For Talmudic views on "leviathan" see the article under that title.

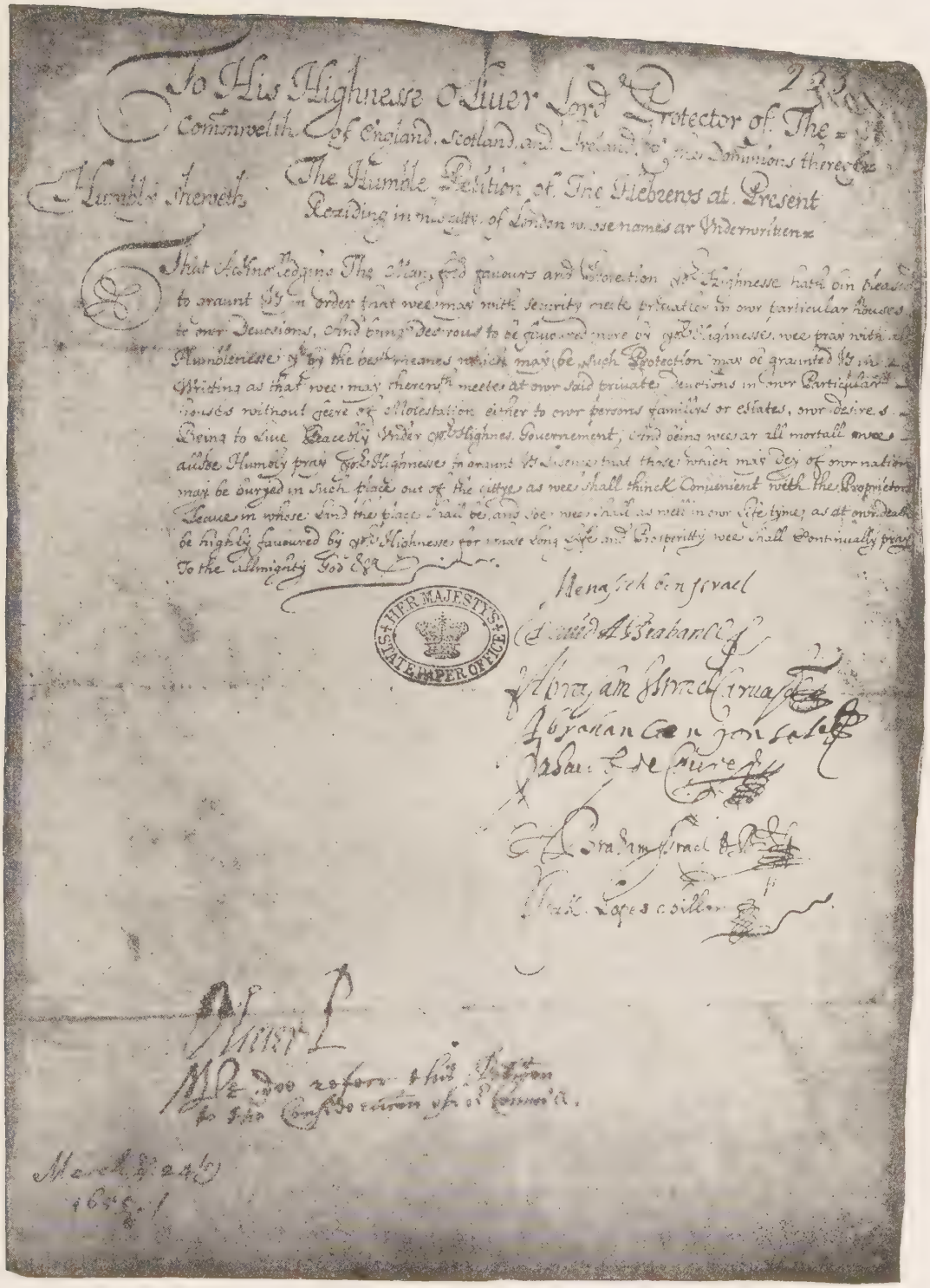
Other Biblical References.

Bibliography: Tristram, *The Natural History of the Bible*, London, 1889; J. G. Wood, *Bible Animals* (London, n.d.); Cheyne and Black, *Encyc. Bibl.* s.v.; Levy, *Neuhebr. Wörterb.* i. 425, Leipsic, 1867, Fleischer's notes; Lewysohn, *Die Zoologie des Talmuds*, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1858.

E. G. H.

CROMWELL, OLIVER: Lord Protector of England; born April 25, 1599, died Sept. 3, 1658. Cromwell favored readmission of the Jews into England, partly in the hope of thereby fulfilling the Messianic prophecy, but mainly because they had aided him as "intelligencers," and he foresaw that, with their control of the Portuguese and Spanish trade, and their large commercial interests in the Levant, the Hamburg Bank, and the Dutch East and West Indies, they would be of service to him in his expansionist policy, and would bring wealth into the country. There were at this time (1653) about twenty Marano families settled in England, who had fled from Spain through fear of the Inquisition. To all appearance Spanish merchants, and attending mass at the chapel of the Spanish ambassador, they were nevertheless known to Cromwell and a few others to be crypto-Jews. Antonio Fernandez Carvajal, a Portuguese merchant in London, had been of financial assistance to the Parliament, and had also, through a relative in Holland and a servant named Somers, or Butler, secured for Cromwell information regarding the Royalist intrigues with Spain. At the time of the Dormido mission to England to negotiate for readmission, Carvajal actively supported the petition, and it was favorably received by Cromwell. At this time, however, the anti-Jewish prejudices had become strong, and the Council would not consent (1654). Cromwell then sent for

Silver Salver Bearing the "Arms of the Tribe of Judah."
Said to have been presented to Oliver Cromwell by Manasseh ben Israel.
(In possession of Sir Samuel Montagu.)


To His Highnesse Oliver Lord Protector of The Commonwelth of England. Scotland. and Ireland. & ye Dominions thereto

Humbly Sheweth The Humble Petition of The Hebreens at Present Leading in ye Citty of London whose names are Underwritenn

That Acknowledging The many gracious favours and protection yor Highnesse hath on diverse to graunt us In order that wee may with security make triall of our particular houses & our Devocions, and being desirous to be favoured more of yor Highnesse, wee pray with all Humblenesse of ye best meanes which may be such Protection may be graunted us in a Writing as that wee may thereby meete at our said private Devocions in our Particular houses without feare of Molestation either to our persons families or estates, our desires Being to live Peacebly Under yor Highnes Government, and being wee are all mortall wee alsoe Humbly pray yor Highnesse to graunt us leave that those which may dey of our nation may be buryed in such place out of the citty as wee shall thinck Convenient with the Proprietors Leave in whose land the place shall be, and soe wee shall as well in our life tyme, as at our death be highly favoured by yor Highnesse for whose long life and Prosperity wee shall Continually pray To the Almighty God &c

Mena Sch ben Israel

David Abrabanel

Moses Israel Levy

Jeronimo de Gonsales

Isaac Lopez de Cure

Jos. Sim. Israel &c

Mark Lopes Collier

HER MAJESTY'S STATE PAPER OFFICE

Mem.

Mr. doo refer this Petition to the Consideration of his Highness.

March 24th 165[illegible]

PETITION OF THE JEWS OF ENGLAND TO OLIVER CROMWELL, DATED MARCH 24, 1655.
(In the Record Office, London.)

Manasseh ben Israel, and a motion was introduced in the Council in 1655, "That the Jews deserving it may be admitted into this nation to trade and traffic and dwell among us as Providence may give occasion." The motion was referred to a committee, and a conference was finally arranged to consider the question, the members being appointed by three of Cromwell's most devoted political adherents. The conference met in the Council Chamber at Whitehall, Dec., 1655. It consisted of representatives of the army, the law, the trading interests, and sixteen divines, the majority of whom Cromwell had carefully selected on account of their supposed approval of religious toleration.

The first question which arose for consideration was whether there existed any law forbidding the readmission of the Jews, and this was settled by the decision that the expulsion of 1290 had never been valid. When the terms of admission were discussed, a distinctly hostile spirit manifested itself, and the mercantile interests and the clergy united in opposition. To secure a favorable vote the Protector added some more members who were thought to approve of the proposal, but they also ranged themselves with its opponents. Finally, on Dec. 18, a hostile crowd thronged into the Council Chamber, and it was obvious that Cromwell's project could not be carried except under the most extreme restrictions.

The Whitehall Conference.

Cromwell now saw that his whole scheme would be thwarted if a vote were not prevented. With characteristic promptness he began at once to review the differences of opinion revealed by the various speakers. Protesting that he had no obligations to the Jews beyond those imposed by the Scriptures, he insisted that, "since there was a promise of their conversion, means must be used to that end, which was the preaching of the Gospel, and that could not be done unless they were admitted where the Gospel was preached." Then, turning to the objecting merchants, he said: "You say that they are the meanest and most despised of all people. But in that case what becomes of your fears? Can you really be afraid that this contemptible and despised people should be able to prevail in trade and credit over the merchants of England, the noblest and most esteemed merchants of the whole world?" Finally, having announced that nothing was to be hoped from the conference, and that he should use his own judgment in acting for the glory of God and the good of the nation, he vacated the chair and brought the proceedings to a close. The conference was cowed, and dissolved without a word of protest.

What finally precipitated the solution of the difficulty was the outbreak of the war with Spain. The Spanish Maranos were no longer able to live in England as Spanish citizens, and in 1656, relying upon the decision that the expulsion of 1290 was no longer valid, they openly threw off their disguise and assumed the position of Jews.

In the following year, probably on Feb. 4, 1657, Cromwell in a public meeting made a "seasonable benefaction" to Carvajal, perhaps a verbal assurance that the Jews would not be disturbed in the exercise of their religion. He had previously made a grant of £100 to Manasseh ben Israel. Altogether Cromwell's action enabled the Jews to live as such in England at a time when there was sufficient opposition to them on the part of the clergy and the mercantile classes to have prevented their residence, if the government had been weak or ill-disposed toward them.

Bibliography: *Manasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell*, edited by Lucien Wolf, London, 1901.

J. V. E.

CRONEBURG, BENJAMIN BEN SOLOMON: German publicist; lived at Neuwied, Prussia, in the eighteenth century. In 1758 he founded at Neuwied the Jewish periodical "Der Grosse Schauplatz" (The Great Stage), printed in German.

Bibliography: Karpeles, *Gesch. der Jüdischen Literatur*, p. 1079.

G. M. Sel.

CRONICA ISRAELITICA. See Periodicals.

CROOL, JOSEPH: Teacher and controversialist; flourished in England about 1838. He gave lessons in Hebrew to a few students in the University of Cambridge when, for several years, the regius professors of Hebrew were absentees. He was not by any means a man of learning, though he could read three languages, English, German, and Hebrew; he was given over to prejudices, and delighted in old wives' fables and vain traditions. He was in the habit of wearing a parchment girdle, on which were inscribed passages from the Law and the Talmud.

Crool was opposed to the emancipation of the Jews; believing that the introduction of Jews to Christians in the legislature would lead to the conversion of the former to Christianity. He wrote two works on this subject in 1829, entitled "The Fifth Empire" and "The Last Generation," both published at Cambridge.

Bibliography: *Jewish Chronicle*, London, June 30, 1848; *Cambridge Independent Press*, June 11, 1848.

J. G. L.

CROSS: 1. The stake (*σταῦρος* = צלוב or צליבא) used by the Romans at crucifixion. This was so familiar to the Jews in New Testament times that they spoke frequently of "men carrying their cross before them while going to be executed" (Gen. R. lvi.; Pesiḳ. R. xxxi., ed. Buber, 143b), as did Jesus (Matt. x. 38, xvi. 24, and parallels; see Crucifixion).

2. A specific Christian symbol: termed by Jews שתי וערב ("warp and woof"); also צלם ("idol"). Concerning this the law is: "As far as it is made an object of worship by Christians, it is to be treated as an idol and prohibited for use; if, however, it is worn as an ornament without any religious object, its use is permitted to the Jews" (Isserles, Shulḥan 'Aruk, Yore De'ah, 141, 1; R. Mordecai to 'Ab. Zarah iii. in the name of R. Eleazar b. Jacob of Worms). However, being a Christian symbol, it has always been scrupulously avoided by Jews. Pious Jews would not even wear badges or decorations with the cross attached to them, whereas more liberal ones do not hesitate to wear either the Iron Cross as German soldiers, or the Red Cross as members of the Red Cross Society. To embroider ornamental crosses upon silk dresses for Christian ladies

is not forbidden to Jewish artists, according to Solomon b. Adret (see Berliner, "Aus dem Leben der Juden," 1900, pp. 13, 130). The Jewish aversion to using any sign resembling a cross was so strong that in books on arithmetic or algebra written by Jews the plus sign was represented by an inverted "ḳameẓ" (⊥).

The cross as a Christian symbol or "seal" came into use at least as early as the second century (see "Apost. Const." iii. 17; Epistle of Barnabas, xi.–xii.; Justin, "Apologia," i. 55–60; "Dial. cum Tryph." 85–97); and the marking of a cross upon the forehead and the chest was regarded as a talisman against the powers of demons (Tertullian, "De Corona," iii.; Cyprian, "Testimonies," xi. 21–22; Lactantius, "Divinæ Institutiones," iv. 27, and elsewhere). Accordingly the Christian Fathers had to defend themselves, as early as the second century, against the charge of being worshipers of the cross, as may be learned from Tertullian, "Apologia," xii., xvii., and Minucius Felix, "Octavius," xxix. Christians used to swear by the power of the cross (see Apocalypse of Mary, viii., in James, "Texts and Studies," iii. 118). Nevertheless Jewish teachers in the Middle Ages declared that Christians must be believed when swearing by the cross, as, in reality, they swear by the true God (Isaac of Corbeil, in "Sefer Miẓwot Ḳaṭan," 119, quoted by Güdemann, "Gesch. d. Erz. u. Cultur in Italien," 1880, i. 90). The fact, however, that the cross was worshiped as an idol during the Middle Ages caused the Jews to avoid (compare Ex. xxiii. 13) the very word "Cross," as well as all derivatives of it; for instance, "kreuzer "they called "ẓelem" or, abbreviated, "ẓal"; and the town "Kreuznach" they called "Ẓelem-Maḳom."

Several forms of the cross appear to have been used: the simple form, like a plus sign, the so-called St. Andrew's cross, and the Latin cross, which is mentioned in Ezek. ix. 4 (Hebr.) as the "mark of life set upon the men to be saved" (compare Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and Vulgate, or St. Jerome, to Ezek. *l.c.*; and Tertullian, "Adversus Marcum," iii. 22; compare Job xxxi. 35). On the other hand, the oblique or St. Andrew's cross, resembling the letter "x," was used in Justin's time (see "Apologia," i. 60, where he compares the Christian cross with the cosmogonic starting-point in Plato's "Timæus," 36), and was known also to the Jews (see Anointing and Cabala), this form as the initial letter of Χριστός being preferably used. In Jewish circles the original connections of both the Latin and the St. Andrew's cross were quite naturally ignored.

Bibliography: Zöckler, *Das Kreuz Christi*, 1875; Hastings, *Dict. Bibl.* s.v.; Cheyne and Black, *Encyc. Bibl.* s.v.; Winer, *B. R.* s.v.; Herzog-Hauck, *Real-Encyc.* s.v.; Krauss, *Real-encyclopädie der Christlichen Archäologie*, s.v.

K.

CROSS-EXAMINATION. See Evidence.

CROWN.—Biblical Data: The translation employed for five distinct Hebrew words in the Bible. It renders, first, "zer," a technical term used frequently in the Priestly portions of Exodus for the golden molding with which the Ark (xxv. 11), the table (xxv. 24), its border (xxv. 25), and the altar of incense (xxx. 3) were decorated. While this is an uncommon use, the word is employed secondly and more accurately for the Hebrew "nezer." This carries with it the idea of consecration, and refers solely to the circlet worn on the head by a Hebrew monarch as a symbol of his royal power (II Sam. i. 10; II Kings xi. 12), or to that worn by the high priest (Ex. xxix. 6, xxxix. 30). Because of the significance of the crown, the word is used figuratively for the authority of a king (Prov. xxvii. 24). A third word, "'aṭarah," is used in a perfectly general way both directly (II Sam. xii. 30; Ezek. xxi. 31 [A. V. 26] and figuratively (Job xix. 9, xxxi. 36). It also refers to wreaths used at banquets for purposes of decoration (Isa. xxviii. 1), or at games as rewards (Prov. iv. 9). For "crown" in the phrase "crown royal" in the book of Esther, however, there is another Hebrew word, "keter," which seems to be a Persian loan-word.

In the New Testament the words *στέφανος* and *διάδημα* are indiscriminately rendered "crown" in the A. V., but distinguished in the R. V. (1 Cor. ix. 25; II Tim. ii. 5; Rev. iv. 4, 10). The latter is the real insignia of royalty; the former, a general symbol of superiority. This distinction is not maintained in the Old Testament. Finally, the word occurs not infrequently for "ḳadḳad" in the phrase "crown of the head," referring to the upper part of the head.

In the New Testament a crown symbolizes victory and all that it involves by way of reward. In the Old Testament it is rather a symbol of splendor and dignity (Prov. xii. 4, xvi. 31). Still, if the Hebrew reading is correct, in Ps. cxlii. 8 the crown is indicative of triumph.

E. G. H. F. K. S.

——**In Post-Biblical Times:** The use of crowns among the Jews in post-Biblical times, both in life and in literature, is varied. Under the influence of Greek custom the guests sat at the festive table with their heads crowned with garlands. In the Book of Wisdom (ii. 8) the ungodly are quoted as saying, with reference to their festal meals: "Let us crown ourselves with rosebuds before they be withered." With these are contrasted the righteous whose reward is with the Lord: "They receive the crown of royal dignity and the diadem of beauty from the Lord's hand (*ib.* v. 16). The custom of sitting with wreaths round the head at feasts seems to have been quite common among the Jews before the destruction of the Second Temple. Ben Sira describes a Jewish feast at which the symposiarch sits with a crown of honor (Ecclus. [Sirach] xxxii. 1–2). Judith and all the women of Israel celebrated a thanksgiving festival after the victory over Holofernes, "dancing, being crowned with olive garlands, and all the men of Israel followed in their armor with garlands" (Judith xv. 13; compare iii. 7). Thus the Jews of Alexandria, after their miraculous deliverance, celebrated a thanksgiving feast "crowned with garlands of all kinds of sweet-scented flowers" (III Macc. vii. 16; compare *ib.* iv. 8, and Josephus, "Ant." xix. 9, § 1). Likewise, the Jews in Maccabean times celebrated the Feast of Tabernacles sitting in their booths, "with wreaths upon

Festal Crowns.

their heads," as may be learned from the Book of Jubilees, xiv. 30, where Abraham is said to have received an ordinance to this effect for all generations. Obviously, this custom gave rise to the belief that the Tabernacle feast was a Bacchic festival (Plutarch, "Symposium," iv. 5; compare II Macc. vi. 7).

Whether this Greek custom goes back to ancient Semitic life (see Isa. xxviii. 1–5, and Luzzatto's Hebrew commentary) can not be decided. The Sukkah garlands or crowns of wheat (עטורי סוכה and עטרות של שבלים, Yer. Sukkah i. 51d; Tosef., Sukkah, i. 7) appear to be a reminiscence of the older "crowning of the head." Possibly the crowning of the cup of blessing at the saying of grace (עטור, Ber. 51a; Yer. Ber. vii. 11d; see also Frankel's commentary) is a survival of the Greek symposium.

Crowns were placed by the Gentiles upon their idols (Epistle of Jeremiah 9; Acts xiv. 13); and accordingly, such "crowns of wheat-ears or of roses" placed upon idols were interdicted (Yer. 'Ab. Zarah iii. 42c, 43d). The Jews, however, modified the custom by placing crowns of gold upon the forefront of the Temple at the dedication feast (I Macc. iv. 57). They also put garlands of olive around the festal steer that led the annual thanksgiving procession, and around the baskets containing the first-fruits (Bik. iii. 3, 9, 10).

Crowns of Glory.

God Himself is constantly represented as wearing crowns. The archangel Sandalfon binds wreaths for his Maker (Hag. 13b); and the angel Akatriel (אכתריאל = "the crowning angel") received his name from his charge of holding the crown of glory over the Most High on His heavenly throne (Ber. 7a). According to the Slavonic Enoch (xiv. 2–3), every evening four hundred angels remove the crown from the head of the sun and lay it before the Lord; and every morning they replace the crown before the sun sets forth upon its daily journey. "The king of light," whose head is surrounded with crowns, "places the crowns of light ever anew upon the angels in the heavens" (Brandt, "Mandäische Schriften," 1893, pp. 13–19). The four and twenty elders in heaven have also "crowns of gold" on their heads; and when prostrating themselves before the Lord they "cast their crowns before the throne" (Rev. iv. 4, 11).

Most crowns of reward mentioned in Hellenistic and rabbinical literature refer to the world to come. The angel of death says to Abraham (Testament of Abraham, A, xvii.; B, xiii.), "If any one is righteous I take crowns and come to him." "The greatness of thy love toward God becomes a crown upon thy head." (Compare "the crowns and thrones of glory" for the righteous in Ascensio Isaiæ, vii. 22, viii. 26, ix. 10; Hermas, "Similitudes," viii. 2.) Such crowns are especially accorded to the martyrs (see Testament of Job, ix. 13, probably based upon עטרות, Job xxxi. 36; Kohler, in Kohut Memorial Volume, p. 284). "When he has been approved he shall receive the crown of life which the Lord promised to them that love him" (James i. 12, R.V., obviously with reference to Judges v. 31, as interpreted by the Rabbis, Yoma 23a). Likewise, I Peter v. 4: "Ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not" (compare Rev. ii. 10, "a crown of life"). Especially does Paul dwell upon the "incorruptible crown" obtained in the race for the higher things, in contrast to the "corruptible crown" given to the victor in games (I Cor. ix. 25; II Tim. ii. 5; compare II Tim. iv. 8, and Philo, "De Allegoriis Legum," xxvi. § 26). These older conceptions cast light also on later rabbinical passages concerning the Crowns of the Righteous and the Crown of the Law.

Crowns of Reward.

Bibliography: L. Löw, *Kranz und Krone*, in *Ben Chananja*, 1867, Nos. 11, 12; Charles, *The Ascension of Isaiah*, 1900, p. 61; J. B. Mayor, *The Epistle of St. James*, 1892, notes, pp. 46 *et seq.*; Hastings, *Dict. Bible*; Cheyne and Black, *Encyc. Bibl.* s.v. *Crown*.

K.

In the Talmudic Hebrew, עטרה is used (compare the English "crown") for the Biblical זר in the sense of "border" or "rim" (Kelim v. 3; Oh. xiv. 1). In the Targumim זר is usually rendered by the identical זיר or דיר, or sometimes by כליל, which in sense is equivalent to "crown" or "wreath." For the insignia of royalty the late Biblical "keter" is used, together with "kisse" (throne) and "sharbiṭ" (scepter). While the Biblical נזר drops out of use in the Talmudical Hebrew, which restricts the root to its original meaning, "cut off" (hence "devoted," a "nazir"), a new word is introduced, "taga" (תגא), of non-Hebrew stock, in the sense of royal crown and thence of ornament.

"Keter," as well as "'aṭeret" and its derivatives, has also the applied meaning of ornament, dignity, and distinction. The righteous will wear crowns in the hereafter (Ber. 17a; compare Meg. 15b, where God is the crown on the head of the pious; Lev. R. xxx.). So also prayer is woven into a crown for the head of God (Ex. R. xxi.). "Three crowns there are: the crown of the Torah, the crown of the priesthood, the crown of royalty; but the crown of a good name is higher than these altogether" (Abot iv. 13). In explanation of this enumeration of the three degrees of distinction Ex. R. xxxiv. and Num. R. iv. must be kept in mind. The crown of the learned man (Pharisee), that of the priest (Sadducee), that of royal blood, men of good repute not only attain but even surpass; that is, learning, birth, and station are worthless, while character is all. R. Simeon ben Johai enumerates these crowns in this order: the crown of royalty, that is, the "table of the showbreads," which had a golden border; the crown of the priesthood, that is, the altar; the crown of the Torah, that is, the Ark of the Covenant. Playing upon the vocalization of זר (zar and zer), he adds: "If one acquires the Torah, it is for him a zer, a crown; if he does not, it is for him something foreign" (compare Yoma 72b). God is represented in the Talmud as ornamenting the letters שׁעטנ״ז, as well as the letters גין (on ק see Shab. 104a), with "crowns," and refrains from multiplying them in view of R. Akiba's disposition to read into these "crowns" halakic decisions (Men. 29b; Shab. 89b). "Crown" is also used for "kingdom"; for instance, in the parable about the moon's jealousy of the sun, she asks: "Is it possible for two kings to have one 'crown'?" and God, acting upon the suggestion, reduces her to the second rank (Ḥul. 60b). Again,

The "Three Crowns."

CROWNS OF THE LAW.

1. In Hambro' Synagogue, London. 2. In a private collection, New York. 3. In the Synagogue at Pogrebishche, Russia. 4 and 6. In Temple Shearith Israel, New York. 5. In the Synagogue at Casale Monferrato, Italy. 7. Oriental; in the United States National Museum, Washington. 8. In the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. 9. Samaritan; in the possession of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

it is used figuratively for a deed entitling one to recognition, as in Yer. Dem. ii. 22c, bottom. Hezekiah was privileged by God to "acquire the crown" of the removal of the brazen serpent (Ḥul. 6b, 7b). In the same sense the caution occurs against making the Torah and learning a crown of self-glorification (Abot iv. 5).

The most distinguished men are called the crown of their fellows (for instance, in Tosef., Soṭah, xv.). With the death of R. Eleazar ben Azariah passed away the crown of the wise, for the wealth of the wise consists in the crown of learning (compare Soṭah 49b). So also the distinctions conferred on the first day are designated as its ten crowns (Sifra, Shemini Shab. 87b).

The bride wore a crown—wreath or chaplet—at the marriage feast, and so did the bridegroom, who, indeed, was regarded as a king during the nuptial ceremonies (Nowack, "Lehrbuch des Hebräischen Archäologie," i. 164). This custom was suspended for a time in consequence of the Roman wars (Soṭah ix. 14). These bridal wreaths could not be woven of myrtle or roses, but were made of reeds. The reason for this restriction is found in the idolatrous uses of wreaths of the kind prohibited (Yer. 'Ab. Zarah iv. 43d: "Not only wreaths made of wheat-stalks, but also of roses"; compare also Yer. Bik. i., toward end 64b, top; Soṭah 49a). In Yer. Soṭah ix. 24b, bottom, R. Jeremiah is reported as wearing a crown of olive-branches in order to amuse the bridal party, from which act he came to be known as the rabbi with the (myrtle bridal) crown (compare Gen. R. lxx.; Lam. R. 94b; the verse "the crown is fallen from our head" [Lam. v. 16] was interpreted to refer to him; Lam. R. to the verse, 69d). Mention is also made of ornaments in the shape of wreaths, which were much affected by women (Shab. v. 1 [57a]; Soṭah 49b). Some of these are even said to have shown in engraving the picture of Jerusalem. By later rabbis the custom of placing a wreath or crown on the head of the bridegroom was regarded as a token of mourning for Jerusalem, "the olive-branches being bitter" ("'Aṭeret Zeḳenim" to "Or ha-Ḥayyim," 560; Ṭur Eben ha-'Ezer, 65; Tos. Pes. 36a). See Crown of the Law.

Bridal Crowns.

E. C. E. G. H.

CROWN OF THE LAW: A coronet, usually made of gilded silver, with bells, bearing the Hebrew inscription כתר תורה. It is placed upon the upper ends of the handles of the scroll of the Law. Sometimes the crown is a double one. A similar emblem, often borne between two lions as symbols of strength, decorates the mantle of the scroll and the curtain of the Ark. The device signifies the majestic sovereignty of the Law. It is difficult to say when it was first adopted. In geonic times he who read the last chapter of the Pentateuch on Simḥat Torah had a crown of silver or gold or a garland of myrtle placed upon his head, similar to the one placed upon the head of a bridegroom; whence, probably, the name Bridegroom of the Law. From this arose the custom of having a crown placed permanently upon the scroll of the Law, the making of crowns or garlands on festival days being a transgression of the Law (see Abraham ben Nathan ha-Yarḥi in "Ha-Manhig," Suk. § 59; and R. Nissim to Alfasi, Meg. iii.; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Oraḥ Ḥayyim, 154, 10).

The masters of the school, called "kings" (Giṭ. 62a), were probably the persons originally decorated with the crown of the Law. This seems to be confirmed by the saying of Hillel: "He who makes use of the crown [תגא] perishes" (Ab. i. 13). [This "crown" was afterward understood to mean the "crown of God" (כתר = the Ineffable Name, which was probably engraved upon the crown; see Pirḳe R. El. xlvii.; Targ. Yer. to Ex. xxxiii. 4–6, 25.)] Compare Ab. iv. 5: "Make not the Torah a crown to glory in it." The saying of R. Simon b. Yoḥai concerning the three crowns—the crown of the Law, the crown of the priesthood, and the crown of royalty (see Crown in Post-Biblical Times)—appears also to indicate that the crown of the Law, like the two others, was a material crown, and not a figurative expression like "the crown of a good name." The crown of the Law is probably indicated by the following Haggadah: "When the Israelites before receiving the Law on Mount Sinai proclaimed 'We shall do and hearken!' [Ex. xxiv. 17], there came sixty myriads of angels with two crowns for each —one for each of the two promises; and when they sinned before the Golden Calf there came twice as many demons to take their ornaments away" (Ex. xxxiii. 6; Shab. 88a; compare Pesiḳ. 21 [ed. Friedmann, 102b]; Pesiḳ. de R. K. xiv. 124b; Tan., Tezawweh, ed. Buber, 50a).

Regarding the question whether the Keter Torah in use may be sold for the purpose of settling a dowry for a daughter, see Isaac Lampronti, "Paḥad Yiẓḥaḳ," letter מ, 170b.

K. J. D. E.

CROWNS OF THE RIGHTEOUS: The future bliss of the righteous is described by Rab in Ber. 17b: "There is neither eating and drinking nor marrying nor bargaining nor envy nor hatred nor quarrel in the world to come; but the righteous sit with crowns upon their heads, and feed upon the splendor of the Shekinah, as it is said of the nobles of the children of Israel: 'He laid not his hand upon them, but they saw God, and this was their eating and their drinking'" (Ex. xxiv. 11, Targ.). In Sanh. 111b, Meg. 15b, R. Ḥaninah says: "God himself will be a crown of glory upon the head of each righteous one, as it is written: 'In that day shall the Lord of hosts be for a crown of glory, and for a diadem of beauty, unto the residue of his people'" (Isa. xxviii. 5). Accordingly the Zohar (Wayeḥi; ed. Cracow, p. 296) speaks of seats surrounded with crowns prepared for the righteous in paradise thirty days before their death, when their forthcoming arrival there is announced. So sings the poet of the "Aḳdamut":

> "Under a canopy of crystal clouds,
> Wearing a beauteous crown,
> Each in accordance with his deeds,
> On a throne with seven steps of fine gold."

K. J. D. E.

CRUCEANU, STEFAN: Rumanian author; born at Jassy April 25, 1868. On receiving his bachelor's degree in 1889 he entered the University of Jassy as a student of philosophy, but at the end

of a year he went to Paris to study medicine. In April, 1885, he published his first work, a socialistic story, in the "Drepturile Omului" (Rights of Man). He became a frequent contributor to different political papers, including the "Natiunea," "Drapelul," "Perdaful," "Fulgerul," "Tunul," and "Propashirea." In 1891 he published his first poem, "Batalle din Urma" (The Last Heart-Beat), in the "Revista Noua" of Bucharest. He is a contributor to the most prominent journals of Rumania, such as the "Convorbiri Literare," "Radicalul," "Evenimentul," "Noutatea," "Adeverul," "Literatura et Arta Romana," and the "Noua Revista Romana." In 1898 he published most of his poems in one volume under the title "Lacrime."

S. E. Sd.

CRUCIFIXION: The act of putting to death by nailing or binding to a cross. Among the modes of Capital Punishment known to the Jewish penal law, crucifixion is not found; the "hanging" of criminals "on a tree," mentioned in Deut. xxi. 22, was resorted to in New Testament times only after lapidation (Sanh. vi. 4; Sifre, ii. 221, ed. Friedmann, Vienna, 1864). A Jewish court could not have passed a sentence of death by crucifixion without violating the Jewish law. The Roman penal code recognized this cruel penalty from remote times (Aurelius Victor Cæsar, 41). It may have developed out of the primitive custom of "hanging" ("arbori suspendere") on the "arbor infelix," which was dedicated to the gods of the nether world. Seneca ("Epistola," 101) still calls the cross "infelix lignum." Trees were often used for crucifying convicts (Tertullian, "Apologia," viii. 16). Originally only slaves were crucified; hence "death on the cross" and "supplicium servile" were used indiscriminately (Tacitus, "Historia," iv. 3, 11). Later, provincial freedmen of obscure station ("humiles") were added to the class liable to this sentence. Roman citizens were exempt under all circumstances (Cicero, "Verr." i. 7; iii. 2, 24, 26; iv. 10 *et seq.*). The following crimes entailed this penalty: piracy, highway robbery, assassination, forgery, false testimony, mutiny, high treason, rebellion (see Pauly-Wissowa, "Real-Encyc." *s.v.* "Crux"; Josephus, "B. J." v. 11, § 1). Soldiers that deserted to the enemy and slaves who denounced their masters ("delatio domini") were also punished by death on the cross.

The crosses used were of different shapes. Some were in the form of a T, others in that of a St. Andrew's cross, X, while others again were in four parts, ✝. The more common kind consisted of a stake ("palus") firmly embedded in the ground ("crucem figere") before the condemned arrived at the place of execution (Cicero, "Verr." v. 12; Josephus, "B. J." vii. 6, § 4) and a cross-beam ("patibulum"), bearing the "titulus"—the inscription naming the crime (Matt. xxvii. 37; Luke xxiii. 38; Suetonius, "Cal." 38). It was this cross-beam, not the heavy stake, which the condemned was compelled to carry to the scene of execution (Plutarch, "De Sera Num. Vind." 9; Matt. *ib.*; John xix. 17; see Cross). The cross was not very high, and the sentenced man could without difficulty be drawn up with ropes ("in crucem tollere, agere, dare, ferre"). His hands and feet were fastened with nails to the cross-beam and stake (Tertullian, "Adv. Judæos," 10; Seneca, "Vita Beata," 19); though it has been held that, as in Egypt, the hands and feet were merely bound with ropes (see Winer, "B. R." i. 678). The execution was always preceded by flagellation (Livy, xxxiv. 26; Josephus, "B. J." ii. 14, § 9; v. 11, § 1); and on his way to his doom, led through the most populous streets, the delinquent was exposed to insult and injury. Upon arrival at the stake, his clothes were removed, and the execution took place. Death was probably caused by starvation or exhaustion, the cramped position of the body causing fearful tortures, and ultimately gradual paralysis. Whether a foot-rest was provided is open to doubt; but usually the body was placed astride a board ("scdile"). The agony lasted at least twelve hours, in some cases as long as three days. To hasten death the legs were broken, and this was considered an act of clemency (Cicero, "Phil." xiii. 27). The body remained on the cross, food for birds of prey until it rotted, or was cast before wild beasts. Special permission to remove the body was occasionally granted. Officers (carnifex and triumviri) and soldiers were in charge.

Mode of Execution.

This cruel way of carrying into effect the sentence of death was introduced into Palestine by the Romans. Josephus brands the first crucifixion as an act of unusual cruelty ("Ant." xiii. 14, § 2), and as illegal. But many Jews underwent this extreme penalty (*ib.* xx. 6, § 2; "Vita," § 75; "B. J." ii. 12, § 6; 14, § 9; v. 11, § 1; Philo, ii. 529).

During the times of unrest which preceded the rise in open rebellion against Rome (about 30–66 B.C.), "rebels" met with short shrift at the hands of the oppressor. They were crucified as traitors. The sons of Judas the Galilean were among those who suffered this fate.

The details given in the New Testament accounts (Matt. xxvii. and parallels) of the crucifixion of Jesus agree on the whole with the procedure in vogue under Roman law. Two modifications are worthy of note: (1) In order to make him insensible to pain, a drink (ὄξος, Matt. xxvii. 34, 48; John xix. 29) was given him. This was in accordance with the humane Jewish provision (see Maimonides, "Yad," Sanh. xiii. 2; Sanh. 43a). The beverage was a mixture of myrrh (קורט של לבונה) and wine, given "so that the delinquent might lose clear consciousness through the ensuing intoxication." (2) Contrary to the Roman practise of leaving the body on the cross, that of Jesus was removed and buried, the latter act in keeping with Jewish law and custom. These exceptions, however, exhaust the incidents in the crucifixion of Jesus that might point to a participation therein, and a regulation thereof, by Jews or Jewish law. The mode and manner of Jesus' death undoubtedly point to Roman customs and laws as the directive power.

From the Jewish point of view, the crime of which Jesus was convicted by the Jewish priests is greatly in doubt (see Jesus). If it was blasphemy, lapidation should, according to Jewish law, have been the penalty, with suspension from the gallows after death (Mishnah Sanh. iii. 4; Sifre, iii. 221). Nor were any of the well-known measures taken (Sanh. vi.)

which provide before execution for the contingency of a reversal of the sentence. Neither was the "cross"—*i.e.*, the gallows for hanging—constructed as usual after lapidation, and as ordained in Sanhedrin vi. 4. His hands were not bound as prescribed; the "cross" was not buried with his body (Maimonides, "Yad," Sanh. xv. 9). Whether the Jewish law would have tolerated a threefold execution at one and the same time is more than uncertain (Sanh. vi. 4; Sifre, ii. 221).

Date of Jesus' Crucifixion.

The greatest difficulty from the point of view of the Jewish penal procedure is presented by the day and time of the execution. According to the Gospels, Jesus died on Friday, the eve of Sabbath. Yet on that day, in view of the approach of the Sabbath (or holiday), executions lasting until late in the afternoon were almost impossible (Sifre, ii. 221; Sanh. 35b; Mekilta to Wayaḳhel). The Synoptics do not agree with John on the date of the month. According to the latter he died on the 14th of Nisan, as though he were the paschal lamb; but executions were certainly not regular on the eve of a Jewish holiday. According to the Synoptics, the date of his death was the 15th of Nisan (first day of Passover), when again no execution could be held (Mishnah Sanh. iv. 1; and the commentaries; Yer. Sanh. ii. 3; Yer. Beẓ. v. 2; Ket. i. 1). This discrepancy has given rise to various attempts at rectification. That by Chwolson is the most ingenious, assuming that Jesus died on the 14th, and accounting for the error in Matthew by a mistranslation from the original Hebrew in Matt. xxvi. 17 (קרב וקרבו, due to the omission of the first קרב; see his "Das Letzte Passamahl Christi," p. 13). But even so, the whole artificial construction of the law regarding Passover when the 15th of Nisan was on Saturday, attempted by Chwolson, would not remove the difficulty of an execution occurring on Friday = eve of Sabbath and eve of holiday; and the body could not have been removed as late as the ninth hour (3 P.M.). Bodies of delinquents were not buried in private graves (Sanh. vi. 5), while that of Jesus was buried in a sepulcher belonging to Joseph of Arimathea. Besides this, penal jurisdiction had been taken from the Sanhedrin in capital cases "forty years before the fall of the Temple."

These facts show that the crucifixion of Jesus was an act of the Roman government. That it was customary to liberate one sentenced to death on account of the holiday season is not corroborated by Jewish sources. But many of the Jews suspected of Messianic ambitions had been nailed to the cross by Rome. The Messiah, "king of the Jews," was a rebel in the estimation of Rome, and rebels were crucified (Suetonius, "Vespas." 4; "Claudius," xxv.; Josephus, "Ant." xx. 5, § 1; 8, § 6; Acts v. 36, 37). The inscription on the cross of Jesus reveals the crime for which, according to Roman law, Jesus expired. He was a rebel. Tacitus ("Annales," 54, 59) reports therefore without comment the fact that Jesus was crucified. For Romans no amplification was necessary. Pontius Pilate's part in the tragedy as told in the Gospels is that of a wretched coward; but this does not agree with his character as recorded elsewhere (see Schürer, "Gesch." Index, *s.v.*). The other incidents in the New Testament report—the rending of the curtain, darkness (eclipse of the sun), the rising of the dead from their graves—are apocalyptic embellishments derived from Jewish Messianic eschatology. The so-called writs for the execution (see Mayer, "Die Rechte der Israeliten, Athener, und Römer," iii. 428, note 27) are spurious.

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K. E. G. H.

CRUELTY: The disposition to inflict pain and to gloat over suffering. Widely prevalent among, if not characteristic of, savages and barbarians, it has influenced their treatment of strangers, enemies, and evildoers. Primitive races, however, are strongly inured to pain, being early in life trained to endure it unflinchingly, as the various initiatory rites at puberty in universal vogue among them show (see Heinrich Schurtz, "Altersklassen und Männerbunde," pp. 92 *et seq.*, Berlin, 1902). Moreover, lack of imagination incapacitates them for measuring the suffering entailed on others (Tylor, "Anthropology," p. 408, New York, 1897). Again, among them, as also among civilized nations of antiquity, religious notions sanctify the passion for revenge, nearly always an element of cruelty. Abel's "blood cries to heaven" (Gen. iv. 10, Hebr.). The deity itself is injured and offended, and the land is defiled by bloodshed (see Schneider, "Die Naturvölker," 1886, i. 86; Leopold Schmidt, "Die Ethik der Alten Griechen," ii. 309 *et seq.*, Berlin, 1882; Tiele, "Verglijkende Geschiedenis von de Egypt. en Mesopotam. Godsdienster," p. 160; "Tr. Soc. Bibl. Arch." viii. 12 *et seq.*).

"Lex Talionis."

The "lex talionis," universally observed by savage and semi-civilized peoples, illustrates this principle. Injury had to be requited by corresponding injury. "Eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand" (Ex. xxi. 24). Literally construed at first, the provisions of this law in course of time, and with the refinement of feeling accompanying progressing civilization, were translated into pecuniary assessments in compensation of injuries.

Cruel practises connected with the observances of religion, such as mutilations, the cutting of gashes (see CUTTINGS), the burning of children to propitiate Moloch, and human sacrifice generally, rest originally upon a similar idea.

The ancient Hebrews in their primitive state were in disposition little different from their neighbors and cognates. In the period of "ignorance" the pre-Mohammedan Arabs deemed "revenge to be the twin brother of gratitude," and not to visit an offense upon the offender was considered cowardly and ignoble (see Goldziher, "Muhammedanische Studien," 1889, i. 15 *et seq.*). The books of Judges and Samuel prove that the Israelitish invaders of Canaan displayed in their dealings with their enemies the temper of their day. The bodies of those slain in battle were stripped of everything valuable. Occa-

sionally their heads were cut off as trophies (I Sam. xvii. 51, 54; xxxi. 9; II Sam. xx. 22). Among the Assyrians this was the rule (compare II Kings x. 6 *et seq.*). In later times, however, decent burial was accorded to dead enemies (Ezek. xxxix. 11), or they were cremated (Isa. xxx. 33).

Treatment of Captives.

Captives were shown little leniency. To mark them as conquered, they were subjected to the humiliation of being trodden under foot (Joshua x. 24; compare Ps. cx. 1). This was also the custom among the Assyrians and Egyptians. Still, excessive cruelties are only reported in cases where fury had been aroused by the length of the pursuit (Judges i. 6 *et seq.*). The most atrocious instance of cruelty in requital of previous insult is afforded, if the text is correct, by David's dealing with the Ammonites (see Klostermann's commentary on II Sam. xii. 31). Amaziah is reported to have hurled ten thousand captive Edomites from a rock (II Chron. xxv. 12). As a rule, however, the Hebrews did not go to such extremes, and, compared with the Assyrians, were merciful. The latter impaled their prisoners, or flayed them alive, or tore out their tongues (see, for the case of the Elamite prisoners, Koyundjik Collection, slabs 48–50; Kaulen, "Assyrien und Babylonien," 5th ed., p. 265). The Philistines put out Samson's eyes (Judges xvi. 21). Nahash, the king of the Ammonites, threatened the Jebusites with the blinding of their right eyes (I Sam. xi. 2). King Zedekiah was blinded by the Chaldeans (II Kings xxv. 7). Among the Chaldeans and Persians, and even now in Eastern countries, this procedure is not exceptional. Ezek. xxiii. 25 alludes to the cutting off of the noses and ears of captives. Rings were put through the under lips of captured kings to fasten the chain to (חחים, "S. B. O. T." Ezekiel, p. 133). Atrocious barbarities against women big with child are mentioned as having occurred in the ferocious civil wars of the Northern Kingdom (II Kings xv. 16), but these, as well as the dashing to pieces of children, seem to have been common among Syrians, Ammonites, Assyrians, and Chaldeans (II Kings viii. 12; Amos i. 13; Ps. cxxxvii. 9 *et seq.*). If not killed, the captives were led away "naked" (see Coat) and fettered, to be sold into slavery (Num. xxxi. 26; Deut. xx. 14; Isa. xx. 4).

The country of the enemy was devastated; its trees were cut down, its wells wrecked, its cities and hamlets sacked and razed; tribute was levied and hostages demanded (II Kings iii. 19, 25; xiv. 14).

Stages of Progress.

In the earlier civil code of the Hebrews, the "book of the Covenant" (Ex. xxi.–xxiv.), the law of retaliation is still fundamental. Mutilations were thus legalized. The Deuteronomic legislation applies this principle in the case of false witnesses (Deut. xix. 16 *et seq.*). A woman guilty of a certain indecent act lost her hand (Deut. xxv. 11 *et seq.*). Similar and severer provisions are also found in the recently discovered code of Hammurabi (see Winckler, "Die Gesetze Hammurabi," Leipsic, 1902); and the punishments provided by the laws of other ancient and modern Oriental nations show still greater cruelty. Adulterous women had their noses cut off, while the co-respondent was condemned to a thousand stripes (Diodorus Siculus, i. 78). The statement of Josephus ("Vita," §§ 33, 34) that rebels and traitors suffered the loss of one or both hands reflects the ferocity of the civil war.

Treatment of Slaves.

The primitive severity of the earlier practise, however, was tempered by clemency. This appears clearly in the provisions for carrying out the punishment of stripes. The number of stripes must not exceed forty (Deut. xxv. 1–4; in Hammurabi's code the maximum is fixed at fifty), and they must be administered before a proper court officer. As also among the Egyptians (see Wilkinson, "Ancient Egypt," ii. 41 *et seq.*), the stripes were applied to the back of the delinquent, not, as is the cruel Eastern practise, to the soles of the feet. The instrument employed was in early times a rod or switch (Prov. x. 13). The later rabbinical authorities prescribe the use of a plaited leather strap, construing "bikoret," in Lev. xix. 20, to indicate this (see Gesenius, "Th." i. 234), and limit the number of stripes to thirty-nine (Mak. iii. 10; Josephus, "Ant." iv. 8, § 21). The use of "scorpions" ("'akrabim"), mentioned in I Kings xii. 11, 14; II Chron. x. 11, 14, was, as the context shows, regarded as excessively cruel, and must have been rare. They were pointed and knotty rods, or whips with sharp iron points (Gesenius, *l.c.* ii. 1062). Beating with bags filled with sand and pointed pieces of iron was another method of punishment (Ephraem Syrus). The Syrians seem to have had recourse to similar instruments of torture (II Macc. vii. 1). Later, the Romans adopted the use of whips weighted with rough, heavy stones, or lead balls (Cicero, "Cluent." 63). Thorny rods or switches were also occasionally used (Judges viii. 7, 16; compare Prov. xxvi. 3).

Other indications of the gradual refinement of feeling are revealed in the fact that the slave ultimately acquired a right to protection against bodily injury, and that the master who caused his death by cruel beating was punished (Ex. xxi. 21, 26–27). If, however, death was not immediate, the owner was considered to have injured his own property. Philo regards the provision which grants freedom to the maimed slave as based less upon the principle of compensation than upon the desire to protect the slave against further insult, the master naturally finding a constant cause of irritation in the slave incapacitated for full work in consequence of his rash or cruel treatment The law also modified to a considerable extent the rights of vengeance and Asylum (Ex. xxi. 13, 14), and provided for the protection of those guilty of manslaughter.

With what abhorrence the Prophets viewed the atrocities committed in the spirit of the savage in earlier times is clear from the opening chapters of Amos. They denounced the cruel rites—mutilations, human sacrifices—sanctioned by the religion of Canaan, and modified barbarity through the potent leaven of mercy and humanity. As a punishment the invasion of a "cruel" people is announced, and the detailed description shows that the Jewish people had outgrown the temper which regarded such atrocities as natural (Jer. vi. 23, 24; Deut. xxxii. 32, 33).

In the later books cruelty is expanded to include

unfriendly and unnatural conduct (Prov. xi. 17) on the part of one from whom, by reason of friendship or consanguinity, consideration is to be expected (Job xxx. 21). As symptoms of cruelty, anger and jealousy are enumerated (Prov. xxvii. 4).

Attitude of Later Judaism.

Later Judaism, in interpreting the Mosaic legislation, proceeded upon the theory that any unnatural act was cruel. The seething of the kid in the milk of its mother, the wearing of wool and linen together, the yoking of ox and ass together, the sowing of different seeds in one field, were so regarded (Philo, "De Specialibus Legibus"). Humanity, therefore, was declared to be the sister of piety, and was inculcated in many injunctions of the Mosaic code; it is befitting the king (*idem*, "De Vita Moysis," ii. 1, 2); it is to be shown to strangers as readily and fully as to fellow countrymen; it is due to the demented and to dumb creatures (*idem*, "De Caritate"). The "lex talionis" was modified (Mek., Mishpaṭim, 8). Capital punishment was virtually abolished in all cases where malice prepense was not established beyond all doubt.

Judges who pronounced the death sentence too frequently were stigmatized as shedders of blood (Mak. 7a), and this in spite of the conviction that "misapplied clemency leads to unjustifiable cruelty" (Lam. R. vii. 16). And when the sentence of death was carried into effect tender regard was extended to the body of the executed (Sanh. v. 3; Babli 55b). Decapitation by the sword was for this reason declared to be an indignity (ניוול, B. B. 8b). Needless exposure of the body was looked upon with the same disfavor; a woman undergoing lapidation was not uncovered (Yer. Soṭah iii. 19b, end). This consideration was shown the dead in all cases, the view prevailing that until the body is inhumed, or, according to others, until decomposition sets in, the soul hovering over the abandoned frame feels whatever insult or injury is offered (see Body in Jewish Theology). R. Akiba inhibited exhumation as an act of cruelty (B. B. 154a).

Philo ("In Flaccum") gives a vivid account of the outrages perpetrated by the Romans upon the living as well as upon the dead. Some cruelties commonly practised by the Romans seem never to have been known to the Hebrews. The exposure of children, and the burying alive of undesired daughters, common among pre-Mohammedan Arabs, were quite unknown to the Hebrews.

In rabbinical Judaism the idea of "cruelty" includes also an unforgiving temper. It thus came to signify what has been termed "the cruelty of civilized men" (Lazarus, "Ethik des Judentums," i. 308), such as calumny, slander, putting to shame, calling men by nicknames, slighting their honor. Characteristic of the one not cruel was the readiness to "forego one's due" (מעביר על מדותיו), and this disposition is deemed essential to the attainment of forgiveness of one's own sins (Yoma 23a). One that in public puts a man to shame is likened to the murderer (B. M. 58b, 59a). One that will not forgive his fellow is cruel: מנין שאם לא מחל שהוא אכזרי (B. Ḳ. 92a; see also Maimonides, "Yad," De'ot, vi. 6; Teshubah, ii. 10). Nimrod, Goliath, Haman, Cain, and others are remembered as examples of cruelty (Pesiḳ. ix. 78b). Tax-gatherers are typically cruel, as also among the Mohammedans (B. Ḳ. x. 1–2; Goldziher, *ib.* i. 19, note; Philo, "De Specialibus Legibus"; see Publicans). Prophetic and rabbinical Judaism, in thus enlarging the scope of "cruelty" to embrace not merely the infliction of physical, but also of mental and moral suffering, and in denouncing a haughty, heartless, unforgiving, grasping disposition as "cruel," has discarded utterly the principle of retaliation. The Deuteronomic laws (Deut. xx. 7; Josh. vi. 21) concerning the annihilation of the seven aboriginal nations of the land, if they were ever carried out to the letter, were written in the spirit of holy warfare against idolatry (see Ban) at a time when cruel temper was universally prevalent. Later Judaism condemns cruelty in whatever form. Its abhorrence of barbarity is illustrated also by the prohibition against cutting out a piece of flesh from a living animal (אבר מן החי), which mutilation was a well-established practise among the Romans and many other ancient peoples (Ḥul. 101b *et seq.*). This prohibition does not rest upon ritual grounds, but is based on moral repugnance; the Noachides are also under this prohibition. The "pound of flesh" in Shakespeare's "Merchant of Venice" is an impossibility according to Jewish law, though the Roman Law of the Twelve Tables legalizes such security. The whole "Shylock" story originated in old Aryan mythology.

That evil-doers were not treated without cruelty is apparent from the frequent allusions in the Biblical books to the terrors and sufferings incidental to imprisonment (II Sam. iii. 34; Job. xiii. 27; Ps. lxxxviii. 7, cv. 18, cvii. 10; Isa. xxiv. 22; Zech. ix. 11). Though prisons existed (Jer. xxxvii. 15, 20), abandoned cisterns filled with mire were used for the detention of men that had incurred the displeasure of the mighty (Jer. xxxviii. 6). Ill fed (I Kings xx. 27), the prisoners were often bound with chains and ropes (Job xxxvi. 8; Ps. cxlix. 8); the feet especially were fastened together with brass (Judges xvi. 21; II Sam. iii. 34; Jer. lii. 11) or iron links (Ps. cv. 18; Prov. vii. 22). Often the feet were put into the stocks or blocks ("sad," Job xiii. 27, xxxiii. 11), while in other cases a veritable instrument of torture was used, the "mahpeket," a wooden contrivance so arranged as to force the body into unnatural contortions. The neck, too, was constrained by a ring ("zinok") or iron collar (Jer. xx. 2; Sirach vi. 30).

The Romans, however, were past-masters in the art of applying these various expedients. Under the non-Hebrew designation קולר, the Latin "collare," the rabbinical books recall a neck-ring largely in use to render prisoners helpless (Eḥa Rabb. Proem. xxxiv.). Characteristic in this connection as showing the dread of the inhumanities of non-Jewish tormentors is the prohibition (Tosef., 'Ab. Zarah, ii. 4) "not to sell them either weapons or these devices for restraining prisoners"; *i.e.*, קולרין (ed. Zuckermann wrongly, קוללין) כבלין: סדין and שלשלאות של ברזל (iron chains).

K. E. G. H.

CRUELTY TO ANIMALS: The Bible contains no comprehensive principle regarding the rights

of animals. In the Biblical account of creation man is made sole ruler over the lower creatures, with the right to use them for whatever purpose he desires (Gen. i. 28; Ps. viii. 6–8). Still, in the legislative portions of the Bible there are many laws concerning the rights of dumb creatures; so many, in fact, as to justify the assumption of the Rabbis that kindness to animals is a Biblical injunction (צער בעלי חיים דאורייתא; B. M. 32b). The prohibition against eating a limb or flesh cut from a living animal was included by the Rabbis in the seven Noachian Laws, and the act was thus forbidden not only to Israelites, but also to other nations.

Animals must not be tortured unnecessarily. The ox must not be muzzled while threshing (Deut. xxv. 4), but must be free to eat of the corn while working, as the human laborer is permitted to do (Deut. xxiii. 25, 26; B. M. 87b). The Rabbis considered the term "ox" to be a generic term including all animals. Nor does it matter whether the animal belongs to a Jew or not; the Jew who employs it in threshing must not muzzle it (B. M. 90a; Maimonides, "Yad," Sekirut, xiii. 3; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 338; compare I Cor. ix. 9).

Precepts of Consideration.

It is forbidden to emasculate an animal, whether clean or unclean, although when emasculated it may, if clean, be used for food (Lev. xxii. 24; Shab. 111a; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Eben ha-'Ezer, 5, 11). It is forbidden to pair, or couple in doing any kind of work, animals of different species, especially to pair a wild with a tame animal (Lev. xix. 19; Deut. xxii. 10, and Sifre *ad loc.*; B. Ḳ. 54b; Kil. viii. 1, 2).

Mother and young must not be slaughtered on the same day (Lev. xxii. 28). When the paternity of an animal is known, or can be ascertained, it is also forbidden to kill father and young on the same day. Although the transgressor of this commandment is liable to the punishment of flagellation, the animals may be used for food. The seller, if he knows that they are bought to be slaughtered on the same day, must notify the buyer of the relationship of the animals when he sells a mother with its young — for instance, if sold directly before the holidays, when any one buying cattle is presumed to intend to slaughter them immediately (Ḥul. 83a; "Yad," Sheḥiṭah, xiii.; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Yoreh De'ah, 16).

It is forbidden to take both mother and young from a nest. When the mother is liberated the young may be appropriated (Deut. xxii. 6). This law applies only to clean, undomesticated birds, but if one has domesticated geese, pigeons, etc., he need not drive off the mother when he takes the young (Ḥul. 138b *et seq.*; Yoreh De'ah, 292).

Hunting was discouraged by the Rabbis (see Ḥul. 60b), and the later authorities forbid its pursuit entirely if merely for sport (Ezekiel Landau, "Noda' bi-Yehudah," series ii.; Yoreh De'ah, 10).

Hunting.

The various regulations for the lawful killing of animals ("sheḥiṭah") are not only in harmony with the principle of the prevention of cruelty, but seem to have been dictated by it. These laws have no definite Scriptural origin, although the Rabbis take as a basis for them a Biblical expression (Deut. xii. 21). While the Rabbis themselves do not assign the prevention of cruelty to animals as the reason for the regulations (see Maimonides, "Moreh Nebukim," iii. 26, 48), many of their provisions—for instance, that the knife must be sharp, smooth, without any perceptible notch, and must be drawn, not pressed, against the throat of the animal (see Sheḥiṭah)—were obviously instituted for the purpose of lessening pain. In spite of the attempts made in various European states in the last fifty years to forbid the Jewish mode of sheḥiṭah on the ground of cruelty, this institution of Judaism still stands vindicated as far more humane than any of the modes employed by non-Jews (see Dembo, "Slaughtering of Animals").

The Jewish law not only forbids cruelty, but also enjoins kindness, to animals. "If thou see the ass of him that hateth thee lying under his burden, and thou wouldst forbear to unload him, thou shalt surely help with him" (Ex. xxiii. 5). The expression "of him that hateth thee" is explained by the Rabbis to refer to an irreligious Jew or to a non-Jew (B. M. 32b; "Yad," Roẓeaḥ, xiii.; Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 272).

If an animal falls into a pit on the Sabbath, food must be provided for it there for the day, and it must be removed in the evening. Should the animal be in danger of not being able to live through the day, the removal of vessels and tools from one place to another in order to save it is permitted (Shab. 128a; "Yad," Shabbat, xxv. 26; Oraḥ Ḥayyim, 305, 19). It is also permitted to ask a non-Jew to milk one's cow on the Sabbath when she is suffering from an oversupply of milk (Asheri to B. M. ii. 29). It is, moreover, lawful to cut the nails of an animal, or to comb it, or to heal it, on the weekdays of the holidays (M. Ḳ. 10a; Rashi *ad loc.*; "Yad," Shebitot Yom-Ṭob, viii. 15; Oraḥ Ḥayyim, 536, 1–3).

Beasts of burden and all domestic animals must rest on the Sabbath day (Ex. xx. 10, xxiii. 12; Deut. v. 14). It is not permitted to ride an animal on the Sabbath day, or to ride in a wagon drawn by animals, even when the driver is a non-Jew (Yer. Beẓah v. 2; Oraḥ Ḥayyim, *l.c.* 18, Isserles' gloss).

Rest on Sabbath for Animals.

The Rabbis enlarged upon the principle of kindness to animals found in these Mosaic injunctions, by instituting laws to regulate man's dealings with the lower creatures. They teach that before an Israelite sits down to his meal his animals must first be provided with food (Ber. 40a; "Yad," 'Abadim, ix. 8). Some of the Rabbis are of the opinion that no one is permitted to buy animals unless he is able to support them (Yer. Ket. iv. 8). The ethical value of this precept is brought out with great emphasis in the haggadic portions of the Talmud. Moses and David were chosen leaders of Israel because as shepherds they had shown themselves kind and sympathetic to the lower animals (Midrash Rabbah Ex. ii. 3). The angel of God took the part of the dumb creature, demanding of Balaam why he smote his ass (Tan. and Yalḳ. to Num. xxii. 32). "A righteous man regardeth the life of his beast,

but the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel" (Prov. xii. 10). God, the Righteous, has pity on animals as well as on man, inasmuch as He saved the animals together with Noah from the Flood (Yalḳ. *ad loc.*, and to Noah, 56). Rabbi Judah I was punished with bodily suffering during many years because, when a young calf that was being led to slaughter hid its face in his skirts, he said, "Go! for this purpose wast thou created!" When, after many years of suffering, he showed mercy to a nest of mice which his maid wished to destroy, he was again restored to health (B. M. 85a). Standing not "in the way of sinners" (Ps. i. 1) is explained as a prohibition against associating with hunters who plague animals by urging dogs against them ('Ab. Zarah 18b; see Rashi). Compare CIRCUS; SHEḤITAH.

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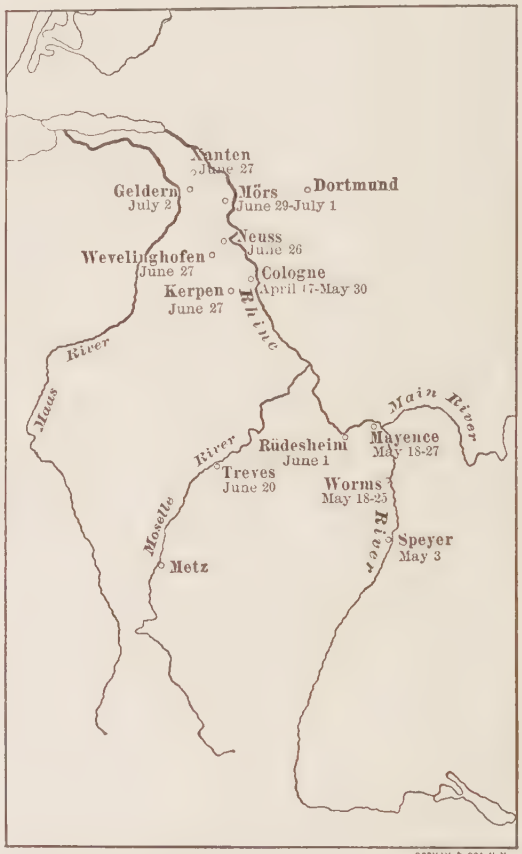
L. G. J. H. G.

CRUSADES, THE: Expeditions from western Europe to recover Jerusalem and the holy sepulcher from the control of the infidel. The undisciplined mobs accompanying the first three Crusades attacked the Jews in Germany, France, and England, and put many of them to death, leaving behind for centuries strong feelings of ill will on both sides. The social position of the Jews in western Europe was distinctly worsened by the Crusades, and legal restrictions became frequent during and after them. They prepared the way for the anti-Jewish legislation of Innocent III., and formed the turning-point in the medieval history of the Jews. The outbursts did not come unexpectedly. Soon after Peter the Hermit and Urban II. had aroused the enthusiasm of French chivalry at the Council of Clermont in 1094, Godfrey de Bouillon declared that he would avenge the blood of Jesus on that of the Jews, and leave none of them alive, while his companions threatened to exterminate the Jews if they would not become converted. The Judæo-French communities accordingly sent letters to those on the Rhine, who thereupon appointed a fast-day to avert the evil (Jan., 1096); and when Godfrey de Bouillon came to Cologne and Mayence each community made him a present of 500 silver marks to secure his protection. When Peter of Amiens arrived with the crusaders at Treves early in 1096, he did not directly arouse the people against the Jews, but left a general ill will against them throughout Lorraine, especially through the influence of the knight Volkmar, who declared that he would not leave the kingdom until he had slain at least one Jew. In the spring of 1096 twenty-two Jews were slain at Metz, and on May 3 the crusaders and accompanying rabble attacked the Jews of Speyer, slaying eleven of them and only being restrained by the exertions of Bishop John from putting them all to death in the synagogue. On May 18 the Jews of Worms were all slain except a few who were forcibly baptized or who took refuge with the bishop. Their houses were destroyed, and even the corpses denuded. Many slew themselves rather than fall into the hands of the mob. The bishop's palace was stormed a week later, and all those within it were put to death. The number of the slain is said to have amounted to 800, though the extant list of names reaches only 400 (Salfeld, "Martyrologium," p. 107). One of the richest Jewesses, named Minna, when surrounded by the mob and implored by some of her friends among the nobles to accept baptism, resolutely refused and was put to death. Several were drowned, and Mar Shemariah with his whole family was buried alive amid the jeers of the mob,

First Crusade: 1096.



Map of Rhine Region, Showing Sites, with Dates, of Anti-Jewish Outbreaks During the First Crusade, 1096.

who nevertheless during the entombment offered in vain to grant them safety if they would become converted.

On the same day Count Emicho arrived at Mayence with a numerous band of crusaders, but he was not admitted by the archbishop Ruthard, who had promised protection to the Jews. Two days later, however, Emicho forced admission through a side gate, and, notwithstanding the armed defense of the Jews, succeeded in destroying them all except Kalonymus, the president of the congregation, and fifty-three others, who hid themselves in the treasure-house of the cathedral. A number of Jews who had defended themselves all day in a fortified position found it untenable as night came on, and, rather than fall

Mayence.

into the hands of the enemy, killed themselves. The corpses after being stripped were cast into nine graves; they are said to have numbered 1,014. Mar Isaac ben David, after having submitted to baptism, burned down his own house and the synagogue and perished in the flames, because it had been rumored that the Christians intended to turn the synagogue into a church. Kalonymus and his 53 companions were taken by bishop Ruthard in boats to Rüdesheim and kept there for some time; but on June 1 he declared he could not protect them unless they submitted to baptism. They determined to slay themselves rather than do this, and Kalonymus put his own son Joseph to death, and then, wild with grief, attempted to kill the archbishop, but was prevented and killed.

The crusaders again attacked the houses and synagogue of the Jews of Cologne on May 30; but here the citizens protected the Jews in their own houses until Archbishop Hermann, on June 3, sent them for safety to seven neighboring villages, Neuss, Wevelinghofen, Altenahr, Xanten, Geldern, Mörs, and Kerpen. The crusaders followed them to these places, killing 200 in Neuss and Altenahr, in several cases throwing old women and young children into the river (Salfeld, "Martyrologium," p. 133); forcing them to be baptized at Geldern and Kerpen; while in Wevelinghofen, Altenahr, and Xanten the Jews slew themselves rather than change their faith. The 300 Jews of Cologne who found themselves at Altenahr selected five men to slay the rest. In the month of June the crusaders reached Treves, and some of the Jews at once slew themselves, a number of Jewesses throwing themselves into the river. The rest betook themselves to the palace of Archbishop Egbert, who attempted in a sermon to persuade the people to spare the Jews, but was himself maltreated and besieged in his palace for a week, at the end of which he told the Jews there was no hope for their lives but in baptism. When they still remained obdurate some of them were exposed by him to the crusaders, who immediately slew them. The rest thereupon accepted baptism. The same fate befell the Jews of Regensburg, while those of Magdeburg were expelled. The crusaders on their march through Bohemia forced the Jews to become baptized, killing those who refused, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Bishop Cosmas. Next year, however, on the return of Emperor Henry from Italy, he granted them permission to revert to their ancestral faith (Pertz, "Monumenta," ii. 181), notwithstanding the protests of Pope Clement III. (Jaffe, "Regesta," No. 5336). The Jews of the Rhine district were decimated: it has been calculated that about 4,000 were killed or slew themselves. The few survivors of Mayence who had taken refuge at Speyer did not return to their old homes until 1104, when a new synagogue was dedicated (September 22). When the crusaders at last stormed Jerusalem, July 15, 1099, they drove all the Jews into one of the synagogues and there burned them alive.

During the preparations for the Second Crusade a narrow-minded monk named Radulph preached the Cross in the Rhine valley, and declared that the Jews should be slain as the enemies of the Christian religion. Bernard of Clairvaux protested energetically against the unchristian behavior of Radulph, and only a few isolated cases of outrage occurred. The Jews were expelled from Magdeburg and Halle. Bernard went to Germany to preach the Cross, and met the monk Radulph in open disputation at Mayence in the beginning of November, 1146, but failed to influence the people in favor of the Jews. He accordingly addressed a letter to the peoples of western Christendom, protesting against the persecution of the Jews. Notwithstanding this, when the crusaders came to Würzburg they slew the rabbi, Isaac ben Eliakim, and about twenty-one men, women, and children, whose bodies were buried by the bishop in his garden. This was ultimately purchased by Hezekiah, the brother of the rabbi, as a graveyard for the Jews (see Würzburg).

Second Crusade: 1145-47.

At the coronation on Sept. 3, 1189, of Richard I., before he started for the Third Crusade, a severe riot occurred, and after he had left the country the crusaders who were preparing to follow him attacked, with the aid of the populace, the Jews at Lynn, Stamford (March 7), Bury St. Edmunds (March 18), Colchester, Thetford, and Ospringe. The chief tragedy, however, occurred at York on the night of March 16, 1190, when 150 Jews of all ages, headed by Rabbi Yom-Ṭob of Joigny, immolated themselves to escape slaughter or baptism (see York).

Third Crusade: 1189-90.

Before the Crusades the Jews had practically a monopoly of trade in Eastern products, but the closer connection between Europe and the East brought about by the Crusades raised up a class of merchant traders among the Christians, and from this time onward restrictions on the sale of goods by Jews became frequent (Höniger, in "Zeit. Gesch. Juden Deutsch." i. 94 *et seq.*). The religious zeal fomented by the Crusades burned as fiercely against the Jews as enemies of Christ as against the Moslems. Thus both economically and socially the Crusades were disastrous for European Jews.

Results.

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G. J.

CRYPTO-JEWS: Jews professing another religion but practising Jewish rites in secret in their own homes. There was some tendency toward this even in early days, as is shown by the attempts of certain Jews to avoid being taken for such (see Josephus, "Ant." xii. 5, § 1; compare I Macc. i. 15); but the first wide-spread adoption of the practise appears to have been after the Almohade persecutions in Spain in 1146. The father of Maimonides is said to have nominally embraced Islamism at this time, and he was doubtless followed by others. Later, in Spain, after the persecutions of 1391, a whole body of Spanish Jews formally adopted Christianity, but observed Jewish rites in their homes. These were known as Maranos or, in the

Balearic Islands, CHUETAS. Officially they were known as "New Christians," and there was considerable legislation directed against them in both Spain and Portugal and in their colonies, the chief activity of the Inquisition being directed against them. It is stated that Maranos are to be found even at the present day, especially at Covilhão in Portugal.

It also appears that there are, or have been, several classes of Crypto-Jews in Moslem lands; thus the ancestors of the DAGGATUNS probably kept up their Jewish practises a long time after their nominal adoption of Mohammedanism. This was also done by the Maimins of Salonica (Grätz, in "Monatsschrift," Feb., 1884), and near Khorassan there still remain a number of Jews known as the "Jedid al-Islam," who were converted to Mohammedanism half a century ago ("Il Vessillo Israelitico," April, 1884).

G. J.

CRYSTAL. See GLASS.

CSEMEGI, KARL: President of the Hungarian Supreme Court of Judicature; born in Csongrad May 3, 1826; died March 18, 1899. Csemegi received his early education in the schools of Szegedin and Budapest. By order of Count Elemer Batthyanyi he organized a battalion of infantry in the Hungarian war of independence of 1848, at the head of which he fought throughout the whole war. After the conclusion of the campaign in the Bácska and Banát districts, he laid down his arms at Lugos, and as punishment was placed in an Austrian regiment, but was soon released on account of ill health. During the absolutist era he had a large law-office in Arad, but was compelled by the chicanery of Austrian officials to transfer it to Butyin in Rumania.

After the restoration of the former constitution, the Hungarian minister of justice, Balthasar Horvath, called him into the ministry, where a wide field presented itself for the employment of his ability. From ministerial secretary he became state secretary, in which capacity he proposed and codified chapter iv. of the laws of 1869, on the legal power and authority of judges. The incorporation of the judiciary of Fiume with that of Hungary was also his work. His epoch-making achievement in the judicial administration of Hungary was, however, the codification of the criminal law on a modern basis. Through this work he succeeded in fundamentally improving legal procedure in Hungary. Especially important was the comprehensive statement which he annexed to the code explaining the basic principles that underlie it, which statement contains a mass of legal knowledge still of much value. His influence left a distinct impress on the science of criminology, which developed rapidly after the adoption of his code.

Csemegi became president of the Supreme Court in 1879, and founded the Society of Hungarian Jurists, which to-day has among its members the most eminent jurists of modern Hungary. He was decorated with the Cross of the Order of St. Stephan of Hungary in 1878, and in 1882 became privy councilor. Twelve years later he resigned his position as president of the Supreme Court. He was granted the honorary degree of LL.D. by the juridical faculty of the University of Budapest in 1896.

Csemegi was a convert to Christianity. His literary work includes: "A Jogvesztés Elmélete és az Államjog," Budapest, 1872; "A Magyar Bünvádi Eljárás Szervezetének Indokai," Budapest, 1882; "Magyar Bünvádi Eljárás a Törvényszékek Előtt," Budapest, 1883; "Az Egyházi Holtkéz," Budapest, 1897. The French government had the statement of principles which he subjoined to the Hungarian criminal code translated into French under the title "Code Pénal Hongrois des Crimes et des Délits," Paris, 1885.

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S. M. W.

CSILLAG, ROSA: Hungarian opera-singer; born about 1840. She attracted much attention in the chorus of the Hungarian National Theater at Budapest. Trained by Professor Proch, she made her first appearance in 1858 as *Fides* in Meyerbeer's "Le Prophète," in the court opera-house of Vienna, where she delighted her audiences with her beautiful mezzo-soprano voice. Until 1873 Csillag belonged to the cast of the Vienna Royal Opera-House, and was a general favorite. On her tours also she met with much success. Her husband was the celebrated prestidigitator Hermann. When her voice began to fail she became singing teacher at the Vienna Conservatoire.

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S. M. W.

CSILLAG, THERESE: Hungarian actress; born at Duna-Adony May 17, 1862. For many years she was a popular comedienne at the National Theater in Budapest. At the age of thirteen she attended the dramatic school in that city. In 1879 she was engaged at the National Theater, where she played in ingénue rôles up to 1898. Nearly all Hungarian playwrights of her day wrote special rôles for her, among them being Gregor Csiky, in whose plays she always excelled. Since 1899 she has been engaged at the Vigszinhaz in Budapest. She has embraced the Christian faith.

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S. M. W.

CUBA: An island in the Atlantic Ocean, the largest of the West Indian groups. The relations of the Jews with the island of Cuba date from the discovery of the island by Columbus in 1492, several Jews having accompanied him on his first voyage (see AMERICA, THE DISCOVERY OF). On Nov. 2, 1492, Columbus sent Luis de TORRES, together with a companion, into the interior to ascertain the character of the island and of its people, and to find its king. Kayserling ("Christopher Columbus," p. 95) asserts that Luis de Torres settled in Cuba and died there.

The records of the Inquisition in America, thus far published only in fragments, are the chief sources of information about Jews in Cuba. Jewish women, forcibly baptized, and sent to the West Indies by the Spanish authorities, seem to have been among the earliest settlers. In 1613 the Inquisition wrung from Francisco Gomez de Leon of Havana the confession that he was a Jew; as a consequence he underwent martyrdom for his faith, and the Inquisition confiscated his fortune, amounting to 149,000

pesos. About 1627 the Inquisition seized Antonio Mendez, Luis Rodrigues, and others on the charge of being Jews. About 1636, 150,000 pesos in gold was extorted from three citizens of Havana on the charge of Judaizing. Their names were Blas de Paz Pinto, Juan Rodrigues Mésa and Francisco Rodriguez de Solis; and they appear to have been among the most opulent men in the West Indies. The trial of Gabriel de Granada, about 1642, evoked a reference to an uncle, Miguel Nuñez de Guerta, alias Huerto, who was supposed to be in Havana at this time, and whose bones in 1649 were used by the Inquisition for his execution in effigy. About the same time Luis Mendez de Chaves, Luis Gomez Barreto, and Manuel Alvarez Prieto, of Havana, were in the clutches of the Inquisition on similar charges.

Inquisition in Cuba.

The Portuguese reconquest of Brazil about this period, which compelled thousands of Jews to leave the country, undoubtedly augmented the Jewish population in Cuba. Accordingly, about this time the number of charges of Judaizing increased, and commercial relations with Jamaica and Curaçao further augmented them. A party of the earliest settlers of New York, who arrived in that city in 1654, are supposed to have touched in the neighborhood of Cape St. Anthony, Cuba, on their way from Brazil. In 1689 Vincente Gomez Coello, a Portuguese, was denounced as a Jew in Cuba. The prosecution of Cubans on the charge of Judaizing continued into the next century. In 1712 Jacob Nuñez Lopez was denounced on this charge. In 1717 was celebrated the auto da fé in which Fray Joseph Diez Pimienta figured, an account of whose career has been published by Richard Gottheil. Pimienta lived for a considerable time in Cuba, and became a convert to Judaism, though he several times thereafter changed his faith. As late as 1783 the Inquisition claimed victims, as witness the fate of Juan Rodriguez Mexia and Antonio Santaella, of Havana. These are but a few of the many names of persons in Cuba who have been charged with Judaizing.

In the Eighteenth Century.

In recounting the history of the Jews in Cuba, it is important not to overlook their friendly commercial relations with the buccaneers, as it was customary to style the assailants of Spain's commercial monopoly in the New World, who waged for decades incessant war against her ports and her vessels; and there is reason to believe that there were some Jews among them. Cuba and Cuban waters were for a long time the principal headquarters of these predecessors of the American pirates, from whom the buccaneers differed, however, in that they waged war against Spain.

A considerable portion of Hamburg's trade with Cuba and other West Indian islands was also at this time in Jewish hands. The Jews' familiarity with Cuba and Cuban affairs, as well as their anti-Spanish sentiments, seems to have been known to the enemies of Spain. Thus, for instance, Admiral Vernon, in his expedition against Cuba in 1741, took with him a Jewish interpreter, whom he sent with messages to the governor at Santiago de Cuba in that year. It is also known that Jacob Franks of New York was a contractor for the British government, supplying the British navy at Jamaica with provisions during the campaign which resulted in the capture, in 1762, of Havana by the British. This capture was extremely important, Havana being regarded as of enormous political and commercial value as the key to America. Cuba's material prosperity is supposed to date from this period, notwithstanding the restoration of Havana to Spain by the treaty of 1763. It is probable that Jewish houses in New York, Newport, Jamaica, Curaçao, London, Amsterdam, and Hamburg were interested in the Cuban trade in tobacco, sugar, and other merchandise, which from this date on became increasingly valuable. Moreover, about this time the population of Cuba was beneficially augmented by the influx of French settlers from Martinique and Guadaloupe, including, apparently, some Jews.

Hernando de Castro, probably a Marano, has been credited with the introduction of the culture of sugar into Cuba. Jews were also engaged in early filibuster expeditions to Cuba; for instance, in 1851.

Until almost the end of the Spanish-American war of 1898, public religious services other than those of the Roman Catholic Church were forbidden; the Inquisition, however, had been abolished in the early years of the century. Since 1881 Jews have been tolerated in Spain and her colonies. The number of Jews in Cuba had increased prior to the war, particularly through Jewish-American interest in the tobacco trade. Richard Davey, in "Cuba: Past and Present," states regarding the conditions preceding the war: "Jews in Cuba barely number 500, and are mostly of Spanish origin, and engaged in trade. A great many Jews fled to the West Indies from Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but few remained in the Spanish possessions. The danger was too great. Five or six of the Cuban Jewish families are reported wealthy, and are much respected, but they keep entirely to themselves." There may, perhaps, be some exaggeration in these statements. A large number of American Jews served in the American army in Cuba during the Spanish-American war, waged for the liberation of Cuba. Since the war the number of American residents has increased, and it is estimated that there are now in Cuba about 1,000 Jewish residents.

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A. M. J. K.

CUBIT. See Weights and Measures.

CUCKOO (A. V. **Cuckow**): The A. V. rendering of שחף (shaḥaf) in Lev. xi. 16 and Deut. xiv. 15. In both places it occurs in the list of unclean birds. This identification, however, is only a conjecture, and there is no certain tradition to support it. The Targum transcribes the Hebrew word. The Septuagint gives λάρος ("sea-gull"). The R. V. rendering is "seamew," which is accepted by Gesenius, Bertholet, and Driver in their commentaries, and by Baentsch and Lewyson ("Zoologie des Talmuds," p. 182). The cuckoo, however, is found in Palestine, where it passes the summer. Two varieties are met with—the common and the spotted cuckoo.

E. G. H. G. B. L.

CUCUMBER: The rendering of the Hebrew קשאים (Num. xi. 5). There are at least two kinds of cucumbers in Palestine (Hasselquist, Groser, Post, etc.); viz., *Cucumis sativus* and *C. chate*. The former is the common green cucumber well known in the western world; and the latter is the Egyptian or hairy cucumber, which is said by Hasselquist to be "the queen of cucumbers, refreshing, sweet, solid, and wholesome." Post (Hastings, "Dict. Bible") speaks of it as doubtless one of the good things of Egypt (Num. xi. 5). "It is longer and more slender than the common cucumber, being often more than a foot long, and sometimes less than an inch thick, and pointed at both ends." The so-called "garden of cucumbers" referred to in Isa. i. 8 is the translation of מקשה, meaning "place of cucumbers"; *i.e.*, a place wherein cucumbers were cultivated. The "lodge" mentioned in the same verse is the shelter of the person who kept birds away and guarded the garden from robbers.

E. G. H. I. M. P.

CUENCA (קוינקה): City in New Castile, Spain, which, after its conquest by Alfonso VII., possessed Jewish inhabitants. In the "fuero," or charter, granted to the city about 1189, the king secured to the Jews full personal protection, together with commercial privileges in every way equal to those of the Christians; and in consequence the Jewish community increased so rapidly both in size and in influence, that it was able in 1290 to pay 70,883 maravedis in taxes. The following circumstance is significant: The Jews of Cuenca refused to lend money or grain, greatly to the detriment of agriculture and industry; in consequence of which an agreement was entered into in 1326 between the city council and the Jewish community, whereby any Jew or Jewess was privileged to charge any Christian of Cuenca or its vicinity, either man or woman, 40 per cent annual interest on money or property. The prosperity and commercial activity of the Jews finally drew upon them the hatred of the populace; and in the "year of terror," 1391, the Jews suffered greatly; even the officials and other men of influence of the town participated in plundering and slaying them; many were murdered, while others either settled elsewhere or became converts to Christianity. The grandparents of the historian Joseph ha-Kohen left Cuenca, and repaired to the fortress of Huete.

Bibliography: Amador de los Rios, *Historia de los Judios de España*, i. 338 *et seq.*; ii. 139, 368 *et seq.*; Joseph ha-Kohen, *'Emeḳ ha-Baka*, p. 70.

G. M. K.

CULI, JACOB: Talmudist and Biblical commentator of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; died at Constantinople Aug. 9, 1732. He belonged to an exiled Spanish family, and was the grandson and pupil of Moses ibn Ḥabib. He edited various important works. The first fruit of his literary activity was the publication of his grandfather's writings. To this end he left Safed, where he seemed to have taken up his abode, and removed to Constantinople. As he points out in various passages in his writings, he found in Ḥayyim Alfandari the Younger a warm supporter. While engaged on the works of his grandfather, he entered (1714) into close relations with the chief rabbi of Constantinople, Judah Rosanes, at the time generally regarded the highest authority of the Orient. Rosanes appointed Culi dayyan, which, together with his position as teacher, secured to him a sufficient livelihood. In 1727 Culi published his grandfather's work "Shammot ba-Areẓ" (notes on various portions of the Talmud), with an index.

In this year Rosanes died. He left voluminous literary remains in a very chaotic condition. To introduce order into this chaos it needed a scholar of the first rank. With this task Culi was entrusted. But even for him it meant a labor of several years. First, in 1728, he edited the "Parashat Derakim," a work both haggadic and halakic. Three years later he published the voluminous "Mishneh la-Melek," enriched with numerous important notes. To both these works Culi wrote a preface. In the same year, he edited also his grandfather's "'Ezrat Nashim," in the beginning of which there are two responsa of his own. His most important work is his commentary on the Pentateuch, entitled "Me-'Am Lo'ez." This work, which is held in high regard by the Jews of the East, is a very elaborate encyclopedic commentary in Ladino, dealing with Jewish life in all its relations. Its material was taken from the Talmud, the Midrash, and the principal works of Talmudic and rabbinic literature. Culi carried his commentary on the Pentateuch through Genesis and as far as ch. xxiv of Exodus. After his death the work was continued by Isaac Magreso and Isaac Behor Arguiti. The five parts were published in Constantinople (1733), partly at the expense of Judah Mizraḥi. The first part appeared in a second edition (Salonica, 1798) and a third edition (Smyrna, 1870); and the other parts were republished at Smyrna (1871–73). A portion of the first was issued under the title "'Aḳedat Yiẓḥaḳ" (The Sacrifice of Isaac), Smyrna, 1864.

Culi also wrote a halakic work under the title "Simanim le-Oraita," which, however, remained in manuscript. He seems to have lived for some time in Hebron (compare his responsum No. 2).

Bibliography: Preface to the Index of Ḥabib's *Geṭ Pashut*, and to Rosanes, *Mishneh la-Melek*; responsum No. 1, end of Ḥabib's *'Ezrat Nashim*; Azulai, *Shem ha-Gedolim*, s.v., and *Judah Rosanes*; Kayserling, *Bibl. Esp.-Port.-Jud.* pp. 55, 66; Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibl.* xvii. 15 *et seq.*; idem, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 2926.

L. G. L. Grü.—M. K.

CULTURVEREIN DER JUDEN. See Verein für Cultur und Wissenschaft der Juden.

CUMANUS, VENTIDIUS: Roman procurator in Judea (48–52). According to Tacitus ("Annales," xii. 54), he divided the procuratorship with Felix; the latter being at the head of Samaria, the former of Galilee. Such a division is unknown to Josephus, and, though accepted by Mommsen ("Gesch." v. 525), is rightly discarded by Schürer ("Gesch." i. 477). Grätz, who follows the statement of Tacitus, is forced to amend his text; holding that events show that Samaria belonged to Cumanus, and Galilee to Felix ("Monatsschrift," xxvi. 404).

The procuratorship of Cumanus lay in the stormy period preceding the final insurrection in Judea. He himself had to put down three uprisings, the last one causing his own downfall. The first of these happened in the Temple court at the Passover feast, when one of the Roman soldiers—who were always present on such occasions to keep order in the multitude—shocked the Jews by his indecent behavior. The tumult thus occasioned was suppressed by the soldiers, and a large number of those assembled (by Josephus said to have exceeded 3,000) were crushed to death. The second uprising also was brought about by a Roman soldier. Jewish robbers had attacked an imperial officer named Stephanus near Beth-horon ("B. J." ii. 12, § 2). The soldiers sent by Cumanus to restore order plundered the surrounding villages, and one of them tore up a scroll of the Law. At this the Jews became much excited, sent a large deputation to the procurator at Cæsarea, and were appeased only when the soldier was condemned to death.

Jealousy between the Samaritans and the Judeans was the cause of the third trouble. A Galilean, on his way to the Temple at Jerusalem, had been murdered at Gema ("B. J." ii. 12, § 3) or Ginea ("Ant." xx. 6, § 1; compare Boettger, "Top.-Hist. Lexikon zu Josephus," p. 129). Cumanus hesitated to inflict punishment upon the Samaritans: it is even said that he was in their pay. The Judeans, headed by the zealots Eleazar, son of Dineus, and Alexander, revenged themselves upon the Samaritans, despite the attempt of the leaders in Jerusalem to hold them back. Cumanus sent out the Sebaste troop from Cæsarea; but in the mean time both Samaritans and Judeans had made presentments to Ummidius Quadratus, the governor of Syria, who at once put to death in Cæsarea all those who had been captured by Cumanus, and in Lydda eighteen of the Judeans who had been involved in the disturbance. The high priests Jonathan and Ananias, the latter's son Anan, the Samaritan leaders, Cumanus and the tribune Celer, and others, were ordered to Rome to appear before the emperor. Claudius condemned three of the leading Samaritans to death, banished Cumanus, and sent Celer to Jerusalem to be beheaded. This judgment, according to Josephus ("Ant." xx. 6, § 3), was due to the influence of Agrippa II. with Agrippina, the emperor's wife.

According to Tacitus (*l.c.*), however, the trouble between the Samaritans and the Judeans had been fomented by the jealousy of the two procurators, and it was Quadratus himself who sat in judgment. Antonius Felix was exonerated, as he was the brother of the emperor's favorite, Pallas, and brother-in-law of King Agrippa.

Bibliography: Josephus, *Ant.* xx. ch. v. and vi.; idem, *B. J.* ii. ch. 12; Grätz and Mommsen, as above; Schürer, *Gesch.* 3d ed., i. 568–570.

G.

CUMATIANO, MORDECAI B. ELIEZER. See Comtino, Mordecai b. Eliezer.

CUMBERLAND, RICHARD: English dramatist; born in the Master's Lodge, Trinity College, Cambridge, Feb. 19, 1732; died at Tunbridge Wells May 7, 1811. He was educated at Bury St. Edmunds and Westminster, and at Trinity College, where he was entered when but fourteen years old.

About 1750 Cumberland was appointed private secretary to Lord Halifax, and finding the position a sinecure, he devoted his leisure to play-writing. Among his most successful plays were "A Summer's Tale," 1765, and "The West Indian," produced by Garrick in 1770.

Cumberland's most important work, from a Jewish standpoint, was his drama "The Jew," written in 1777, in which he depicted the antithesis of Shakespeare's *Shylock* and Marlowe's *Barabas* in *Sheva*, the benevolent, grateful Jew. *Sheva* is rescued at Cadiz from an auto da fé by *Don Carlos*, and, later, from a mob in London by the son of *Don Carlos*, *Charles Ratcliffe*. In gratitude, *Sheva* gives £10,000 to *Ratcliffe's* sister as a marriage portion, and the balance of his fortune to *Ratcliffe*.

Incidentally it may be stated that "The Jew" appeared two years before "Nathan der Weise," which, however, had been written earlier.

Bibliography: Davies, *Life of Garrick*, 1808, ii. 289–304; *Memoirs of Richard Cumberland*, 1807; *Notes and Queries*, 5th series, xi. 504; *Dict. of National Biography*, xiii. 291–293.

S. E. Ms.

CUMIN: The seed of the *Cuminum Cyminum*, an umbelliferous plant, which, coming originally from Mediterranean countries, spread to many parts of the world. Its name is common to Greek, Hebrew, Phenician, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Arabic, as well as to modern languages. Geoponicon and Bar Bahlul mention among its varieties the wild, the Ethiopic, and the domestic or garden cumin. Palestine grew a special variety of its own, the *Cyminum Syriacum* (Mish. Demai, ii. 1; the Yer. distinguishes it from the variety called *Cyprian*, the seed of which is curved). By the Arabs as well as by the Jews cumin was used as a condiment. It has a pungent taste, something like caraway, and is used by many people to flavor bread. The oven was heated with cumin for that purpose (Ter. x. 4). It is used also medicinally to soften swellings. In the Talmud it is mentioned as used to stanch excessive bleeding (Shab. 110b) during menstruation and after circumcision (Shab. 18, 4; see also Joel Müller, "Hillufe Minhagim," p. 41, Vienna, 1878); while it is also credited with curative properties for colics ('Ab. Zarah 29a, top). It is not certain whether, in the magic formula against boils given in Shab. 67a, the word "kammon" is an allusion to the seed; but in view of its application in such cases, this is highly probable.

In Isa. xxviii. 25 the method of threshing it is referred to. Instead of the usual instrument, a rod is

used, and the knowledge of this method is pointed out as of divine origin. Matt. xxiii. 23 complains of those who give tithes of cumin but disregard the weightier matters of the Law.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, pp. 206-207.

E. G. H. G. B. L.—E. G. H.

CUNÆUS, PETRUS (also known as **Peter van der Kuhn**): Dutch Christian and rabbinical scholar; born at Flushing 1586; died at Leyden Dec. 2, 1638. From 1617 until his death he was professor of jurisprudence and politics at the University of Leyden. Cunæus holds a position of some importance in the development of Biblical archeology as the author of "De Republica Hebræorum," which appeared in three volumes, in 1617, at Leyden. It was republished in 1632 by Elzevir; and was translated into French in 1703. It was also reproduced in the "Critici Sacri" and in Ugolini's "Thesaurus."

In this book Cunæus deals with the constitution of the old Hebrew kingdom, which he regards as a purely theocratic one. The Lord was the sole ruler, and made the laws, appointed judges, decided questions of war and peace, and was high priest, liberator, and leader of the people. Cunæus had often compared the conditions of Jewish with those of Roman and Greek life, and concluded that Jewish laws were superior to those of the classical world. He instanced the jubilee year of the Hebrews, which, according to his view, would have been the only remedy for the evils of the "latifundia" in Rome. He made use of the teachings of the Rabbis, especially of Maimonides. Cunæus and Grotius were the first Christian scholars who accepted, in their Biblical interpretations, the explanations of the Rabbis.

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J. F. T. H.

CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS. See ASSYRIOLOGY AND THE OLD TESTAMENT.

CUNEO: Capital of the Italian province of the same name. According to local traditions, a Jewish community, founded probably after the expulsion of the Jews from France (1381), existed there in the fourteenth century. It seems to have been firmly established only after the immigration of Spanish and Portuguese Jews, the first of the immigrants being some bankers, who, at the end of the sixteenth century, received permission from the pope to open loan-offices ("Rev. Etudes Juives," xix. 143). The oldest monument preserved by the community is a "dukan" of the year 1611. The societies also date back to an early time: the Gemilut Ḥasidim was founded in 1687; the Talmud Torah, in 1770 by Solomon Jehiel della Torre. Two special memorial days are celebrated in the synagogue of Cuneo: one in memory of a conflagration in 1750, the other of the siege of 1799. The Spanish and the Italian rituals are followed. Among the rabbis have been the following: Jacob ben Mordecai Poggetto, in the sixteenth century; Solomon Jehiel della Torre, in the eighteenth century; M. Sorani, in the nineteenth century.

The community has a permanent population of about 300 persons. The Lattes family, which has lived there continuously since the sixteenth century, is especially noted.

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G. I. E.

CUP.—Biblical Data: The word most commonly used in the Old Testament for drinking-vessel is כוס (Gen. xl. 11, 13). גביע first occurs in the story of Joseph for the cup with which he "divined" (Gen. xliv. 2-12, Hebr.), and from Jer. xxxv. 5 it appears that it was larger than the כוס, corresponding to a goblet or crater. The גביע was also one of the ornaments of the golden candlestick, or menorah (Ex. xxv. 33 *et seq.*, xxxvii. 17-21), and is described as being "almond-shaped" (משקד), like the calyx of the almond-flower. Other words, like אגן, קשות, סף, which the English versions sometimes render by "cup" or "goblet" (Isa. xxii. 24; Song of Solomon vii. 3; Num. iv. 7; I Chron. xxviii. 17; Jer. lii. 19), were used to designate rather a basin, or bowl-shaped vessel. It may be assumed that the cups of the Jews were in general of the same material, design, and workmanship as those of the Egyptians, Assyrians, and Phenicians, whose craters were celebrated even in Homer's time (Homer, "Iliad," xxiii. 743; *idem*, "Odyssey," iv. 615-618). The cups used at present in synagogues for "ḳiddush" and "habdalah" are generally of silver, oblong, and shaped like an inverted dome, with a stem and base, resembling the cup figured on the Maccabean coins.

Metaphorical Use.

"Cup" is frequently used in metaphors of good or of ill fortune, as in "My cup runneth over" (Ps. xxiii. 5, xvi. 5); "the cup of his fury" (Isa. li. 17, 22); "the bowl of the cup of staggering" (Zech. xii. 2, Hebr.); "the cup of astonishment and desolation" (Ezek. xxiii. 33). Babylon is a "golden cup in the Lord's hand that made all the earth drunken" (Jer. li. 7). The "cup of consolation" (Jer. xvi. 7) is one offered to mourners; while the "cup of salvation" (Ps. cxvi. 13) is a cup of thanksgiving for deliverance, in allusion, perhaps, to the wine of the peace-offering ("shelamim"), or to the cup of praise and thanksgiving.

—In Rabbinical Literature: In the Talmud the figurative use of "cup" for trouble and suffering (Ḥul. 92a; compare Gen. R. lxxxviii. 5) is observed in the expression "to taste the taste of death" (טעם טעמא דמיתותא, Yoma 78b; in the N. T., Matt. xvi. 28; Mark ix. 1; John viii. 52; Heb. ii. 9; compare "Etymologicon Magnum": *ποτήριον . . . σημαίνει καὶ τὸν θάνατον*). Another figurative use of "cup" is for one's wife (Ket. 75b; Ned. 20b; Giṭ. 90a).

Ten—at one time fourteen—cups were ordained for the house of mourning (Ket. 8b; compare Sanh. 70a). The "cup of benediction"—*i.e.*, the third of the four cups of the Passover meal—is often referred to (Ber. 51a; B. B. 97b, etc.; in the N. T., I Cor. x. 16). For other interesting references to "cup" see Ket. 65a; Pes. 96b; Yoma 75a; Beẓah 15b, etc.

In Gen. xliv. 5 is found probably the oldest ref-

CUPS OF SANCTIFICATION.

1. Ḳiddush cup for Sabbath (in Musée de Cluny). 2. Habdalah cup (in Temple Shearith Israel, New York). 3. Passover cup (in possession of L. Jarmolowsky, New York). 4. Elijah cup for Passover (in possession of Dr. Max Rosenthal, New York). 5. Elijah cup for Passover (in possession of Foly Raunheim, New York). 6. Circumcision cup (in possession of Leopold de Rothschild, London). 7. Ḳiddush cup (in possession of H. Masliansky, New York). 8. Passover cup (in possession of Dr. Max Rosenthal, New York). 9. Ḳiddush cup (in possession of Leopold de Rothschild, London).

erence to divination by cup (*κυλικομαντεία*, also *λεκανομαντεία*), a species of hydromancy. According to the rabbinical explanation Joseph "feigned to prophesy by striking on the cup" (Gen. R. xci. 6; compare also Rashi and Targ. Yer. to Gen. xliii. 33).

In Folk-Lore.

Bibliography: Bliss, *Mound of Many Cities*, Nos. 174, 181, etc.; A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and Its Remains*, ii. 236; idem, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 180, 190, 192; Joseph Bonomi, *Nineveh and Its Palaces*, pp. 187 *et seq.*; Tieroff, *De Scypho Josephi*, Jena, 1657; François Lenormant, *La Divination et la Science des Présages chez les Chaldées*, pp. 78–80.

A. I. M. C.

CUP OF BENEDICTION (Hebrew, "kos shel berakah"): The cup of wine taken immediately after grace has been recited at the conclusion of a meal. The custom is first mentioned directly in Mish. Ber. vi. 6: "If wine comes to them [a company of three or more] during the meal, each one blesses for himself; if after the meal, one blesses for all of them." In other words, wine after the meal is treated with some solemnity. In Pes. x. 1 the four cups of the Passover night are mentioned: the third of these is the cup of benediction following the grace after supper.

In later times the custom arose that where one had with his meal only one unit of wine (one-fourth of a log—about the contents of an egg and a half), he should drink it after the meal as a cup of benediction; and many rabbis deemed it highly meritorious, indeed almost a duty, to have wine in readiness for this purpose at each meal, especially when three men were to partake of it, and would join in saying grace. In that case the one reciting grace aloud would take the cup in his right hand during the recital and hold sweet-smelling spices in his left (see Maimonides, "Yad," Berakot, vii. 14, 15). But the custom as to the spices has long since gone out of use. In northern countries wine is not accessible as a daily beverage to the mass of the Jews; hence, "strong drink"—*i.e.*, beer or mead, and, later on, spirits, under the name of "wine of the country"—or any beverage other than water, such as sirup or the juice of fruits, was deemed a fit substitute for wine in the cup of benediction (see Shulḥan 'Aruk, Oraḥ Ḥayyim, 182, 1–2, Isserles' gloss).

Speaking generally, the cup of benediction is drunk only on Sabbaths or at festivals and other joyous occasions.

Bibliography: Dembitz, *Jewish Services in Synagogue and Home*, pp. 345, 346, especially for the song based on the cup of benediction.

J. L. N. D.

CUP OF SALVATION. See Periodicals.

CUPBEARER (משקה): The officer who served the cup to the king. Like the Cup, the cupbearer is first mentioned in the Old Testament in connection with the story of Joseph in Egypt (Gen. xl. 21), where the title "chief of cupbearers" (שר המשקים) would show that such a functionary existed at the Egyptian court. In Jewish history this officer is mentioned in the description of Solomon's court (I Kings x. 5; II Chron. ix. 4), and, later, at the court of Herod I. (Josephus, "Ant." xvi. 8, § 1). Nehemiah was cupbearer to the Persian king Artaxerxes Longimanus (465–425 B.C.; Neh. i. 11, ii. 1). Cupbearers are frequently represented on the Assyrian monuments (compare also Tobit i. 22). The Assyrian Rab-shakeh (רבשקה, II Kings xviii. 17; Isa. xxxvi. 2), formerly supposed to have been the captain of the cupbearers, is now known to have held a different office.

The Egyptian cupbearers were eunuchs (סריסים, Gen. xl. 2), as were those of Herod and those in Assyria; and it may be assumed that this was generally the case throughout the Orient. The office of cupbearer at the Median-Persian courts was, according to Herodotus (iii. 34) and Xenophon ("Cyropædia," i. 3, 8), one of great honor. The cupbearer had in some cases to taste of the cup before presenting it (Xenophon, *ib.*).

Bibliography: A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and Its Remains*, ii. 253; Joseph Bonomi, *Nineveh and Its Palaces*, pp. 250, 284; Tavernier, *Reisen*, iii., part 2, pp. 6 *et seq.*; Klemm, *Morgenland*, pp. 206 *et seq.*

A. I. M. C.

CURAÇAO: An island of the Dutch West Indies, captured from Spain in 1634. It is probable that Jews from Holland were among the first settlers in the island under the Dutch government. But they did not arrive there in considerable numbers until 1650, when twelve Jewish families—De Meza, Aboab, Pereira, De Leon, La Parra, Touro, Cardoze, Jesurun, Marchena, Chaviz, Oleveira, Henriquez Cutinho—were granted permission by Prince Maurice of Orange to settle there. The governor of the island, Matthias Beck, was directed to grant them land, and supply them with slaves, horses, cattle, and agricultural implements, in order to further the cultivation and develop the natural resources of the island, the earlier settlers being chiefly concerned in the more lucrative contraband trade with the Spanish Main. The land assigned to these immigrants was situated on the northern outskirts of the present district of Willemstad. This district is still known as the "Jodenwyk" (Jewish quarter; Corcos, "History of the Jews of Curaçao," pp. 7–8).

In those early years, despite the favorable auspices under which the Jews arrived, severe restrictions were put upon their movements, and they labored under all the disadvantages to which aliens were generally subject. They were even prohibited in 1653 from purchasing additional negro slaves, much needed for their farms.

In March, 1651, the directors of the Dutch West India Company (in which Jews were large stockholders) wrote to Peter Stuyvesant, the governor of New Netherlands, that they were seriously considering the abandonment of Curaçao, since the island was not proving a source of revenue. They decided, however, to make one more experiment, and entered into a contract with Joseph Nuñez de Fonseca (also known as David Nassi), who undertook to emigrate, taking with him a large number of people, under one Jan de Illan, also a Jew, as patroon.

"He intends," they write, "to bring a considerable number of people there to settle and cultivate the land, but we begin to suspect that he and his associates have quite another object in view; namely, to trade from there to the West Indies and the Main. Be that as it may, we are willing to make the experiment, and you must, therefore, charge Director Rodenborch to accommodate him within proper limits and in conformity with the conditions of the contract" (Albany MSS., "Pub. Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.," No. 10).

By Dec., 1652, Illan and his followers had made considerable progress, and had begun a trade in logwood with the neighboring islands. As this trade was not permitted by the terms of the contract, and as it was also contrary to the interests of New Netherlands, attempts were made by the directors to stop it. The grant of privileges to Nassi, bearing the date of Feb. 22, 1652, provided that he was to have two leagues of land along the coast for every fifty families, and four leagues for every one hundred families, that he should bring over. The colonists were further granted exemption from taxes for ten years, and the privilege of selecting the lands on which they desired to settle. They were also accorded religious liberty and toleration, though they were restrained from compelling Christians, should any be among them, to work on Sunday, "nor were any others to labor on that day."

Settlement of Illan.

This is the earliest known charter of privileges, specifically conceding religious liberty and toleration to Jews in the New World. Its favorable terms, as well as other attempts at settling Jews in Curaçao made at this time, were unquestionably due to the prominence of Jews on the directorate of the Dutch West India Company, and in Dutch affairs generally (see MANASSEH BEN ISRAEL). On April 4, 1652, the directors wrote again to Stuyvesant, speaking of Nassi as "preparing to go there with a large number of people." Yet they had decided misgivings respecting the success of the enterprise, and no confidence in the people or in their leader (Corcos, *l.c.*). Their fears appear to have been justified, for all accounts tend to show that the plan was not carried out on any extensive scale (Corcos, *ib.* pp. 9, 17, 18; Daly, "The Settlement of the Jews in North America," p. 9).

The history of the effective settlement of Jews in Curaçao begins, however, in 1654, when the conquest of Brazil by the Portuguese resulted in the expulsion of the Jews and their dispersion to the West Indies and to the mainland of North America, particularly to New Netherlands and to Newport, Rhode Island. Large numbers came from Brazil to Curaçao during that and succeeding years, bringing with them considerable wealth. During this period they laid the foundations of that prominence in the commercial development of the island which they have since retained (Corcos, *ib.* pp. 9–10). Shortly after this (1657), regular communication for purposes of trade was established between New Amsterdam and Curaçao. This was principally in the hands of the Jews, and contributed to the commercial development of both colonies. An original Spanish bill of lading and an invoice of goods shipped from Curaçao to New Netherlands in 1658, and directed to Joshua Mordeky En-Riquez, included Venetian pearls and pendants; thimbles, scissors, knives, and bells, thus showing the variety of the trade carried on by the Jews at this time ("Archives of the State of New York, Translation of Dutch Records," xii. 99).

Jews Prominent in Trade.

In contravention of their instructions the local authorities connived at the trade carried on with Isaac de Fonseca of Barbados, which began in 1656, and which tended to undermine the trade monopoly enjoyed by the Dutch West India Company. The Curaçao authorities were kept from interfering with it by Fonseca's threat to turn his trade toward Jamaica and abandon Curaçao.

In 1659 Stuyvesant complained to the directors that Jews in Curaçao were allowed to hold negro slaves, and were granted other privileges not enjoyed by the colonists of New Netherlands, and he demanded for his own people "if not more, at least the same, privileges" as were enjoyed by the "usurious and covetous Jews," as he termed them (Albany MSS.).

The life of the Jews as a community begins definitely in the year 1656, when they established the Congregation Mikveh Israel under the direction of the Spanish and Portuguese community of Amsterdam. In the same year the land originally granted to the first twelve immigrant families was appropriated for a "bet-haim" (burial ground), and was enclosed with a brick wall and consecrated to its purpose. It is not likely, however, that this year witnessed the first services held by the new colonists. Probably they had gathered, as was the case elsewhere, in a room provided by one of their number. When, in 1656, they had outgrown the limitations of a private room, they rented a small wooden building, in which regular daily services were held.

There is no evidence that they were numerous enough at this date to warrant the selection of a rabbi, though the fact that one of the earliest tombstones, bearing the date 22 Menahem (Ab), 5432 = 1671, carries the name of Rev. Abraham Haim Lopez da Fonseca, tends to prove that he officiated as ḥazzan for a time. The earliest tombstone decipherable is that of Isaac Henriquez Cotinho (5431 = 1670). Of those interred during the remaining years of the seventeenth century and the first decade of the eighteenth (1670–1707), the names of twenty-seven can be deciphered, thus affording an indication of the extent of the settlement. Among these may be recognized the names of a number of the first settlers of 1650 (Corcos, *ib.* pp. 10–13). The first regularly appointed ḥakam of the community was Josiahu Pardo, who arrived in Curaçao from Amsterdam in 1674, and remained there until 1683, when he left for Jamaica.

Early Tombstones.

Indicative of the close relations between the communities of Amsterdam and Curaçao is the fact that this Pardo was the son of David Pardo, who, with Saul Levi Morteira, Menasseh ben Israel, and Isḥac Aboab, constituted the college of rabbis at Amsterdam ("Publications Am. Jew. Hist. Soc." iii. 19).

In 1692 the small wooden building used up to this time having been outgrown, a new synagogue was erected, and consecrated with appropriate ceremonies on the eve of Passover in that year, the services being read by the ḥazzan, David Raphael Lopez de Fonseca (d. 5467 = 1707). This building, enlarged and reconsecrated in 1731, still stands, a monument to the substantial constructive methods of the early builders.

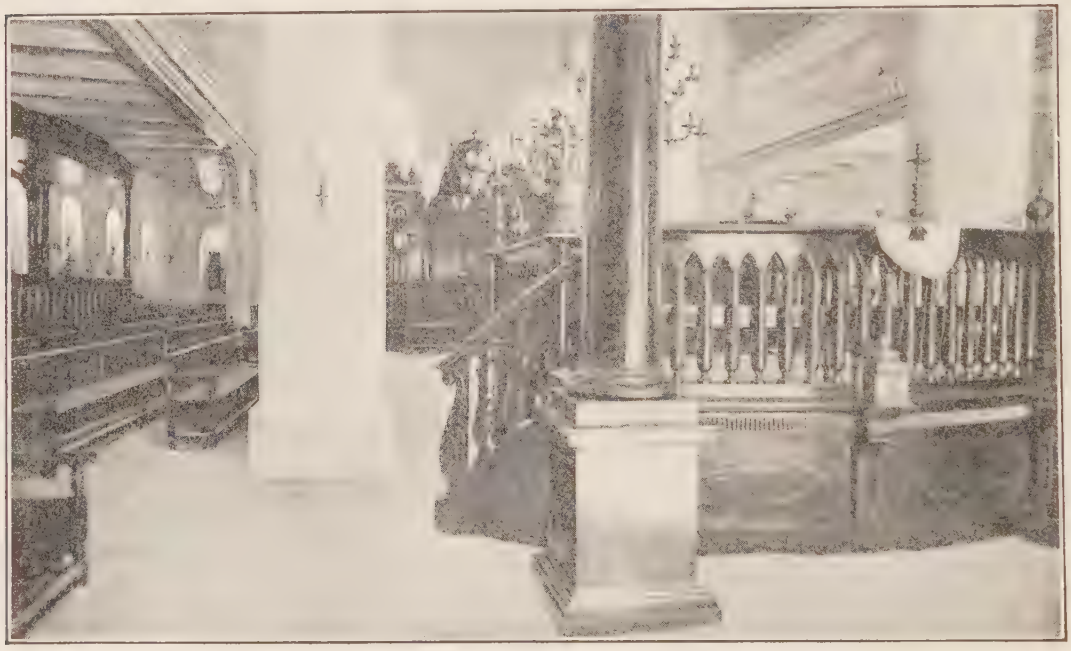
For reasons not yet satisfactorily explained, in 1693 a considerable number of families left the island

for the continent of America, many going to Newport, among them being members of the Touro family, afterward famous in the history of that town. During the year 1692 a number of Italian settlers in Curaçao, refugees from David Nassi's dispersed colony at Cayenne (dissolved 1664), departed for Tucacas, Venezuela, where they established a congregation called "Santa Irmandade."

A period of substantial prosperity for the Jews of Curaçao began early in the eighteenth century. In 1715 they established a benevolent society for the care of the sick and needy. Five years later they responded liberally to an appeal for aid from the Shearith Israel congregation of New York, and in 1756 met with equal generosity a similar appeal from the Jews of Newport. By 1750 their numbers had increased to about 2,000 (Chumaceiro). They were prosperous merchants and traders, and held positions of prominence in the commercial and political affairs of the island (Corcos, *ib.* p. 24). By the end of the eighteenth century they owned most of the property in the district of Willemstad. As many as fifty-three vessels are said to have left in one day for Holland, laden with goods which were, for the most part, the property of Jewish merchants (Chumaceiro).

Congregational Disputes.

Two communities had come into existence by 1740, the newer one occupying a tract across the harbor from Willemstad, then as now known as "Otrabanda." In order to avoid crossing the water on the Sabbath to attend divine services, those who resided in this outlying district formed themselves into the Neveh Shalom (Dwelling of Peace) congregation, and in 1745 (12th Elul, 5505) consecrated their synagogue. For a time this was regarded as merely a branch of the older congregation, and as under its direction. This led to a series of serious disputes, which culminated, in 1749, in an open breach, settled only by the intervention of Prince William Charles of Orange-Nassau, in a decree bearing the date of April 30, 1750, and commanding the disputing communities to terminate their strifes, to submit to the government of the parnasim and board of the original synagogue (Mikveh Israel), and to be subject to the regulations of the Portuguese community in Amsterdam. This arrangement continued until 1870, when the congregation became independent. On Aug. 19, 1750, the governor and council proclaimed a day of thanksgiving and prayer, which was to inaugurate an era of peace. On this occasion Rabbi Raphael Samuel Mendes de Sola preached a sermon, which was afterward published (1757) in Amsterdam (Corcos, *ib.* pp. 31–38; "Publications Am. Jew. Hist. Soc." iii. 17–18, ix. 149–150).

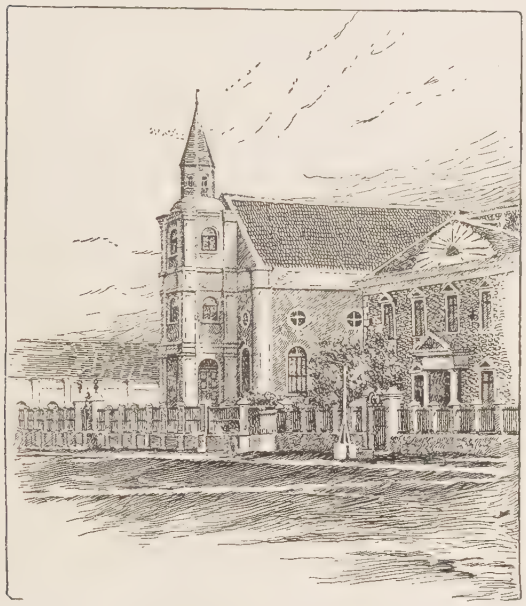


INTERIOR OF THE CURAÇAO SYNAGOGUE.
(From a photograph.)

Increasing in prosperity and in numbers during the next century, the community was not without internal disputes. It was due to one of these controversies between the parnasim and the ministers that a society, called the "Porvenir," was founded in 1862. In the next year this developed into a Reform congregation, under the name "Emanu El," which in 1865 laid the corner-stone of its new building in the quarter "Scharlo," the synagogue being completed and dedicated in the following year. In 1863 a moderate change in the direction of Reform was introduced into the liturgy of the Congregation Mikveh Israel. At the present time the older congregation has a membership of about

800, the younger of 250. Each has its religious schools and charitable organizations.

The ministers of Temple Emanu El were Josuah Naar, Jacob de Solla Mezer Solas, and Isaac Lopez de Leao Laguna. Those of the older congregation (Mikveh Israel) were as follows: Abraham Haim Lopez de Fonseca (d. 1671); David Raphael Lopez de Fonseca (1692; d. 1707); Eliaho Lopez (1692–1712); Raphael Jesuran (1715–48); Raphael Samuel Mendes de Sola (1749; d. 1761); Isaac Henriques Farro (1761; d. 1762); Jacob Lopez de Fonseca (1765; d. 1817: he celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his ministry in July, 1815); Aaron Mendez Chumaceiro (1856–69);



Temple Emanu El, Curaçao.
(After a photograph.)

Haim Israel Sant Cross (1869–89); Eleazar Polak (1893; d. 1894); Joseph Corcos (1896–98).

At the present time (1902) the Jews are among the leading citizens of Curaçao. Forty-four out of fifty-two firms on the two principal business thoroughfares, De Heeren Straat and Breeden Straat, are Jewish. The leading lawyers, physicians, editors, and druggists are also Jews. Among the more prominent Jewish citizens and officials are two bank presidents, one member of the executive council, three members of the colonial council, one district judge, one chief clerk, ten consuls, four captains, and eleven lieutenants of the militia.

Bibliography: Joseph Corcos, *History of the Jews of Curaçao*, Curaçao, 1897; MS. article of J. H. M. Chumaceiro; *Pub. Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.* i. 42–44; ii. 96, 103; iii. 17, 19; vi. 63; ix. 149–150; *The Jews in Curaçao*, in *Pub. Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 10; Daly, *The Settlement of the Jews in North America*, ed. Max J. Kohler, pp. 9–11.

A. H. F.

CURIEL: A wealthy Marano family which settled in the Netherlands and at Hamburg about the sixteenth century. They intermarried largely with the Da Costa family. In 1682 great excitement was caused at Antwerp by the attempt of the rector of the Church of Saint George to baptize forcibly the son of Diego Curiel, which effort, however, was frustrated. **Moses de David Curiel,** at the beginning of the eighteenth century, was a well-known London Jew.

Bibliography: Ch. Rahlenbeek, *Les Juifs à Anvers*, in *Revue de Belgique*, 1871, pp. 144, 145; Gaster, *History of the Synagogue in Bevis Marks*, pp. 74–76, 78, 91, 93; Grunwald, *Portugiesengräber*, p. 103.

G. C. DE B.

CURIEL, JACOB (known in public life as **Alexander Nuñez da Costa):** Resident of the Portuguese court at Hamburg about the middle of the seventeenth century; died there in 1665. He had lived previously at Amsterdam, where he had taken an important part in the reunion, effected in April, 1639, of the Portuguese community, which, through the rise of the German Jews, had split into three bodies. John IV. of Portugal, discovering Curiel's skill in financial matters, sent him (*c.* 1650) to Hamburg as his agent, and conferred upon him the title of "Hidalgo da Casa Real" (Noble of the Royal House). In 1655 he was elected a warden of the Portuguese synagogue, to which he donated a "tebah" ("fes kodes"). He was buried in the Portuguese cemetery at Altona in 1665.

Bibliography: Koenen, *Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland*, p. 183; Grätz, *Gesch.* 3d ed., x. 8, 23; De Castro, *De Synagoge der Portug. Isr. Gemeente*, p. 10, The Hague, 1875; Kayserling, *Gesch. der Juden in Portugal*, p. 312; T. Tal, *Oranjebloesems*, p. 66, Amsterdam, 1898; Grunwald, *Portugiesengräber auf Deutscher Erde*, p. 103; Da Costa, *Israel en de Volken*, 2d ed., p. 522.

G.

CURSING: The expressions used for "cursing" it in the Bible are: (1) ארר, מארה; (2) קלל, קללה; (3) אלה (verb and noun) and תאלה; (4) קבב; (5) נקב (Lev. xxiv. 11, 16); (6) נדף.

In Talmudic literature occur the terms: ארירה, קלל בקוסם, קלל בקוסם (Sanh. ix. 11), which the Jerusalem Talmud (*ad loc.*) explains as a Nabatæan form of cursing; החרים (M. Ḳ. 15a, 16a; compare Mandl, "Der Bann," p. 25); and the Aramaic אקל קלל (Eccl. R. iii. 11; Yer. Yoma iii. 7), לט, לטותא, לוט, לטי, לטט, לוטתא.

Biblical Conception.

Cursing rests on the belief in the possibility of bringing down calamity upon persons or things by the mere power of the spoken word, without any regard to its moral justification. Traces of this heathen conception of the objective reality of a curse, and of its mystic power, are found in the Bible (Ps. cix.) and in the Talmud (see below); but in general the Bible conceives a curse to be merely a wish, to be fulfilled by God when just and deserved. An undeserved curse has no effect (Prov. xxvi. 2), but may fall back upon the head of him who utters it (Gen. xii. 3; Ecclus. [Sirach] xxi. 27), or may be turned by God into a blessing (Deut. xxiii. 5). The declaration of punishments (Gen. iii. 14, 17; iv. 11), the utterance of threats (Jer. xi. 3, xvii. 5; Mal. i. 14), and the proclamation of laws (Deut. xi. 26–28, xxvii. 15 *et seq.*) received added solemnity and force when conditioned by a curse. Cursing is not only characteristic of the godless (Ps. x. 7), but serves as a weapon in the mouth of the wronged, the oppressed, and those who are zealous for God and righteousness

(Judges ix. 57; Prov. xi. 26, xxx. 10). A righteous curse, especially when uttered by persons in authority, was believed to be unfailing in its effect (Gen. ix. 25, xxvii. 12; II Kings ii. 24; Ecclus. [Sirach] iii. 11). One who had received exemplary punishment at the hands of God was frequently held up, in cursing, as a terrifying object-lesson (Jer. xxix. 22), and such a person was said to be, or to have become, a curse (II Kings xxii. 19; Jer. xxiv. 9, xxv. 18; Zech. viii. 13). It is especially forbidden to curse God (Ex. xxii. 28), parents (Ex. xxi. 17; Lev. xx. 9; Prov. xx. 20, xxx. 11), the authorities (Ex. xxii. 28; Eccl. x. 20), and the helpless deaf (Lev. xix. 14).

Parallel with the Biblical conception of a curse as being of the nature of a prayer (Ta'an. 23b; "Pirḳe R. ha-Ḳadosh," ed. Grünhut, vii. 14), and that an undeserved curse is ineffective (Mak. 11a) and falls back upon the head of him who utters it (Sanh. 49a), Talmudic literature betrays a belief, amounting to downright superstition, in the mere power of the word (Ber. 19a, 56a; compare "Z. D. M. G." xlii. 588). Not only is a curse uttered by a scholar unfailing in its effect, even if undeserved (Mak. 11a), but one should not regard lightly even the curse uttered by an ignorant man (Meg. 15a). A curse is especially effective when uttered three hours after sunrise (Sanh. 105b). The Biblical prohibitions of cursing are legally elaborated, and extended to self-cursing (Shebu. 35a). A woman that curses her husband's parents in his presence is divorced and loses her dowry (Ket. 72a). Among the Romans one condemned to death was gagged to prevent his cursing the emperor ('Er. 19a).

Talmudic Conception.

Cursing is permissible when prompted by religious motives. A curse is uttered against those who mislead the people by calculating, on the basis of Biblical passages, when the Messiah will come (Sanh. 97b). Cursed are those who are guilty of actions which, though not forbidden, are considered reprehensible (compare on this subject Tos. to Men. 64b, *s.v.* ארור).

Scholars cursed sometimes not only with their mouths, but by an angry, fixed look. The unfailing consequence of such a look was either immediate death or poverty (Soṭah 46b, and parallel passages). The expression used for this look is נתן עיניו בו (Aramaic, יהב בה עיניה). This look may be merely a mental curse. According to others it has no reference to the magic power of the "evil eye" (see Bacher, "Agada der Tannaiten," ii. 331, and Evil Eye).

The Orientals have an ineradicable proneness to curse God, not only on so grave an occasion as the breaking out of war (I Sam. xvii. 43), or under the pressure of a great calamity (Isa. viii. 21), but on the slightest provocation in daily life (compare Luncz, "Jerusalem," v. 271). Talmudic literature contains many laws regarding Blasphemy.

L. G. C. L.

CURTAIN: An adjustable drapery, usually hung before a window or passageway to insure privacy. In Ex. xxvi. and xxxvi., containing the directions for the making and a description of the erection of the Tabernacle, the Hebrew term "yeri'ah" (יריעה) occurs forty-four times. In the English versions it is rendered "curtain." A more correct translation, however, would be "rug" or "tent-cloth." The rugs described in Exodus were of costly material and of elaborate workmanship. According to rabbinical explanation (Rashi to Ex. xxvi. 1) the thread was composed of four strands, of the four different materials of varied colors mentioned in verse 1. The thread was then six-folded, so that it was actually $6 \times 4 = 24$-ply. Inwoven on both sides, not embroidered or sewed on, were pictures of the cherubim, showing on each side different figures, a lion, for instance, on one side, and an eagle on the other. Ten of these rugs were sewed (Rashi, "with a needle") or fastened together, in two sets of five each, and were used to screen off the Holy Place. The end rugs of each set were provided with equidistant loops, the loops in one rug having corresponding loops in the other. Each rug had a length of twenty-eight cubits and a breadth of four cubits; so that the five sewed together were twenty cubits in breadth.

Curtains in Tabernacle.

In Middot detailed calculations of the dimensions of the Tabernacle and the adjustment of the curtains are given; but on some points the descriptions of the covering of the pillars on the morning side of the tent (see Shab. 98a) vary, and it is not possible to arrive at an accurate estimate of the proportions and the arrangement which the author of Exodus had in mind. Hooks were provided by which the corresponding loops were joined. Other rugs or pieces of cloth, eleven in number, woven of goat-hair, were used to cover the tent. The Hebrews had, at a comparatively early stage of their development, perhaps under Egyptian influence, attained considerable proficiency in the art of weaving such rugs (Nowack, "Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Archäologie," i. 241).

The Arabs were also adepts in this craft, many specimens remaining to show their skill in weaving figures and other ornaments into cloth (Le Bon, "La Civilisation Arabe," pp. 515, 517, 519). The style of these primitive Hebrew rugs is, perhaps, reproduced in the "kiswah" or covering of the "ka'bah" (a coarse fabric of mixed silk and cotton), which serves to confirm Rashi's statement that the yeri'ah was of mixed thread. That the original meaning of the term "yeri'ah" is "rug," or "tent-cloth," is made plain by Jer. xlix. 29; Isa. liv. 2; Jer. iv. 20, x. 20; and Hab. iii. 7, where it is used as equivalent to "tent." The later rabbinical use of the word for parchment, or writing material, of certain dimensions, supports the theory that originally it stood for pieces of cloth or hide cut into various lengths, ready to be fastened or sewed together (Men. 30a, b).

The rendering of "cloth," or "rug," is also sustained by Ps. civ. 2. The use of דק in a parallel passage (Isa. xl. 22) points to the same conclusion; for the word translated "curtain" stands for a thin, gauze-like material.

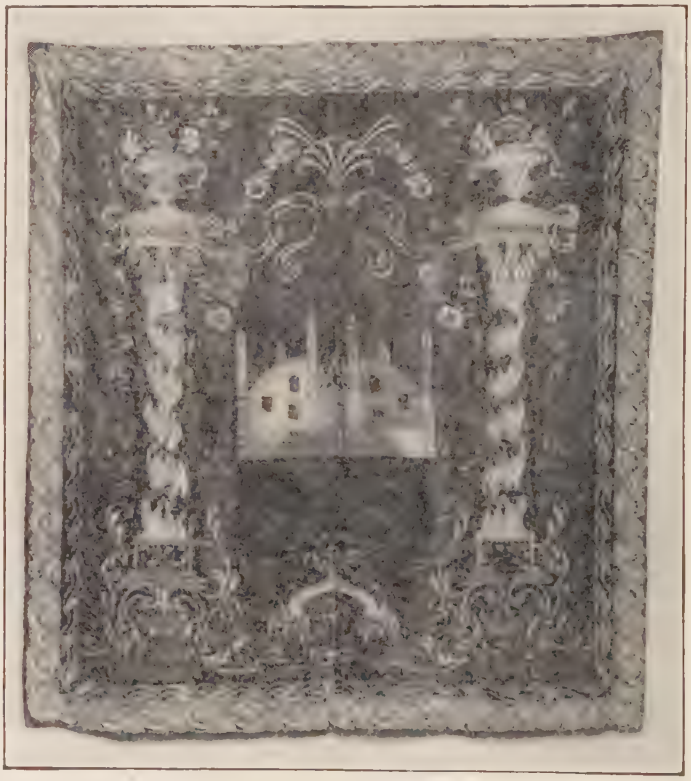
In Num. iii. 26 מסך is rendered "curtain." It is more properly a portière, at the gate of the court; and, in fact, it occurs in conjunction with another Hebrew word, "paroket" (פרכת), which is derived from a root, still extant in Assyrian, meaning "to

CURTAIN FOR THE ARK OF THE LAW, FROM A SYNAGOGUE AT SMYRNA.

(In the United States National Museum, Washington, D. C.)

shut off," and is found in Ex. xxvi. 31, and elsewhere, as the designation of the curtain that divides the Holy of Holies from other parts of the Tabernacle. In Assyrian "parraku," by metonymy, signifies the apartment and shrine which are "shut off"; while the Hebrew has retained the active sense, and denotes the means used for "shutting off." This curtain was made of the same material and in the same manner as the rug. It corresponds to the "burḳa'" (veil) in the ka'bah, which suggests what the paroket may have been in the ancient days of Israel. Talmudic tradition states that such curtains were hung in front of the various gates and doors in the Temple. In fact, thirteen are enumerated with their respective assignments (Ket. 106a). A special officer had charge of them (Sheḳ. v. 1), and women are mentioned as engaged in weaving them (Yoma 51b). That curtains were also used for secular ornaments is learned from Pirḳe R. El. 41, where mention is made of a canopy ornamented with black curtains.

"Paroket."



Curtain for the Ark of the Law, Probably from Asia Minor.
(In the United States National Museum, Washington, D. C.)

The Targumim translate "paroket" by "pargod" (Targ. Yer. to Ex. xxvi. 31, 33, 35; xxxix. 34 *et seq.*; Pirḳe R. El. iv.), a word of doubtful etymology, which, however, is rendered also a "coat," or "cloak," made of richly ornamented material and trimmed with fur (Gen. R. lxxxiv.). Curtains made of similar material might easily have been known by the same name (see Kelim xxix. 1). "Pargod" in the Talmud designates a curtain supposed to divide the inner or higher court of the heavens from the outer and more accessible celestial precincts. From behind this curtain or screen were heard voices that imparted information to the suppliant (Mek. to Ex. xix. 9). It is often contrasted with the direct communication on the part of an earthly ruler, or his secretary and ambassador (see Yoma 77a; Ber. 18b). This pargod is identical with or similar to the "velon" (= Lat. "velum"), a term which also connotes cloth and curtains made of the cloth (Kelim xx. 6; Beẓah 14b), and which is used in Num. R. iv. 13 in explanation of the Biblical פרכת (paroket). In its figurative application "Velon" (וילון = בילון) is the name of the seventh heaven, the Pargod (Ḥag. 12b; Ber. 58b, etc.).

The name is still in use among the Jews to designate the curtains hung in front of the Ark in the synagogue. Though the European Sephardic Jews do not use them, this may be due to the need of concealment in Inquisition days; and it is very doubtful if they were used in the earlier forms of the Ark of the Law. The earliest examples are without curtains (see Jacobs in "Jew. Quart. Rev." xiv. 737 *et seq.*). The assumption that the curtains now attached to arks are intended to represent the curtain separating the Holy of Holies from the Tabernacle or Temple seems to be disproved by these representations. Very often these curtains were of costly material, velvet, brocade, and silk of various colors, though red and blue seem to have been the more common. They were provided with gold borders, fringes, and tassels, and were often embroidered in gold with inscriptions commemorating the pious donors and the event which occasioned the gift. Others display in artistic execution verses and quotations from the Bible; while symbols, such as crowns, or the letters כ"ת = כתר תורה ("crown of the Torah"), or lions, the emblem of Judah, are not infrequently woven into them or embroidered upon them. On the "awful days" (Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom ha-Kippurim) hangings made of white fabric are used.

Curtains in the Synagogue.

Suggestive symbolical significances and allusions have been read into the colors as well as into the dimensions of the curtains prescribed for the Tabernacle. According to Philo, the four colors which appeared in the thread indicated the four elements out of which the universe was created. Baehr, one of the more modern speculators on the symbolism of the Mosaic system, contends that the number seven in the dimen-

ITALIAN CURTAIN FOR THE ARK OF THE LAW, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

(In the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington.)

sions is fundamental, and represents holiness in its various degrees. He also holds the four colors to have been of profound significance (Philo, "De Vita Moysis," iii. 6; Baehr, "Symbolik des Mosaischen Kultus," i. 207, 303).

J. E. G. H.

CUSA, NICOLAUS DE: Philosopher and theologian; born in Cusa, or Kues, on the Moselle, 1401; died in Todi, Umbria, 1464. He was Bishop and Cardinal of Brixan (Tyrol) at his death. As theologian he was known for his liberal views and wide mental horizon. It was he who facilitated the transition from the scholasticism of the Middle Ages to the philosophic speculations of the Renaissance.

Cusa came in contact with the Jews both as a papal legate and as a philosopher. As legate he issued, with the approval of the Synod of Bamberg, an ordinance prescribing the badge for all Jews and Jewesses of Bamberg, and forbidding usury. Contravention of these laws would entail the ban (April 30, 1451). Through the intervention of the Roman emperor Frederick III. this ordinance was not immediately carried out. In 1452 De Cusa was compelled by the emperor to extend the term in regard to the Jews of Nuremberg, and on May 1, 1452, the pope (Nicolas V.) excluded Nuremberg entirely from the provisions of the ordinance. On March 20, 1453, on the representation of the Bishop of Bamberg, his diocese was also exempted; and on Oct. 15, in consequence of a petition of the Archbishop of Salzburg, the ordinance was made inapplicable to the whole of the Salzburg bishopric (see Stern, "Urkundliche Beiträge," i. 47, 52, 53, 55, 57).

As Papal Legate.

As philosopher, De Cusa showed a much more impartial spirit in his attitude toward the Jews. He leaned toward the views of the German mystics. He refers to the book Raziel, without, however, evincing a thorough acquaintance with the Jewish mystics. He cites, also (in "De Beryllo" and "Reparatio Calendari"), Isaac Israeli, Avicebron, Abraham ibn Ezra, and the Maimonidist Jacob b. Makir.

In his principal philosophical work, "De Docta Ignorantia," he credits "R. Solomon" (probably Maimonides) with these reflections: that pure truth is beyond the reach of all knowledge, and can not be reduced to a science; that man must strive to transcend the standpoint of mere reason if he would attain to pure truth; that science can never lead to a knowledge of God, for God alone can have a knowledge of His being, man's knowledge of God being at best a recognition of the unattainableness of positive knowledge. He follows R. Solomon in his treatment of the various names and attributes of God, holding that the nature of God is of infinite superiority, and can not be expressed in human language; and that only negative attributes can be ascribed to Him.

Philosophical Views.

Nicolaus de Cusa had frequent controversies with Jewish scholars. He believed that they could be made to see the truth of the doctrine of the Trinity, but not that of the Incarnation. He complained that the Jews would not admit the divinity of the Messiah; that, in spite of their belief in a future universal resurrection, they continued to deny the resurrection of Jesus; and that, in spite of their belief in an eternal life, as is shown by their martyrdom, they would not recognize that this belief has its foundation, not in an observance of the Law, but in a belief in Jesus.

The above statements occur in his "Excitationes." In his "De Pace seu Concordia Fidei" he attempts to round off his system of philosophy with the theory that there is only one religion, manifesting itself in a variety of religious practises. To the different nations God has sent different prophets, in order that each should receive religious instruction in the manner best adapted to it. The existence of different religions is due only to the fact that men are not aware of this underlying religious unity. They all honor the same truth, however; and even the polytheists worship through their various idols a single God. Accordingly, it ought to be an easy matter, on scientific grounds, to reconcile the contending religious creeds; uniformity of religious practise, however, should not be demanded. Thus, the Jews might be allowed to retain their specific ritual, if only the symbolic meaning thereof be kept clearly in mind.

The contrast between these views and De Cusa's dealings with the Jews is explained by the universal idea of his time that it was necessary to segregate and humiliate them.

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G. I. E.

CUSH.—Biblical Data: A nation whose founder is mentioned in Gen. x. 6; I Chron. i. 8 as brother to Mizraim (Egypt) and as a son of Ham; with the exception of the passages in Genesis, A. V. renders it "Ethiopia." This African country is evidently meant in Gen. x. 6, but in the next verse six Arabic tribes are mentioned as sons of Cush, and in verse 8, NIMROD, the representative of Babylonia (Assyria), appears as his descendant. These three verses present the vexing problem, much discussed by scholars, arising from the fact that nations identical in name extend over parts of Africa, Arabia, and Babylonia. In regard to the passages referring undoubtedly to Ethiopia, see ETHIOPIA. In a great many cases it is very difficult to determine whether the translators have used this Greek name correctly, or which of the two other divisions, Arabia or Babylonia, mentioned in the table of nations given in Genesis is meant.

The Arabian branch seems to be intended in II Chron. xxi. 16, where Judah, under Jehoram, is plundered by "the Arabians that were near the Ethiopians." These evidently did not come from the southwestern end of Arabia. In Num. xii. 1, Moses' wife, the Midianitish woman Zipporah, is called an Ethiopian (margin and R. V. "Cushite"). In Hab. iii. 7 the tents of Cushan (the Septuagint reads "Cushim"; the name evidently is the same as "Cush") and the land of Midian are mentioned (compare verse 3 for other names of northwestern Arabia). There are doubtful references in Isa. xliii. 3, xlv. 14, xx. 3, xviii. 1. Some critics place also the Cushite "Zerah" in northwestern Arabia (II Chron. xiv. 9).

Winckler, "Muṣri, Meluḥḥa, Ma'in," ii., in "Mit-

teilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft" (1898, pp. 169 *et seq.*; see also Schrader, "K. A. T." 3d German ed., p. 144), throws light on these passages. He shows that the Assyrians speak of this people as "Kusi" (Kûsh) in northern Arabia, subjected by Esarhaddon. See also Friedrich Delitzsch, "Die Sprache der Kossäer," Leipsic, 1884.

For the Babylonian "Cush" compare Gen. x. 6–8 (see above), and *ib.* ii. 13, where one of the four rivers of Paradise, the Gihon, "compasseth the whole land of Cush." The old attempts to see in this river the Nile lead to impossible geographical identifications; it must have belonged to the system of the Euphrates and Tigris. In Isa. xviii. 1 (Hebr.) the very obscure verses speaking of the land "beyond the rivers of Cush" can not mean Ethiopia, as Winckler, who refers the chapter to Merodach Baladan's legation to Hezekiah ("Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen," p. 146), has asserted. Since Schrader's "K. A. T." 1st ed., p. 87, this name of the Babylonian Cush has been explained by the Kashshi, a warlike nation from the Median Mountains, who conquered Babylonia in the seventeenth century B.C., and ruled over it for several centuries (see Babylonia). They may be identical (as usually assumed) with the Cosseans, a mountain people mentioned by the Greeks, or with the Kissians in Elam, or connected with both (see Delitzsch, "Wo Lag das Paradies?" pp. 124, 129).

As confirmation of the Biblical statements connecting peoples so remote, the following parallels have been adduced: the Greeks speak of eastern or Asiatic Ethiopians on the Red Sea in Gedrosia (compare Homer, "Odyssey," i. 23). Assyriologists since Rawlinson have often tried to find negro or nigritic types on the sculptures representing Elamites, and French explorers (F. Houssay and Dieulafoy) have recently contended that traces of dusky tribes, relatives of the nigritic aborigines of India, are recognizable in modern Susiana. Various tribes of southern Arabia seem to show African, non-Semitic descent; on Assyrian reports of "dark Arabians" see Winckler, *ib.* p. 144. Glaser, however ("Skizze der Geographie und Geschichte Arabiens," ii. 326–329), treats Cush as a brown-red race, extending in earliest time through Elam, Arabia, and eastern Africa. Others deny the possibility of connecting the three groups, and assume that their names possessed only an accidental similarity, completed by the ancient, vowelless orthography.

E. G. H. W. M. M.

——**In Rabbinical Literature:** "Cush" in rabbinical literature is taken to be Ethiopia. According to an old Haggadah known to the pre-Christian Hellenistic writers, the wife of Moses, "the Cushite" woman, was the Queen of Ethiopia. Rashi claims that she was merely designated as an Ethiopian on account of her beauty, in order to protect her from the evil eye, but Onkelos makes her a "beautiful" woman, following in this the Talmudic application of the derivatives of the name, such as "Cushi," "black" persons of "negro" race, distinguished thus by their color from other men, to draw a lesson from a comparison for Israel. כושי משונה, the "distinguished Cushite" (= negro), is a standing expression in these Talmudic analogies (Yer. Mo'ed Ḳaṭan 16b). In Sifre to Num. § 99, the question is raised, "Was Moses' wife an Ethiopian?" and the answer is given, "She was 'beautiful' and thus 'distinguished' as the Cushi is by his color, by her beauty." In further development of this identification of "Cushite" with "negro," the former becomes simply a synonym for "black" (Suk. 34b; B. B. 97b). In Isa. xi. 11 Targum renders "Cush" by הנדאי ("India"), and in their discussion of Esth. i. 1 (Meg. 11a), Rab and Samuel dispute whether Cush is at the furthest extremity of the world or very close to India. The latter opinion rests on the confusion of Cush with the name of a province extending to the borders of India, Huzistan probably (Neubauer, "G. T." p. 386).

E. C. E. G. H.

CUSTOM (Hebrew, "Minhag"): An old and general usage, or a religious practise, not based on any particular Biblical passage, and which has, through the force of long observance, become as sacred and binding as laws instituted by the proper authorities.

"Custom always precedes law" (Soferim xiv. 18). This is true not only of the Talmudic laws prescribed by the Rabbis, but also of many Biblical institutions. Many statutes and commandments, civil, moral, and ecclesiastical, found on the pages of Scripture undoubtedly had their origin in the customs of the people, which, however, became modified and fixed by being inscribed on the sacred books. Some of the customs, as, for instance, circumcision, or the prohibition of eating blood or of eating the "sinew which shrank," may date back to patriarchal days; others, again, may have a later or perhaps a foreign origin. Moreover, even after the laws had been written down, the manner and form of practise could not always be detailed; and although the Talmud (Zeb. 115b; Sifra to Lev. xxv. 1; see Maimonides' Introduction to the Mishnah) relates that all the details of the Law were delivered by Moses to Israel, there were still many tribal and family customs which must have remained unmentioned. For example, the acquisition of property by the exchange of a garment of some kind ("ḳinyan sudar") is mentioned (Ruth iv. 7) as an old custom.

Customs which grew up among the people in various places and in different forms, the Rabbis consider of binding importance. "When thou comest to a town follow its customs, for when Moses went up to heaven he refrained from food for forty days and forty nights; and when the angels came down to visit Abraham they partook of his meal, each one submitting to the custom of the place" (Gen. R. xlviii. 16; B. M. 86b). Even God Himself complied with the prevailing custom when He buried Moses (Sanh. 46b). If a judge be in doubt concerning a certain law, he is advised to follow the common usage of the people (Yer. Peah vii. 5; Ber. 45a). Should a custom conflict with some established institution ("halakah"), the custom frequently takes precedence (Soferim xiv. 18; Yer. Yeb. xii. 1). The court was equally empowered to inflict punishment upon the transgressor of a custom as upon the transgressor of a written law (Yer. Pes. iv. 3; compare Bek. 2a; Tos. *s.v.* "Ḳonsin"). To the question, Why men of the present time, who are

Authority of Custom.

acquainted with the calendar, must observe the second day of the holidays, the reply is "Be careful with the customs of your fathers" (Beẓah 4b; Maimonides, "Yad," Ḳiddush ha-Ḥodesh, v. 5). The later rabbis emphasized still more the importance of custom and precedent, making them of almost equal weight with Biblical injunctions (Shulḥan 'Aruk, Yoreh De'ah, 376, 4, Isserles' gloss). "Remove not the ancient landmark which thy fathers have set" (Prov. xxii. 28), was interpreted to refer to the ancient customs of the Jewish people (Yalḳ. *ad loc.*).

Legal Applications.

In civil cases the customary law was very frequently consulted. "Everything depends on the custom of the land," was a general principle of the Rabbis. Partners who agreed to divide a piece of land among themselves were obliged to contribute equally to the building of the fence. The material of which the fence should be made and the thickness of the fence were decided by the custom of the land (B. B. 2a; "Yad," Shekenim, ii. 15; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 157, 4). The length of a day's labor and the kind of food to be given to the laborer are also regulated by custom (B. M. 83a; "Yad," Sekirut, ix. 1; Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 331, 1, and Isserles' gloss). Whether a domestic servant is obliged to pay for breaking house utensils during service also depends on custom ("Pithe Teshubah" *ad loc.*). The charge of unchastity ("ṭa'anat betulim") could not be advanced against a woman in a place where bride and groom were permitted to remain by themselves before the marriage (Ket. 12a; "Yad," Ishut, xi. 8; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Eben ha-'Ezer, 68, 1).

The Talmud recognizes different kinds of customs: (1) of the land; (2) of the locality; (3) of the men of Jerusalem; (4) of certain families; (5) of the pious; (6) of scholars; (7) of chaste women; (8) of the Patriarchs; (9) of the Prophets; (10) of the non-Jews; and (11) of the common people.

Differences of Custom.

The provinces of Judea and of Galilee had peculiar customs, which differed greatly from one another. The Galileans and the inhabitants of Jerusalem used to include in the marriage contract ("ketubah") the condition that, if the husband died first, the widow should be permitted to live in his house all the days of her widowhood, while the Judeans added to it, "or until the heirs agree to pay her the money due to her by the contract" (Ket. 52b). The Galileans abstained from work the whole day preceding Passover; in Judea work was permitted until noon (Pes. 55a; compare Frankel's "Darke ha-Mishnah," pp. 66–68).

Whether one may work on the day before Passover, or on the Fast of Ab, depends entirely on the local custom (Pes. 50a, 54b). In some places the sale of small cattle to non-Jews was forbidden; in other places this was not the case (Pes. 53a). The right to eat roasted meat on the eve of Passover also depends on local custom. Todos of Rome established among the Roman Jews the custom of eating roasted kids on Passover nights (*ib.*). In some places lights were not permitted in the houses on the eve of the Day of Atonement (Pes. 53b). These customs were permitted to remain; and the people were obliged to observe the usages of their respective localities.

Customs of Jerusalem.

The men of Jerusalem also had their peculiar customs, which were often commended by the Rabbis. It was the practise among them, when a caterer was engaged to prepare a meal to which strangers were invited, and he spoiled it, to collect from him a fine for the disgrace caused both to the host and to the guests. In order to indicate the time when meals were ready and guests might enter, it was customary to hang up a screen in front of the door. So long as the screen was there, guests were welcome; when the screen was removed, guests might not enter (B. B. 93b). They were very careful in their transactions, and in their bills they noted even the hour of the day when the transaction took place (Ket. 93b). So zealous were they in the observance of religious ceremonies that they carried their "lulab" with them the whole day during the Sukkot festival (Suk. 41b). The "pure of mind" of Jerusalem would not sit down to a meal, nor sit in a court of justice, nor sign their names as witnesses, unless they were acquainted with their colleagues and assured of their fitness (Sanh. 23a). It was the custom in the courts of Jerusalem to dismiss both the principals and the witnesses before the discussion of the case by the judges commenced (*ib.* 30a).

Of the pious men—the earlier Ḥasidim—it is said that they used to spend a whole hour in preparing themselves for prayer. R. Akiba was accustomed to shorten his prayers when he prayed with the congregation, so as not to keep the people waiting for him (Ber. 30b). They are also reported to have been careful to hide sherds and broken glass three fists deep in the ground, so as not to obstruct the plowshare or to cause injury to passers-by (B. Ḳ. 30a).

R. Gamaliel II. set the example to all his contemporaries by a request he made before his death, to be buried in a plain cotton shroud—a custom which was followed by all Israel. This proved a great relief to the poor, who were unable to follow the luxurious customs formerly prevailing (M. Ḳ. 27b; Ket. 8b). It was the custom of R. Judah b. 'Illai to bathe his face, hands, and feet in warm water before Sabbath began (Sab. 25b). This also was adopted by the Jewish community (Shulḥan 'Aruk, Oraḥ Ḥayyim, 260, 1). The same rabbi was accustomed, before the eve of the Fast of Ab, to eat a crust of dry bread with salt and water while sitting near the stove, the most despised part of the house. This, with some modifications, was also incorporated among Jewish customs (Oraḥ Ḥayyim, 552, 6). Women were accustomed not to work on Saturday night until the "Habdalah" had been recited; or on new moons, or on Ḥanukkah while the candles were burning (Yer. Pes. iv. 1; Oraḥ Ḥayyim, 299, 10; Isserles' gloss, 417, 1, 470, 1).

While custom was thus regarded as very sacred and binding, the Rabbis were nevertheless careful to distinguish between custom and law (Yeb. 13b; Niddah 66a; Ta'an. 26b). New customs, although tolerated, were not regarded favorably; for the Rabbis aimed chiefly at unanimity and uniformity. It was a principle with them—fancifully derived from the expression "Lo titgodadu" (Deut. xiv. 1)—that

there should be no division in custom and observance, although violations of this were unavoidable and frequent. They considered an erroneous custom to be one that had no basis in the Torah, and such they were ready to discard ("Ḳiẓẓur kelale ha-Talmud"; compare Yer. Pes. iv. 1).

Development of Custom.

As the Jews after the completion of the Talmud, wandered farther away from the centers of Jewish learning in Babylon, their customs became more and more divergent. Local usages grew up in every community, which were held in veneration by the people. Even the Geonim, who had a strong influence over the Jews of the Diaspora between the seventh and eleventh centuries, did not wish to tamper with the local "minhagim." They even frequently advocated the retention of a custom of which they themselves disapproved. In the course of time the customs increased in number; and the differences between them became very marked and portended danger of schism. Superstitions prevalent among the people of the dark ages frequently crept in among Jewish usages; and the Rabbis then became alarmed, and began to raise their voices against the multiplicity of customs. Maimonides vigorously decried this "minhag sickness," as Güdemann calls it, and Rabbenu Jacob Tam (1100–1171) said, in his epigrammatic style, that "minhag," when inverted, spells "gehinnam"; and that if fools are accustomed to do certain things, it does not follow that the wise should do likewise. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries many scholars endeavored to trace the origin of and the reason for the different customs; and a critical spirit prevailed even in the responsa of that period. This effort, the personal example of famous rabbis, and the synods that assembled at different places during that period, greatly helped toward introducing some uniformity in Jewish customs. The most important figure in this age is MhRIL, or Rabbi Jacob Levi Molin, who was born in the middle of the fourteenth century in Mayence and died in Worms in 1427. His book on minhagim, which was published after his death, became the standard for many generations for synagogal and communal customs (see Güdemann, "Gesch. des Erziehungswesens," iii.).

Sephardim and Ashkenazim.

Of far greater consequence than all these local differences of custom is the division between the Sephardim (Jews adhering to the Spanish and Portuguese ritual) and the Ashkenazim (those adhering to the German and Polish rituals). These differ not only in minor customs and observances, but also in the pronunciation of Hebrew and in their liturgies. The Sephardim have retained the pronunciation of Judea, while the Ashkenazim are considered to have brought with them the language of Galilee. They also differ in the manner of intoning their prayers; the Sephardim still maintaining the old Oriental chants, while the Ashkenazim have permitted a strong European element to enter into their synagogal music. The important portions of the service are alike in both, with some possible variations of words and phrases; but in the prayers of later origin the divergence is very great. The Ashkenazim are supposed to have brought their prayer-book from Tiberias, Galilee, the earliest authority for which is the Maḥzor Vitry (1208), while the Sephardim are supposed to have brought theirs from the Babylonian schools of the ninth century (R. Amram, "Siddur"; see Amram ben Sheshina). R. Joseph Caro, the compiler of the Shulḥan 'Aruk, himself of Spanish origin, in his code followed the Sephardic customs to a very large extent. This fact induced R. Moses Isserles of Cracow to add his annotations, remarking especially the more rigorous customs prevailing in the Ashkenazic Jewish communities. The Shulḥan 'Aruk, which first appeared in 1565, became, therefore, the standard in law and custom for all Jewry (see Caro, Joseph).

The Cabala, which flourished among the medieval Jews, left an indelible impress upon the customs of the people. Besides the many new customs that were introduced in its wake, many of the old ones changed their form and meaning by receiving cabalistic interpretations (compare Ḥul. 105b). Even the learned and the scholarly were influenced by its mysterious teachings, and in preparing their codes of laws and in writing their responsa on religious questions, evil spirits, magic, combinations of letters and words to produce certain effects were taken into account. This spirit crept even into the prayer-book, provided amulets for infants, regulated the manner of putting on the garments in the morning, washing the hands, and so forth (Oraḥ Ḥayyim, 3, 3, 11; 4, 2, 12, 19). The customs adopted by some of the great cabalists were collected and published to serve as a guide to their followers ("Minhag ha-ARI" = The Customs of R. Isaac Luria).

The Cabala is still of great value and of much influence in the lives of the Ḥasidim, a sect numbering hundreds of thousands of Russian, Galician, and Rumanian Jews. Founded by Israel Ba'al Shem in the beginning of the eighteenth century, this sect has since grown to very large proportions, in spite of the "mitnaggedim"—the rabbis and communities that opposed them. Although they do not discard the laws and customs of the Shulḥan 'Aruk, they still attach more importance to worship than to religious observance. In their service they follow to a large extent the Sephardic ritual, although they have retained the Ashkenazic pronunciation of Hebrew (see Ḥasidim; Ba'al Shem-Ṭob).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century a movement was set on foot among German Jews to introduce reforms in the Jewish service. Originating as it did with the rejection of a portion of the beliefs upon which the old service was founded, the movement also extended to other aspects of Judaism, and resulted in a change not only in the form of synagogal worship, but also in the practise and observance of the religious laws of the Jews. New customs were instituted, such as confirmation at the Feast of Shabu'ot, instrumental music on Sabbaths and on holidays, and so forth. Since the beliefs varied in different communities, the practise also varied; and although the Reform movement counts to-day many votaries in Europe and in America, there is not yet any uniformity in custom. Old Jewish usages, however, still survive in the majority of communities, frequently modified to suit mod-

ern requirements. See Reform; Ritual; Conferences, Rabbinical.

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E. C. J. H. G.

CUSTOMS. See Bridegroom of the Law; Burial; Cemetery; Childbirth; Folk-Lore; Funeral Rites.

CUTHAH or **CUTH** (Hebrew, כוּת, כּוּתָה; LXX., Χουθά; Eusebius and Jerome, Χωθά; Assyrian, "Kutu"): One of five cities from which Sargon, King of Assyria, brought settlers to take the places of the exiled Israelites (II Kings xvii. 24, 30). These settlers were attacked by lions, and interpreting this to mean that their worship was not acceptable to the deity of the land, they asked Sargon to send some one to teach them, which he did. The result was a mixture of religions and peoples, the latter being known in the Talmud as כּוּתִים ("Cuthim") and כּוּתִיא ("Samaritans"). They "are called in the Hebrew tongue 'Cutheans,' but in the Greek 'Samaritans'" (Josephus, "Ant." ix. 14, § 3). In the Assyrian inscriptions "Cutha" occurs on the Shalmaneser obelisk, line 82, in connection with Babylon. Dungi, King of Ur, built the temple of Nergal at Cuthah (Schrader, "K. B." iii. 81a), which fell into ruins, so that Nebuchadnezzar had to rebuild the "temple of the gods, and placed them in safety in the temple" (*ib.* 51b). This agrees with the Biblical statement that the men of Cuthah served Nergal (II Kings xvii. 30). Cuthah has been identified with the ruins of Tell Ibrahim, northeast of Babylon, uncovered by Hormuzd Rassam. The site of the Nergal temple can still be pointed out. Josephus places Cuthah, which for him is the name of a river and of a district ("Ant." ix. 14, §§ 1, 3), in Persia, and Neubauer ("G. T." p. 379) says that it is the name of a country near Kurdistan. See Schrader, "C. I. O. T." pp. 270 *et seq.*

E. G. H. G. B. L.

CUTTINGS: In Biblical usage, incisions or gashes in the flesh. The Law forbids the Israelites to make any cuttings in the flesh. For this operation two terms are used: "hitgoded" (Deut. xiv. 1) and "sarat" (Lev. xix. 28). From the context of these passages it is plain that some connection obtained between the practise so prohibited and the customs of mourning. In the days of Jeremiah such cuttings in the flesh seem to have been the prevalent method of manifesting grief at the death of kindred. The custom is anything but offensive to the prophet; for he mentions (Jer. xvi. 6) the impossibility of mourning for the dead in the usual way as one of the dire penalties awaiting the disobedient people. Other passages confirm the prevalence of this custom as a demonstration of grief and mourning (*ib.* xli. 5, xlvii. 5). From Biblical and other sources it is known that the practise was common to other peoples. Passages in Jeremiah (xlvii. 5, xlviii. 37; compare Isa. xv. 2) prove it to have been customary among both the Philistines and the Moabites; for the Arabs it is attested by Wellhausen ("Reste Arabischen Heidentums," p. 181), and it is still practised by the Persian Mohammedans at the annual celebration in memory of Ali, Ḥasan, and Ḥusain.

The assumption that this peculiar habit resulted from a desire to emphasize sorrow is insufficient; and the prohibition is certainly not founded on the idea that such excesses of grief were displeasing to God. The practise is interdicted as "defiling." This term suggests that the rite had originally some significance of a ritual character, and was part of a scheme of worship. This is apparent in I Kings xviii. 28, where the priests of Baal at the sacrifice cut their flesh in order to bring about the gracious reception of their offering and to elicit from their god an answer to their prayer. Some such meaning the custom must have had in the remote days of Israel. The prophet Hosea (vii. 14) reproaches the people because, contrary to the commandment of Yhwh, they made cuttings in the skin in order to obtain wheat and wine (the reading of the LXX. = יִתְגּוֹדָדוּ).

A still earlier purpose than that of winning the favor of the Deity must be sought. Originally the custom was connected with the worship of the spirit of the departed. The tearing of the garment as a sign of mourning is a modification of the primitive ritual customs associated with the cult of the dead. In Assyrian is found the cognate verb for the Hebrew "sarat," in the sense of rending one's garment (see Delitzsch, "Assyrisches Handwörterbuch," *s.v.* "Sharaṭu"), the garment being a later substitute for the skin, which in primitive days was slashed and cut in honor of the dead. When the Law (Deut. and Lev.) prohibited this custom, the original association with the cult of the dead may no longer have been present in the mind of the people. It was, however, regarded as a heathenish practise, belonging to the service of Baal; and as such it was objectionable, and called for suppression.

Tattooing (marking the skin by pricking in pigments) is even at the present time a custom much in vogue in the Orient. It seems also to have been occasionally practised among the Israelites and other peoples of Bible days (Jer. xlvii. 5, xlviii. 37). It is prohibited in Lev. xix. 28.

For the custom of cutting the hair—also prohibited, and probably of similar origin—and its connection with funereal cults, see Hair.

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E. G. H. I. Be.—E. G. H.

CUZZERI, SEMA (צמח קוצר): Italian poet; resident at Padua. He witnessed the terrible attack on the ghetto of Padua on Aug. 20, 1684. He portrays the sorrows of that time in an Italian poem entitled "L'Innocenza Illesa," and narrates the horrible cruelties recorded in Isaac Cantarini's "Paḥad Yiẓḥaḳ"; he describes in detail the ghetto of Padua and the persecutions that occurred there, and defends the Jews against the groundless accusation, made at that time, of cruelties committed against the Christians of Budapest. The contents of the still unpublished poem are given in Antonio Ciscato's "Gli Ebrei in Padova," pp. 203 *et seq.* (Padua, 1901).

G. I. E.

CYMBALS: Musical instruments of percussion. The term is used in the A. V. in all passages except one (Zech. xiv. 20) as the rendering of the Hebrew "ẓelẓelim" and "meẓiltayim." Known to most nations of antiquity, cymbals served to mark time or rhythm at dances or for singers and other musical performers. This is also their function in the Bible. In Ezra iii. 10 they accompany "ḥaẓoẓerot" (trumpets) only; but elsewhere they are mentioned in connection with several other instruments. They were prominent in the music at religious ceremonies (I Chron. xv. 16, 19; II Chron. v. 13, xxix. 25; Neh. xii. 27). Levites were set apart as cymbalists (I Chron. xvi. 42).

Cymbals were made of brass (I Chron. xv. 19; Josephus, "Ant." vii. 12, § 3; Yer. Suk. v., end), or of copper with a slight admixture of silver, to judge from a pair found in an Egyptian tomb. They varied considerably in size. Among the Arabs two different sets are in use: one, of a large diameter, at religious ceremonies; the other, of smaller size, to accompany the dance. A similar difference seems to be indicated by the several qualifications of the cymbals mentioned in Ps. cl. 5; viz., "high sounding" ("ẓilẓele teru'ah") and "loud" ("ẓilẓele shema'"). The fact that Josephus (*l. c.*) describes only one kind, *πλατέα* and *μεγάλα* ("broad" and "large"), has not been without weight in shaping the opinion that, as among the Arabs, so among the Hebrews, only the broad sort—*i.e.*, those of large diameter—were permitted at holy offices. The Mishnah, too ('Ar. 13a; compare Gem. 13b), is emphatic in stating that only one pair was used in the Temple. The "loud" (shema') cymbals have, in consequence, been explained as castanets, *i.e.*, four small plates fastened to the thumbs and forefingers of both hands (= *κρέμβαλα*, "seistra"; see Pfeiffer, "Ueber die Musik der Hebräer," p. 54)—but there is no warrant for the assumption (see illustrations in "Psalms," ed. Haupt, "S. B. O. T." pp. 232, 233).

One Pair in the Temple.

The cymbals in use in the Second Temple were credited by the Rabbis of the Talmud with great antiquity, and had undergone repairs impairing the quality of the tone (Yer. Suk. v., end). Still their loud and far-carrying sound was also remembered (*ib.* 55c, below; Tamid 30b). The Temple cymbals were in charge of a special officer: Ben Arza is mentioned in this capacity (Shek. v. 1; Yer. Shek. 48a). His instruments gave the signal for the Levites to chant the psalms (Tamid vii. 3, 4). The verb used to denote playing on the cymbals is "hiḳḳish" (הקיש), which, in connection with the preposition "upon" (על) occurring in some passages (where, however, other readings have ב = "with"), may possibly indicate that the instrument in the Temple consisted of only one plate, which was stationary, and was beaten by the performer with a clapper or hammer. In confirmation of this view the fact may be considered that, while in Biblical Hebrew the name is a plural (?) or a dual, in later Mishnaic it occurs as a singular.

In Zech. xiv. 20 the Authorized Version renders the Hebrew words "mezillot ha-sus" by "bells," while the Septuagint has "bridles" (see BRIDLE), and the Targum translates them as "blankets"; *i.e.*, caparisons. Rashi explains that reference is here made to נקישות ("clappers," or clapper-like, globe-shaped balls of metal), which, as he suggests by his translation into French, "tinter," emit a jingling sound—an explanation which Ḳimḥi, quoting Rabbi Eleazar b. Pedath (Bab. Pesaḥim 50a), accepts. The use of such contrivances to ornament horses' trappings is common in the Orient. In fact, "ẓilẓol," in Talmudic Hebrew, is the name of a belt (hence the LXX. "bridle") ornamented with such clappers, worn by women of ill repute and indicative of their trade (Midr. R. to Esther i. 11; Soṭah 9a).

Perhaps the allusion in I Cor. xiii. 1 is also to this custom. The *κύμβαλον ἀλαλάζον*, taken as denoting such an attachment to a belt of this kind and purpose, expresses most strongly and strikingly the underlying thought of the passage.

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E. G. H.

CYPRESS: Generally, the tree known to botanists as *Cupressus sempervirens*, and common to southern Europe and western Asia. In modern Palestine the cypress is frequently found in the neighborhood of towns, and is often planted in cemeteries. There is some confusion as to which Hebrew word connotes the tree so named. In the A. V. the word "tirzah" (Isa. xliv. 14) is rendered "cypress," the context showing that a hardwood-tree is intended. The R. V., however, has abandoned this translation and adopted "holm-tree." On the other hand, a marginal note to Isa. xli. 19 (comp. lx. 13) suggests "cypress-tree" as a better equivalent than the usual "box-tree" for the Hebrew "te'ashshur" (תאשור), while in II Sam. vi. 5 it is proposed to read "cypress" instead of "fir" for the Hebrew "berot."

The older tradition, which favors the identification of the te'ashshur with the cypress, is fairly reasonable. The Arabs distinguish two classes of cypress-trees. One they call "sharbin," also known as the "tar-tree," because tar is derived from it; it is distinguished by broad branches that spread out on both sides of the trunk. The other class is called "sarw" ("sarwah"), and is of a very straight growth. Both names are derived from a root meaning, according to Fleischer, "to loom up high." Corresponding to "sharbin" is the Assyrian "surwan," also "shurmenu," which is the Syriac "shurbina" (written also "sharwina") and the Targumic "shurbana"; it is the tree known in the Talmud as "turanita." While some of the ancient authorities assume that this species is the cedar, or the *Juniperus oxycedrus*, others render it by the Greek *κυπάρισσος*. The "sarw" ("sarwah"), for which the Syriac has the same name as for the "sharbin," is the *Cupressus sempervirens*, known also as *C. fastigiata*, or, according to Linnæus, *C. pyramidalis*. Though the original distinction has not been clearly maintained in the cognate languages, it is proper to base upon it the difference between the tree designated in Hebrew by "te'ashshur" and that known as "berosh." The te'ashshur is the variety called in Arabic "sarw"—*i.e.*, the straight-

growing—while the berosh is the tree known in Arabic as "sharbin," with branches spreading out. The "tirzah," also, is probably a tree of this family. The wood of the cypress was highly valued, and was used in the construction of ships (Ezek. xxvii. 5), of floors and doors, as well as for lances. Even musical instruments were made of this wood (II Sam. vi. 5). As in the Bible, so also in Assyrian inscriptions, the cypress is frequently mentioned in connection with other trees, but most generally with the cedar.

If the exact value of the Biblical names be in doubt, the accurate determination of the meanings of the terms occurring in the Mishnah and Talmud in designation of trees of the evergreen class is involved in still greater uncertainty. Etymological equivalents of these Biblical names can be found, and other words have been added, but which of them indicates the cypress, or either of the two kinds named, can not be definitely determined. "Berosh," in Tan. to Terumah ix., is explained as the pine; in other passages (B. B. 80b; Giṭ. 57a; R. H. 23a) the cypress is named "toranita," which, again, in the catalogue of the fourteen or twenty-four kinds of evergreen trees (Ket. vii. 31c), is held to be the acacia ("shiṭṭah").

A curious custom may be mentioned in this connection: In Bethar, when a boy was born a cedar-tree was planted; when a girl, a cypress (Rashi, "pine"; Giṭ. 57a). A new name for the cypress seems to be "ashuḥa," the "female" cedar or the cypress. It is plain, however, that the Rabbis understood by the various names which designated the cypress-tree, a tree of great endurance and hardness. An old saw illustrates this: "Why was this stone placed near the cypress?" (Peah viii. 20d); the meaning being, Why put one hard substance near another? or, Why ask puzzling questions?

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E. G. H.

CYPROS: Wife of King Agrippa I., daughter of Phasaelus and Salampsio, and granddaughter of Herod I. She had three daughters, Berenice, Mariamne, and Drusilla; and two sons, Agrippa and Drusus, the latter dying in childhood (Josephus, "Ant." xviii. 5, § 4; *idem*, "B. J." ii. 11, § 6). When Agrippa I., while still a prince, was on the point of committing suicide in Idumæa because of his poverty and debts, his wife Cypros restrained him, and bade him appeal for assistance to his half-sister Herodias, Princess of Galilee ("Ant." xviii. 6, § 2). The alabarch Alexander Lysimachus, while refusing Agrippa's request for the loan of a certain sum wherewith to pay his debts, granted the money to his brave and clever wife Cypros (*ib.* 6, § 3).

G. S. Kr.

CYPROS: A woman of noble Arabian family; married about 75 B.C. the Jewish governor Antipater, to whom she bore five children, Phasaelus, Herod (afterward king), Josephus, Pheroras, and Salome (Josephus, "Ant." xiv. 7, § 3; *idem*, "B. J." i. 8, § 9). Once when Herod had to go to Augustus, he gave his mother, Cypros, and his sister into the care of his brother Pheroras, and had them taken to Masada ("Ant." xv. 6, § 5); but his wife Mariamne and the latter's mother, who looked down haughtily upon Herod's mother and sister ("B. J." i. 22, § 3), had to be sent to a different place. Κύπρις ("Cypris") is found as a variant of Κύπρος. Herod built a fortified and pleasant retreat near Jericho and called it "Cypros" in honor of his mother ("Ant." xvi. 5, § 2; "B. J." i. 21, § 9). This stronghold was destroyed at the beginning of the Jewish war under Nero (compare Mussafia, "Cyprus," in Kohut, "Aruch Completum," vii. 169).

G. S. Kr.

CYPRUS: The large island in the easternmost basin of the Mediterranean, probably deriving its name from the Cyprus flower (Κύπρος), the Hebrew appellation of which is כפר. Josephus states ("Ant." i. 6, § 1) that the island, called כתים in Hebrew, was named after the city "Ketion" or "Kition." Nevertheless the term "isles of Kittim" (Jer. ii. 10; Ezek. xxvii. 6) indicates that "Kittim" signified all the islands and coastlands of the West, and, according to I Macc. i. 1 (Χεττείμ) and viii. 5 (Κιτιέων βασιλέα), included Macedonia, and, according to Dan. xi. 30, even Italy. The inhabitants of Cyprus were at first, perhaps, Carians; in historical times, Phenicians; and later, Greeks. During the last period, as the Judean Agrippa writes to the emperor Caius, the Jews were numerous there (Philo, "Legatio ad Caium," 36; ii. 587, ed. Mangey). They stood in intimate relationship with the inhabitants of the island, and the favorable decree of the Romans regarding Jewish subjects was sent also to Cyprus (I Macc. xv. 23). During the war over the city of Ptolemais between Alexander Jannæus and Ptolemy Lathyrus,

In Hasmonean Times.

King of Cyprus, the Jews suffered severe losses, and Cleopatra III. of Egypt, mother of the Cyprian king, despatched her Hebrew commanders Chelkias and Ananias to the aid of Alexander Jannæus, who thereupon defeated the Cyprians. Referring to this event, Josephus ("Ant." xiii. 10, § 4) quotes the statement of Strabo that the Jews of Cyprus remained steadfast in their allegiance to the party of Lathyrus, notwithstanding the high favor shown them by Queen Cleopatra.

In Cyprus as in Egypt, the Jews fared well at this time; and a distinguished Cyprian Hebrew, Timius by name, married Alexandra, daughter of Phasaelus and Salampsio, the latter a granddaughter of Herod the Great. This union, however, was without issue ("Ant." xviii. 5, § 4). Christianity was preached here among the Jews at an early date, Paul being the first, and Barnabas, a native of Cyprus, the second, to disseminate the new doctrine (Acts iv. 36, xi. 19, xiii. 5, xv. 39); and ac-

In Roman Times.

cording to a legend Barnabas was killed here by the Jews ("Acta Barnabæ," § 23). There is also an account, agreeing well with what is known from classical authors concerning the fertility of Cyprus, that Queen Helen of Adiabene had fruit brought from the island to Jerusalem. Under the leadership of one Artemion, the Cyprian Jews participated in the great uprising against the Romans under Trajan (117), and they are reported to have massacred 240,000 Greeks (Dio Cassius, lxviii. 32). This

insurrection was finally quelled after considerable bloodshed (perhaps by Q. Marcius Turbo, who suppressed the uprising in Cyrene and Egypt), with the result that the Jews of Cyprus were almost entirely extirpated. The blood of the Jews slaughtered in Palestine is said to have streamed as far as Cyprus (Lam. R. i. 16, iv. 19); that is, the insurrection and the consequent slaughter of the Jews extended to Cyprus. In further punishment a severe law was enacted, according to which no Jew was thereafter to be permitted to land on Cyprian soil, not even in case of shipwreck; nevertheless Jewish residents were still to be found upon the island at a later period; and the products of the soil, to which Talmudists frequently refer (for instance, the "cumin" of Cyprus, Yer. Dem. ii. 1), were probably brought into the market by them. So rapidly did the Jews multiply that in 610 they were sufficiently numerous to participate in the insurrection against the Greeks under Heraclius.

A scholar, Moses of Cyprus by name, is said to have been arbitrator (in the eleventh century) between the Armenians and the Greeks ("Zeit. für Hebr. Bibl." vi. 116). Benjamin of Tudela found in Cyprus a number of Jewish communities, one of which was guilty of the heresy of observing the Sabbath from Saturday morning to Sunday morning, instead of from Friday evening to Saturday evening. Judah Mosconi also visited the island, as did Menahem ben Perez (Zunz, "Gesam. Schriften." i. 168). In 646, and again in 1154, Cyprus was devastated by the Arabs; in 1571 it was annexed by Turkey, having been wrested from the Venetians on the advice of Don Joseph Nasi, who came near attaining to the dignity of the Cyprian crown (Hammer, "Gesch. der Osmanen," iii. 564). In 1878 Cyprus came under English rule.

G. S. Kr.

During the last twenty years of the nineteenth century several attempts were made to colonize Russian and Rumanian Jewish refugees in Cyprus. The first attempt, in 1883, was made by Friedland, and a settlement of several hundred Russians was effected in Orides near Papho. In 1885, 27 Rumanian families settled in the island as colonists, but were not successful (see "Ha-Meliz," 1888, No. 71, col. 1136). Nothing daunted, Rumanian Jews in 1891 again bought land here, though they did not themselves emigrate. Fifteen Russian families under the leadership of Walter S. Cohen founded a colony in the year 1897 at Margo, with the help of the Ahawat Zion of London and the Jewish Colonization Association; and in the year 1899 Davis Trietsch again advocated colonization in Cyprus, especially for Rumanian Jews. As a delegate to the Third Zionist Congress at Basel, in Aug., 1899, he attempted to get an indorsement of the project from the congress; but he was met by a decided refusal ("Stenographisches Protocoll des III. Zionisten-Congresses," p. 232). He nevertheless persevered, inducing a dozen Rumanian Jews and, in the spring of 1900, twelve of the Boryslav miners to emigrate to the island. Twenty-eight Rumanian families followed these; and the colonists received assistance from the Jewish Colonization Association. These settlers have farms at Margo, and at Asheriton ("Jewish Chronicle," April 20, 1900, p. 18). The colonists in Cyprus have not prospered; and it is said that the government is opposed to a wholesale immigration of Rumanians ("Bulletin All. Isr." 1900, No. 25, 32). Notwithstanding these reverses, the Jewish Colonization Association has continued to give a small support to the work in Cyprus.

Recent Colonization.

In 1900 there were 36 persons living at Margo ("Palästina," i. 65). In 1902 a pamphlet was presented to the Parliamentary committee on alien immigration in London, bearing the title "The Problem of Jewish Immigration to England and the United States Solved by Furthering the Jewish Colonization of Cyprus." In 1901 the Jewish population of the island was 63 males and 56 females. See W. Bambus, "Jüd. Kolonisation in Cypern," in "All. Zeit. des Jud." 1899, p. 436.

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G.

CYRENE: A large and important city in Cyrenaica, the district of Upper Libya on the north coast of Africa, west of Egypt. Cyrene was one of the five large cities that gave to this region the name of "Pentapolis" (compare Josephus, "B. J." vii. 11, § 1; Targ. Yer. Gen. x. 13, 14; Targ. I Chron. i. 12). Many Jews went from Egypt to Cyrenaica, for even Ptolemy I. Lagus sent Jewish settlers to Cyrene and other cities of Libya (Josephus, "Contra Ap." ii. 4). According to Strabo (cited by Josephus, "Ant." xiv. 7, § 2), the inhabitants of Cyrene at the time of Sulla (*c.* 85 B.C.) were divided into four classes: citizens, farmers, resident aliens, and Jews; and the extant fragments of the same author show that Lucullus was sent to Cyrene by Sulla to quell disturbances in which the Jews were taking a prominent part. When concessions to the Jews were recommended by the Romans to the various authorities of the East (I Macc. xv. 15–24), the city of Cyrene was among those that received such notification. In 74 B.C. Cyrene was created a Roman province; but, while under the Egyptian kings the Jews had enjoyed equal rights (*ἰσονομία*), they were now oppressed by the autonomous Greek population ("Ant." xvi. 6, § 1).

Several Jews of Cyrene are known to history, among them being Jason of Cyrene, whose work is the source of the Second Book of Maccabees (see II Macc. ii. 23), and Simon of Cyrene, who carried Jesus' cross (Matt. xxvii. 32; Mark xv. 21; Luke xxiii. 26). In the Acts of the Apostles several Cyrenians are mentioned as being present at the Feast of Pentecost in Jerusalem (Acts ii. 10), where they had their own synagogue (*ib.* vi. 9). Some, including Lucius (*ib.* xiii. 1)—said to have been the first Bishop of Cyrene—went to Antioch (*ib.* xi. 20).

The Jews of Cyrene were in close touch with their brethren in Palestine, and were free to forward their offerings to Jerusalem ("Ant." xvi. 6, § 5). Agrippa sent a letter written in their favor to the Cyrenians ("B. J." ii. 16, § 4). Three sons of a certain Ishmael —who was beheaded in Cyrene—were present at the siege of Jerusalem (*ib.* vi. 2, § 2); and after the war had been ended in Syria, the Romans still met with

opposition in Cyrene, where the Sicarian Jonathan incited the Jews to a riot. The disturbance was, however, quickly suppressed by the governor Catullus ("B. J." vii. 11, § 1; "Vita," § 76).

More serious was the insurrection of the Jews of Cyrene under Trajan (117 C.E.). This was quelled by Marcius Turbo, but not before about 200,000 Romans and Greeks had been killed (Dio Cassius, lxviii. 32). By this outbreak Libya was depopulated to such an extent that a few years later new colonies had to be established there (Eusebius, "Chronicle" from the Armenian, fourteenth year of Hadrian). Bishop Synesius, a native of Cyrene in the beginning of the fifth century, speaks of the devastations wrought by the Jews ("De Regno," p. 2).

The Targum (Amos i. 5, ix. 7) identifies Cyrene with the Biblical Kir; but this is suggested only by a similarity of sound, and is not warranted (compare Targ. II Kings xvi. 9, and Payne Smith, "Thesaurus Syriacus," p. 3564). Cyrene fell into ruins in Mohammedan times. The spot is now (1902) marked by the village of Grenne or Kurin, in the province of Barka.

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G. S. KR.

CYRIL (called also **Constantine the Philosopher**): Apostle of the Slavonians and author of the Slavonic alphabet (Cyrillitza), which is probably a modification of an older Slavonic alphabet (Glagola); born at Salonica about 820; died in Rome Feb. 14 869. His baptismal name was Constantine, and on account of his learning he was called "the philosopher." In his last days he became a monk, and took the name Cyril, by which he is generally known. When the empress regent, Theodora the Byzantine, received in 848 a deputation from the king of the Chazars, with the request to send him a learned man to conduct a religious controversy with the Jews and Mohammedans, Cyril and his elder brother Methodius (died 885) were chosen for the mission. On their way they stopped at Kherson (Chersonesus), and Cyril acquired a knowledge of the Hebrew language and literature from the Jews of that place. He then translated into Slavonic the Old Testament and "eight parts" of the Hebrew grammar.

According to Archbishop Filaret, in his treatise on Russian theological literature entitled "Obzor Russkoi Dukhovnoi Literatury," published in "Uchonyya Zapiski Vtorovo Otdyelyeniya Akademii Nauk," iii. 1, 3, the philosopher translated the "eight parts" of the grammar from Hebrew into Greek. This translation is now lost, as is also his work on the controversy with the rabbis, which his brother Methodius translated into Slavonic. A. Harkavy, in his treatise "Slyedy Znakomstva s Yevreiskim Yazykom," etc., on traces of the knowledge of Hebrew in the ancient Russian writings, is of the opinion that the grammar referred to was translated from Greek into Slavonic.

Owing to the friendship existing at that time between the Byzantine empire and the kingdom of the Chazars, it was natural that Constantine should succeed in converting a couple of hundred heathens and Greeks to the Greek Catholic Church; the majority of the people, however, remained Mohammedan, and the king and his court still confessed Judaism at about the middle of the tenth century, as is seen from the letter of King Joseph to Ḥasdai ibn Shaprut, dated about 960.

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T. H. R.

CYRUS (Persian, "Kurush"; Babylonian and Susian, "Kurash"; Hebrew, כרש and כורש; Masoretic, "Koresh"; Greek, Κῦρος): The founder of the Persian empire. The name is also found in India as "Kurus," and is evidently Aryan. The translation "sun" given by Ctesias (in Müller's edition of Didot's "Herodotus," fragm. 29, 49) is due to a confusion with a Persian word, which appears in Zend as "huare."

Persian tradition has surrounded the founder of the empire with many myths. Herodotus, writing about 430 B.C., says (i. 95) that four different stories were current concerning the origin of Cyrus. One of these, to the effect that he was exposed as a child and suckled by a she dog, is rejected by Herodotus (i. 122).

Sources.

It is found, however, in an ancient Greek author (probably Charon of Lampsacus; see Gutschmid, "Kleine Schriften," v. 66), from whom it was borrowed by Dinon, and from the latter again by Trogus Pompeius. This myth, in various forms, is current among many peoples, the most familiar example being the story of Romulus and Remus. It was in all probability narrated of Kai Chosrau, the mythical king, long before Cyrus (Nöldeke, in "Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie," ii. 132 *et seq.*). The second version which Herodotus examines is the rationalistic transposition of the first; and here the she dog is metamorphosed into a shepherdess of the name of Spako. In Herodotus, another myth, in which Cyrus is the son of a Persian named Cambyses and of Mandane, daughter of the Median king Astyages, is blended with the preceding. In this myth a dream (which Sophocles has embodied in his "Electra," verse 422) foretells that the son of Mandane is to conquer all Asia. The kingship of Cyrus is legalized in this narrative, which makes him the lawful successor of the Median kings. This narrative of Herodotus was controverted about 390 B.C. by Ctesias, who states that Cyrus was not related to Astyages, but that, after dethroning him, he married Astyages' daughter Amytis. This statement is probably correct. Other and purely mythical narratives, probably originating with Ctesias, are contained in the fragments of Dinon (*c.* 340 B.C.) and of Nicolaus

Damascenus (under Augustus). The story or novel entitled "Cyropædeia," which Xenophon wrote in his old age (after 360), has no value for the historian.

Herodotus has, however, retained, in addition to the legendary features, the historical statement that Cyrus was descended from an old royal family of Persia (i. 125, vii. 11). As regards the deeds and conquests of the king, the traditions in Herodotus are correct, although several features suggest mythological embellishments. Concerning the death of Cyrus, Herodotus knew many traditions (i. 214); yet he relates only those which appear to him the most credible. In Ctesias, however, the traditions are extravagant and distorted.

Thoroughly trustworthy historical accounts of the wars of Cyrus against Babylon, and the manner of his death, are preserved in the fragments of the Babylonian historian Berosus (*c.* 280 B.C.); while his dealings with the Jews are recorded in the Old Testament. Of the monuments erected by the Persians to his memory, only his tomb now remains. A number of authentic records have, however, been brought to light in Babylon. Among these are: (1) references in the inscriptions of Nabonid; (2) the so-called "Cylinder of Cyrus," or the proclamation which Cyrus issued to the inhabitants of Babylon after the conquest of that city (Rawlinson, "Cun. Inscr. of Western Asia," v. 35); (3) the annals of Nabonid, the last king of Babylon, which were collected after his death, and which contain a summary of the events of his reign; and (4) about 400 private Babylonian documents, dated according to the years of Cyrus' reign.

Foundation of the Persian Empire.

The Persians dwelling along the southwestern spurs of the Iranian highlands, the Farsistan of today, became divided into a number of tribes, enumerated by Herodotus (i. 125). Among these tribes were the Pasargades in the district watered by the River Araxes (now Kur or Bendamir) and by its principal tributary, the Medos or Kyros (Pulwan), where, later, the city of Persepolis (Istakhr) was founded. This tribe was ruled by the dynasty of the Achæmenidæ, to which Cyrus belonged.

In the middle of the sixth century all Iran, and very likely also the kingdom of the Achæmenidæ of Anshan, were subject to the Median kingdom. Nabonid (Rawlinson, *l.c.* v. 64, line 29) designates Cyrus as a petty vassal of the Median king Astyages. According to Herodotus (i. 214), Cyrus was king for twenty-nine years; he therefore succeeded his father in 558. Ctesias and Dinon (fragm. 10), like Justin (i. 8), give him thirty years. Ctesias' dates for this period are, however, unreliable. For the chronology of the Persian kings see E. Meyer, "Forschungen zur Alten Gesch." ii. 437 *et seq.* In 553 Cyrus revolted against Astyages, the date being firmly established by the above-mentioned passage of Nabonid. On the events of the war there is little information. If a few Greek sources, dating back to Ctesias and Dinon, are reliable (Polyænus, vii. 6, 1 [= c. 45, 2], 9; Nicolaus Damascenus, fragm. 66; Justin, i. 6), the Persians were at first repeatedly defeated, but finally gained a victory at Pasargadæ (compare Anaximenes in Stephan of Byzance, "Strabo," xv. 3, 8). According to the annals of Nabonid, the troops of Astyages, in 550 B.C., revolted against their king, whom they took captive and delivered up to Cyrus (this is probably the origin of Herodotus' story of the treachery of Harpagus); Cyrus thereupon invested the city of Ecbatana, and carried off the spoils to Anshan.

Cyrus and the Medes.

In the rising of Cyrus against the Medes only three of the Persian tribes participated—the Pasargades, Maraphians, and Maspians; and it was only after the victory that the whole people became united (compare E. Meyer, "Gesch. des Alterthums," iii. 10). This explains why in the annals of Nabonid Cyrus is thereafter no longer designated as "King of Anshan," but as "King of Persia."

The rise of Cyrus was at first hailed by Nabonid as propitious; for not only was the danger threatened by the Medes thereby removed, but it also became possible to occupy Ḥarran, and to rebuild the temple of Sin, which had been destroyed (Rawlinson, *l.c.* v. 64; compare Scheil, "Recueil de Travaux Egyptiennes et Assyriennes," xviii.; and Messerschmidt, "Stele Nabunaid's," in "Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft," 1896, i. But the neighboring kingdoms soon became aware that the new state was more dangerous than the old one, united to them as the latter had been by means of treaties and dynastic alliances. Thus it came about that a powerful coalition was formed against Cyrus by Babylonia, Egypt, Lydia, and Sparta. The attack was commenced by Crœsus of Lydia in 546; but Cyrus anticipated his adversaries, and before their armies could unite, he defeated Crœsus and took him captive in his own capital, Sardis (546). In the following year the generals of Crœsus completed the subjugation of Asia Minor.

Portrait Sculpture of Cyrus.
(After Ball, "Light from the East.")

A war against Babylon was now inevitable. In 547 Cyrus had already crossed the Tigris below Arbela, and had conquered a state, the name of which is unfortunately obliterated in the annals of Nabonid. The crash came in 539. Nabonid was not the legitimate heir to the throne, but had been elevated thereto in 556–55 by the magnates, who had supported the incompetent Labashi-Marduk, the son of Neriglissar. The tenure of Nabonid had never been secure. He held aloof from Babylon, where

he did not feel safe, and sought support among the people of the rural towns and their deities, which latter were as a rule much older than Babel and its god Marduk. The jealousy of the cities and of their priests was an important factor in the final catastrophe of the Chaldean empire, and materially facilitated the victory of the Persians. Upon the approach of Cyrus, Nabonid had the gods of Accad (Babylonia) brought to Babylon, thereby still further embittering the priesthood of that city against him (for the correct date—erroneously given in the chronicles of Nabonid as Tammuz—see E. Meyer, *l.c.* ii. 468 *et seq.*; Stade's "Zeitschrift," xviii. 339). Cyrus gained a victory, which incited rebellion in every part of the Babylonian empire. On Tishri 14 (Oct. 8) Gobryas and his Gutaean warriors occupied Sippara; two days later Babylon fell without a blow, and Nabonid was captured. On Marḥeshwan 3 (Oct. 27) Cyrus formally took possession of Babylon, but spared the city, and returned the rural gods to their respective towns. In his inaugural proclamation, preserved on the Cyrus cylinder, he attributes his victory to the grace of the god Bel-Marduk, who had overthrown Nabonid, and had sought out a just king who would restore the service and the honors due to the god.

Cyrus Conquers Babylon.

There can be no doubt that Cyrus and his Persians, like Darius at a later period, were faithful believers in the pure doctrine of Zoroaster, and disdainfully regarded foreign cults; that they had the consciousness of a superior religious belief, and relied upon the protection of Ahuramazda, the great god who had created heaven, earth, and man, and had placed the world at the feet of the Achæmenian kings. In a political sense, however, they were compelled to reckon with the religions of the subjugated peoples; and Cyrus and his successors skilfully employed this necessity as a means of securing their power. The time-honored customs of the people were everywhere preserved. Cyrus always conformed to the traditions of the thrones he usurped, and, together with his son Cambyses, rendered homage to the native deities. On the first day of the year, Nisan 1 (March 20), 538, in conformity with Babylonian custom, he grasped the hands of the golden statue of Bel-Marduk, and thus became consecrated as monarch. From this ceremony dates the first year of his reign as "King of Babylon, King of all the Lands."

His Religious Belief.

Upon the downfall of the Chaldean empire the foreign possessions, Syria, Phenicia, Palestine, and the border-lands of the desert, all became tributary to Cyrus. In 530 he placed his son Cambyses upon the throne as King of Babylon, and organized a great expedition against the predatory nomads of the Turanian steppes, in which expedition he met his death (528 B.C.). He lies buried in the midst of his tribe, in Pasargadæ, the Murghab of to-day. The frequently expressed doubt ("Z. D. M. G." xlviii. 653) as to the identity of Murghab with Pasargadæ appears unfounded, as does more particularly the assumption that the figure on the tomb represents the younger Cyrus, the brother of Artaxerxes II. Cyrus' tomb, restored by the Greeks in the time of Alexander, is still (1902) standing. On the pilasters, or galleries surrounding it, is the picture of the king, with four wings—typifying the soul, or "ferwer," of the great ruler—and a crown patterned on Egyptian models, and bearing the inscription, "I am Cyrus the king, the Achæmenian."

Later Wars; His Death.

The earnest desire of the Jews for the downfall of the Chaldean kingdom was fulfilled; but the outcome was not what their prophecies had led them to expect. The political power of the Chaldeans had been broken, but no vengeance had fallen upon Babylon for its misdeeds. Instead of being destroyed as was anticipated, the city remained intact, and became the splendid winter residence of the Persian kings. Nor was the longed-for universal revolution, crowned by the establishment of the Messianic kingdom, effected. Another and more powerful pagan empire had taken the place of that which had been overthrown. The faith in the world-dominion of YHWH was now shaken, and despondency settled upon the Jews.

It was to counteract these evils that the anonymous comforter, conveniently called "Deutero-Isaiah," the author of Isaiah xl.–lv., now arose. The very fact that YHWH had carried out His prophecy in a wholly unexpected manner, by choosing a pagan to overthrow the idols of the nations, so that He alone might be acknowledged as the only true God, was accepted by the second Isaiah as the surest evidence of the divine government. This prophet, Cyrus, through whom were to be redeemed His chosen people, whom He would glorify before all the world, was the promised Messiah, "the Shepherd of YHWH" (xliv. 28, xlv. 1). Having received the sovereignty of the whole earth as the ransom for Israel, Cyrus would now rebuild Jerusalem for them. The chapters in question were published after the fall of Babylon (xlvi., xlvii., etc.); consequently, in the winter of 539–38, before the Return, and in Babylon itself, not, as Duhm believes, in Palestine. The fanciful hope of Deutero-Isaiah, that upon the return of the Jews the world would change its character, and the desert become level, fruitful, and well watered, was not fulfilled. Cyrus, however, permitted the Jews to return to their own land. There was no reason to detain them longer in Babylon; and if they returned to their homes, they would be in a position to defend the border-land against Egypt and the desert. In the first year of his reign as King of Babylon, Cyrus issued from his summer residence, Ecbatana, an order for the return of the Jews and for the rebuilding of the Temple. Fragments of this edict are contained in a proclamation of Darius (Ezra vi. 2–5; compare *ib.* v. 13 *et seq.*); and the doubts as to the authenticity of this edict are as little justified as is the opinion expressed by Kosters (and approved by many) that the alleged return of the Jews during the reign of Cyrus did not take place at all. The reason why the Jews did not at once rebuild the Temple is to be found in the sorry economic condition in which they were left.

Cyrus and the Jews.

The author of II Chron. xxxvi. 22 has substituted

an invention of his own for the genuine edict of Cyrus contained in Ezra i. 1 *et seq.* Cyrus "the Persian" is also mentioned in Dan. vi. 28, x. 1, as the successor of the "Median" Darius (vi. 1). After all, the author of the Book of Daniel had a very vague conception of the history of the Persian empire.

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G. E. ME.

CYZICENUS ANTIOCHUS. See ANTIOCHUS IX. CYZICENUS.

CZACKI, TADEUSZ: Polish statesman and author; born in Poryck, government of Volhynia, Russia, Aug. 28, 1765; died in Dubno, Volhynia, Feb. 8, 1813. When Prince Adam Czartoryski was placed at the head of the educational district of Wilna, Czacki was appointed school inspector of Volhynia, Podolia, and the Ukraine. An opponent of the Jesuits, he combated their work in the field of pedagogy, and on one occasion raised by public subscription the sum of two millions of Polish florins to insure the existence of the gymnasiums in Vinnitza and Kiev. In 1805 he founded the high school in Kremenetz, Volhynia, which was destined to be of inestimable benefit to the Poles. Its influence is still evident in Volhynia, Podolia, and the Ukraine. After Czacki's death his heart was deposited in one of the halls of this Volhynian school, under the inscription "Ubi thesaurus tuus, ibi est cor tuum." It was Czacki that discovered the grave of Copernicus, proving most conclusively the Polish origin of that great astronomer.

Czacki's "Rozprawa o Zydach" (Discourse on the Jews), first published at Wilna 1807, and translated into Russian by Basil Anastaszewicz, passed through several editions, and was published finally in "Dziela Tadeusza Czackiego" (Works of Tadeusz Czacki), edited by Edward Raczynski, Posen, 1845 (iii. 138–270).

For the history of the Jewish institutions, Czacki, who did not know Hebrew, availed himself of the only sources open to him; namely, Bartolocci and Ugolino.

After relating the primitive history of the Jews, Czacki describes their situation among the Arabs, Italians, Spaniards, French, Germans, and Hungarians. He tells of their entrance into Poland in the twelfth century; of their intellectual condition; of their government and laws; and of the persecutions to which they were subjected.

"Under the rule of most of the Christian governments," says Czacki in his "Rozprawa o Zydach," "they [the Jews] experienced indulgence rarely, oppression often, and disdain almost always" (p. 37). "Their profits were wrested from them." "Many a writer considered it an honor to multiply the number of the insults against the Jews, or to charge them with horrible crimes" (p. 54). "In the reign of Sigismund III. of Poland the spiritual authorities ventured to give permission for the erection of synagogues. Permission was granted also for the printing of books, which could not have been inspected, since in them are found criticisms and gibes against the Christians." Of a few Polish authors who wrote against the Jews—Moiecki (1598), Miezynski (1618)—Czacki declares that "they have vented all that frenzy under the guise of religious zeal can utter" (p. 95).

History of the Jews.

Exemption from the poll-tax was granted in 1775 to those who would apply themselves to agriculture, and by 1787, owing to Czacki's efforts while he was serving on the Commission of the Treasury (see his report of 1787 on the Ruthenian and Ukrainian provinces), he had the satisfaction of seeing a few scores of families in the enjoyment of that privilege. There were many Poles who worked with Czacki for the emancipation of the Jews. "When, in the year 1794, despair armed the [Polish] capital, the Jews were not afraid of death, but, mingling with the troops and the populace, they proved that danger did not terrify them and that the cause of the Fatherland was dear to them" (the official organ of the Warsaw Revolution of 1794, and other Warsaw newspapers).

Chapter iv. of Czacki's "Discourse" contains a brief analysis of Duke Boleslaus' privilege, which was confirmed by Casimir the Great and by Duke Vithold; chapter vi., the sources of the laws with which the Jews were permitted to govern themselves, and an account of the Jewish civil law, according to Selden and Maimonides; chapter vii., an exposition of the criminal law; and chapter viii., an account of the state of learning among the Jews.

Chapter ix. bears the title "Of the Plan of the Reform of the Jews." In 1788 the Polish Diet directed its attention to the Jews. The Commission of the Treasury, of which Czacki was a member from 1786 to 1792, examined the subject, and found: (1) that there were in Poland about 900,000 Jews of both sexes, and that they multiplied exceedingly; (2) that the young generations bore to a gradually increasing extent the germs of diseases (especially *spina ventora* and the itch), and that there were one and a half times as many deaths among Jewish children as among Christian children; (3) that the knowledge prevailing among the Jews was nothing but a systematic ignorance; (4) that the rabbis exercised a despotic authority; (5) that three-fourths of the export trade and one-sixteenth of the import trade of Poland was in Jewish hands; (6) that as the living expenses of a Jewish merchant were half as much as that of a Christian merchant, he could sell his goods more cheaply; (7) that bankruptcies were more frequent among the Jews than among the Christians; (8) that in the provinces, with the exception of Great Poland, almost one-half of the workmen were Jews; (9) that every city had barber-surgeons who possessed "no knowledge except experience"; (10) that there was no learned Jewish midwife in the whole country, wherefore many Jewesses died in confinement; (11) that there were fourteen Jewish agricultural families in the whole country; (12) that it was a very rare case for a Jewish fortune to hold together for several generations; (13) that the cause of the hatred of the Jews for those of a different faith was the pride peculiar to ignorant people.

The reforms in the laws regarding the Jews were to be based on the following grounds: (1) hitherto the government has tolerated the Jews; henceforth it must grant them the rights belonging to citizens; (2) the government has the right to require that the Jews should be educated in the measure of the needs of the country; (3) when the differences abasing the Jews disappear, all injurious disabilities will be abolished; (4) all trade and manufactures are free, but as the Jews have become the cause of the ruin of the peasants in the keeping of inns, that right is suspended. The project of reforms consisted of eight sections, from which the following passages are quoted: "The law recognizes the Jews as free people. . . . They can be elected officers, and they can elect officers, according to the universal laws. The law awards the same reward and the same penalty to Jews as to Christians. They are at liberty to acquire lands and mills by inheritance. . . . The authorities will permit those Jews to buy estates who will aid in the execution of this law, especially in the matter of the settling of Jews on farm-lands. This privilege is granted to all Jews after the lapse of twenty years. Taxes are to be the same for Jews as for Christians. No Jew shall be baptized until he has reached a proper age—the twentieth year in the case of men, the eighteenth in that of women. The civil and criminal laws of the Jews are discontinued. They shall, however, maintain their own religious institutions for the adjustment of religious affairs. A Jew that settles on farm-land is exempt from taxes for ten years. The most industrious Jewish agriculturists for the same interval will receive the value of ten bushels of rye. There will be twenty of these prizes." The remaining sections (iv.–viii.) consider in a series of paragraphs the education of the Jews; the Jewish superiors and their powers; the family and arbitration courts; the change of dress, and the use of the language in public and private transactions; the debts of the Jewish communities and the way of canceling them.

The short discourse on the Karaites ("Dziela Tadeusza Czackiego," iii. 271–285) attempts to explain, on the basis of the sources accessible to the author and referred to above, "what the Karaites are, and wherein they chiefly differ from other Jews; when their separation occurred; and in what countries they dwell."

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H. R. S. Po.

CZARNIECKI, STEFAN: Polish general; born 1599; died at the village of Sokolovka, Volhynia, Feb. 12, 1664. Czarniecki distinguished himself in the wars against Sweden and Russia (1656–61), but unlike Wishnevietzki, who stands out as the protector of the Jews during the Cossack uprising, he dealt very harshly with them. After the Cossack rebellion of 1648 he joined Prince Potocki against Chmielnicki, but was surrendered to the Tatars after the defeat of the Poles at the Yellow Waters (see Cossacks' Uprising). He was released after a captivity of two years, then fought against the Cossacks again, and helped to defeat them near Berestaczko. When the Swedish king, Charles X., invaded Poland and forced John Casimir to flee into Silesia, Czarniecki hastened to Cracow and besieged the castle, but lack of provisions soon forced him to retire. Poland was now made the battle-ground for Russia, Poland, and Sweden, and the Jews, receiving protection from none, were harshly dealt with by all.

The communities which had been spared the fury of Chmielnicki and his followers now felt the effects of the conflict. The Russians showed them no mercy; the Swedes gave them no protection; and the Poles accused them of being friendly to the Swedes, and cut them down in great numbers. Czarniecki dealt remorselessly with them. Retreating from the Swedes, he devastated the country and vented his rage on the Jews. He is said to have killed 200 in Kobylin; 100 in Mezhirich; 100 in Wreschen; 300 in Lenczyc; 600 in Kalisch, Posen, Petrokov, and Lublin. Hundreds of families were exterminated in Cracow (1656); many Jews, in order to escape a worse fate, drowned themselves in the river; and others changed their religion. The Poles destroyed the synagogues and took great delight in tearing up the Holy Writings. Some of the most important communities were utterly destroyed; others were reduced to a pitiful condition of ruin and helplessness. The numerous communities of Great and Little Poland became depopulated by war and migration, and the unceasing conflicts which led to the decline of Poland caused also the decline of Polish Judaism.

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H. R. J. G. L.

CZARNIKAU: Town in the district of Bromberg, province of Posen, Germany. The Jewish community of this town probably dates back to the beginning of the seventeenth century, at which time, according to tradition, the Polish prince Sapieha had various relations with the Jews living there. The community was most numerous in the years 1855–64, when it numbered 1,200 persons, while it numbered only 470 in 1815, and 600 in 1900. In place of the old synagogue, built in 1759, a beautiful and massive building was erected in 1878. In 1819 the new cemetery was laid out on the Posener Chaussée, the old one being transferred to the city to be laid out as forest. In 1842 the community built its own schoolhouse, which was enlarged in 1878. The elementary school, with three grades, is a public school; and its two teachers are appointed by the government. The community supports, in addition, a Hebrew religious school, with three grades, under the direction of the rabbi.

The following rabbis have officiated in the community: Isaac Fränkel, Elia Spiro (1830–55; distinguished for his Talmudic scholarship and piety; born at Inowrazlaw, and educated at the yeshibah of Lissa), Dr. Popper (1855–90), Dr. Freund (1893–1899). The present (1903) incumbent is Dr. Weyl. The Jewish societies of Czarnikau include: a ḥebra ḳaddisha, an Israelitischer Frauenverein, a Verein zur Unterstützung Durchreisender Armen, and a Litteraturverein. For more than fifty consecutive years Jews have had a seat in the municipal council.

G. I. Co.

CZARTORYSKI, PRINCE ADAM GEORG: Polish statesman and patriot; born in Warsaw Jan. 14, 1770; died in Montfermeil Castle, near Paris, July 15, 1861. After the final partition of Poland Czartoryski and his brother Constantine went to St. Petersburg in 1795 and entered the service of the Russian government. The prince became the intimate friend of Grand Duke Alexander, and when the latter ascended the throne, Czartoryski became assistant to the minister for foreign affairs. When his aspirations for the restoration of Poland by the aid of his friend, the emperor, proved futile, he became the bitter enemy of Russia and was at the head of the Polish insurrection of 1830–31. After the failure of the last effort for the liberation of Poland he went to Paris, where he was recognized as the leader of the Polish refugees until his death.

Czartoryski was generally friendly to the Jews. In his early career he was the protector of the Jewish scholar Mendel Levin (Satanover), whom he engaged as teacher for his children. As a member of the commission appointed by Emperor Alexander I. (1804) to prepare the enactment of Dec. 9, 1804, concerning the Jews (see ALEXANDER I. of Russia). Czartoryski did not, as alleged of him, work against the interests of the Jews. As a Polish patriot he was concerned mainly with the welfare of Poland, his zeal on behalf of the Jews of Poland being none the less genuine though subordinate to his main object.

In later times, mainly through the efforts of Jean Czynski, and other Polish patriots who pointed out the hopelessness of liberating Poland without the help of the middle classes and of the Jews, the prince became an outspoken champion of the emancipation of the Jews. In a speech which he delivered on Nov. 29, 1844, he advocated granting the same rights to Polish Jews as were claimed for all other natives of Poland, and eulogized the Jewish martyrs of the insurrection of which he was the leader. The prince in his last days also instructed his son, Prince Ladislaus, ever to remain the friend of the Jews. Czartoryski is still revered among the Polish Jews, especially among those who emigrated to France or came under the influence of the community of Polish exiles in Paris.

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H. R. P. WI.

CZATZKES or **TSCHITKIS, BARUCH:** One of the Neo-Hebraic poets of the beginning of the nineteenth century; lived at Lutzk, Volhynia. Delitzsch ("Zur Gesch. der Jüdischen Poesie," p. 109) mentions him as one of the Germanizing Hebrew poets of the "Bikkure ha-'Ittim" school. The poem "Ha-Biṭṭaḥon" by Czatzkes in that periodical (xi. 177) is translated from the Russian of Kheraskov, and is, according to Weissberg ("Neuhebräische Aufklärungsliteratur in Galizien," p. 53, Leipsic and Vienna, 1898), the first instance of a German Slavic Jew translating Slavonic poetry into Hebrew. Czatzkes also contributed sixteen proverbs to the above-cited volume of the "Bikkure ha-'Ittim," and was the author of a song of praise, which appeared in the first edition of I. B. Lewinsohn's "Te'udah be-Yisrael."

H. R. P. WI.

CZECHOWIC, MARTIN: Polish Unitarian priest; born at Zbaszynie about 1530; died 1613. Czechowic lived at a time when religious restlessness was prevalent in Poland. Numerous religious sects arose, varying from the old Catholicism and the new Reformation to sects which rejected the Trinity and denied the divinity of Jesus.[a] The members of the sect which professed disbelief in the Trinity were called Unitarians, and the most radical among them were called by their opponents "Half Jews." The religious dissension and constant disputes which arose in consequence led to a number of Jews taking part in these disputations.

Martin Czechowic frequently changed his religious views. He was a Roman Catholic priest in Kurnik until 1555, when he became a member of the Bohemian Brotherhood in Wilna, and, in 1575, wrote in denunciation of the baptism of infants (Lublin, 1575). He also wrote a book endeavoring to show that the objections of the Jews to Jesus as Messiah were unfounded. It was published under the title "Rozmowy Chrzescijanskie o Tajemnicach Wiaru" (Rakow, 1575). In reply to this, Rabbi Jacob Naḥman of Belzyc wrote a defense entitled "Odpis Jacoba Zyda z Belzyc na Dialogi Marcina Czechowiza" (Lublin, 1581). The arguments of Jacob Naḥman were able and logical, and called forth a reply from Czechowic, entitled "Vindiciæ Duorum Dialogorum Contra Jacobum Judæum de Belzyce."

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H. R. J. G. L.

CZENSTOCHOW. See CHENSTOCHOV.

CZERNIGOV. See CHERNIGOV.

CZERNOWITZ: Capital of the province of Bukowina, Austria, situated near the banks of the Pruth, about 150 miles from Lemberg. Jews were living here and in a few other places in Bukowina when the Austrians took possession of the country in 1775. They were mostly of Polish and Rumanian origin, and had probably settled there in the fifteenth century, when it formed a part of Moldavia. During the occupation of Bukowina by Russia (1769–74) some White Russian Jews found their way thither. Czernowitz was termed "village" in the official documents of 1775, and in 1816 it had a total population of 4,516 persons. Its development began only in the thirties, from which time the history of the Jewish community may be said to date. Toward the middle of the nineteenth century the community was divided into two hostile camps: the Orthodox Jews, who detested all innovation; and the advocates of reform. The two parties avoided intercourse with each other, and the affairs of the community suffered considerably from this state of things. A kind of truce founded on mutual toleration was brought about by Chief Rabbi L. E. Igel, who held the office from 1854. He employed all his efforts to maintain peace in the community. During the forty years of his rabbinate many useful institutions were founded. Religious schools were opened under the supervision of Dr. Heinrich Atlas and Mandel Tit-

tinger, who for twenty-five years held the office of deputy burgomaster of Czernowitz. In 1879 the Alliance Israélite of Vienna established at Czernowitz a center for the crownland of Bukowina. The community possesses a yearly income of 20,000 florins for charitable purposes, in addition to casual donations. In 1895 L. E. Igel was succeeded in the chief rabbinate by Joseph Rosenfeld, assisted by the rabbis Benjamin Weiss and Berl Bremer. The community possesses many synagogues, one of which is Sephardic. From 1836 to about 1860 a Hebrew printing-office existed at Czernowitz; but owing to the poverty of the plant and management, it was never very active. The total population in 1900 was 67,622, of which about 22,000 were Jews. Among the numerous societies and charitable institutions the most noteworthy are: the Jewish Hospital, the ḥebra ḳaddisha, the Jüdischer Frauen-Verein, the Krankenunterstützungsverein, and the Talmud Torah. Czernowitz was at one time the home of a famous printing-press. See GALICIA.

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E. C. I. BR.

CZESTIONEV: Village in the government of Warsaw, Russian Poland. It is the seat of a Jewish agricultural college, which was completed in 1901, accommodation being provided for sixty students. The college lands comprise 1,630 acres, 1,090 of which are arable, the remainder consisting of forest and meadows. The live and dead stock is (1901) valued at 2,574 rubles and 10,350 rubles respectively; and the receipts from the farming operations for 1901 were entirely satisfactory.

The students receive elementary instruction of a thoroughly practical nature in agriculture, horticulture, market-gardening, and dairying; and they also learn to work in wood and iron and to repair the agricultural plant. Candidates for admission to the college must know Russian, and have completed their thirteenth year. A preparatory school has been established for pupils who are not sufficiently advanced to enter the college. The college has opened up a new field for many of the Jewish youth of Poland.

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H. R. A. P.

CZYNSKI, JAN (JEAN): Polish lawyer, author, and journalist; born June 20, 1801; died in London, England, Jan. 31, 1867. The son of Jewish parents who had embraced Roman Catholicism before his birth, Czynski was throughout his entire life one of the most zealous defenders of the Jews. After completing his studies he practised law in Lublin, and became an active participant in the wars of the Polish Revolution of 1830, serving as chief of staff under General Szczeptycki, the commandant of the palatinate of Lublin. The animosity exhibited toward the Jews during the revolution was most bitter, and Czynski was unsparing in his efforts to prove that it was undeserved. On one occasion, when the Lublin populace had accused them of evading military service, and threatened to attack them as traitors and spies, Czynski appeased the mob, and called a meeting of the leading inhabitants in the synagogue, where he stoutly defended his Hebrew compatriots.

On the failure of the revolution, he settled, in 1832, in Paris, where he lived for many years, and cooperated on the Polish National Committee with Prince Adam Czartoryski and Lafayette, ultimately removing to London. In 1851 he issued a circular to his compatriots, suggesting the formation of a society to consist of all Polish Jews in England or France.

Czynski was a versatile and prolific writer, mainly on historical subjects. He wrote a series of historical novels, and, under the pseudonym of "Ernesta Rollin," some plays, which were produced on the French stage. Of principal interest to Judaism were: "Le Reveil d'Israel," Paris, 1847; "Le Fils de la Juive," *ib.* 1848; and "Israel en Pologne," *ib.* 1861. Czynski was associated with several journals, including "La Pologne," of which he was for some time editor-in-chief.

In all his works and newspaper articles he never failed to seize an opportunity to espouse the cause of the Jews of Poland; and the grateful esteem with which his efforts were regarded is best evidenced by the obituary notices contributed to the "Archives Israélites" (xxviii. 167) by Léon Hollaenderski and Isidore Cahen. The former pays a glowing tribute to Czynski, of which the following is a translation: "The name of Jean Czynski is inscribed with gratitude in the annals of Judaism side by side with the immortal names of Czacki, Synowiecki, Castellan Ostrowski, and other illustrious friends of humanity and of the Jews of Poland."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Orgelbrand, *Encyklopedja Powszechna*, iv. 179, Warsaw, 1899; Léon Hollaenderski, *Les Israélites de Pologne*, passim (Preface by Czynski), Paris, 1846; *Arch. Isr.* as above.

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D

[**D', DA, DE:** In the alphabetical arrangement of names the above prefixes have been disregarded; consequently **D'Aguilar** will be found as **Aguilar, D'**; **Da Costa** as **Costa, Da**; etc.]

DABBASHETH: A town on the border-line of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 11). It has been identified by Conder with Dabsheh, the ruins of which are near the hills east of Acco. The Septuagint reading is Βαιθάραβα.

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DABERATH: A town on the eastern boundary of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 12), but belonging to the domain of Issachar, and assigned to the Levites (Josh. xxi. 28; I Chron. vi. 58). It is the modern Deburich, an important strategic position at the foot of Mount Tabor and overlooking the entrance into the great plain of Esdraelon. It was here, perhaps, that Barak mustered his troops (G. A. Smith, "Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land," p. 394). From Josephus ("B. J." ii. 21, § 3) it is known that a Jewish garrison was placed here for the purpose of watching the plain. The name occurs in a slightly altered form in the Talmud (Neubauer, "G. T." p. 265). Moore conjectures that Deborah was a native of this place (see Buhl, "Geographie des Alten Palästina," p. 216).

E. G. H. G. B. L.

DACOSTA, ISAAC-FRANCIS: Musician and composer; born at Bordeaux Jan. 17, 1778; died there Nov. 29, 1864. He was a pupil of the Musical Conservatory in 1798. Later, while first cornet at the opera in Paris, he was vice-leader of the Musique des Gardes du Corps, under Louis XVIII. He wrote several romances and concertos. Meyerbeer composed for him, in 1836, the clarinet solo in the fifth act of "The Huguenots." He is believed to have been the son of the musician Samuel-Franco Dacosta, who was arraigned before the revolutionary tribunal at Bordeaux in 1794.

Bibliography: Edouard Féret, *Statistique de la Gironde*, iii. 162; Aurel Vivie, *Hist. de la Terreur à Bordeaux*, ii. 343–401.

G. C. DE B.

DAGESH: The diacritical point placed in the center of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet to indicate either their intensified (doubled) pronunciation, or, in the case of the letters בגדכפת (b, g, d, k, p, t), their hard (unaspirated) pronunciation. The root "dagash" means in Syriac "to prick" (compare Targ. to Prov. xii. 18); but the context in which the term "dagesh" first occurs militates against deriving it from this signification of the root. The use of "dagesh" as the name of the point indicating the intensified pronunciation is only a secondary one, for in the old Masoretic texts and in the Maḥzor Vitry (ed. Horowitz, p. 228), "dagesh" indicates the intensified pronunciation itself, in contrast to "rafe," the weak pronunciation. The root "dagash" occurs only once in the traditional literature, in a reference to the letter ד (d) of the word אחד ("eḥad," Deut. vi. 4), and that, too, in a sentence of the Palestinian Talmud which is known only from a later quotation (Ṭur Oraḥ Ḥayyim, lxi.). A reference to the dagesh, though without the use of the specific term, is to be found in the Pesiḳta Rabbati and in "Sefer Yeẓirah."

From the Masorah the word passed into the terminology of the grammarians in its earlier sense, as, for instance, in Ben Asher and Saadia Gaon. The latter called one part of his grammatical work "The Book of Dagesh and Rafe"; preserving, as did the Karaite lexicographer David b. Abraham, even in the Arabic text the Hebrew-Aramaic terms. Saadia uses Arabic noun and verb forms derived from the word. Ḥayyuj uses in their stead the corresponding Arabic terms "shadid," "mushaddad," "khafif," "mukhaffaf"; and he was followed in this by others writing in Arabic. From the time of Abraham ibn Ezra, however, philologists writing in Hebrew reestablished the use of the word "dagesh," from which various nominal and verbal forms were derived and added to the terminology of Hebrew grammar.

There is no trace among the early writers of a classification of the various uses to which the dagesh was put, such as became customary later, though the relation in which the six letters בגדכפת stood to the dagesh was of course emphasized; the letter ר, because of its double pronunciation by the Palestinians, was added to the six in "Sefer Yeẓirah" and in Ben Asher. The term "dagesh ḳal" (light dagesh), to denote the hard unaspirated pronunciation of the letters בגדכפת, occurs perhaps first in David Ḳimḥi's "Miklol" (ed. Venice, 1545, p. 49a). The rules for the "dagesh ḥazaḳ" (strong dagesh, that denoting a doubling of the letter) were first formulated by Elijah Levita ("Pereḳ Shirah," 54a *et seq.*), who enumerates eight cases in which it occurs. Later grammarians have superseded this division by a more extended one (see König, "Lehrgebäude der Hebr. Sprache," i. 52 *et seq.*).

Graetz has shown that the use of the dagesh is anterior to the use of the vowel-points, for which it was, in a measure, a substitute. It distinguished the absolute from the construct state, the quiescent shewa from the mobile, and at times stood in place of the "matres lectionis." The regular use of the dagesh and its representation by means of a point seem to be a peculiarity of the Tiberian vowel-system. In the so-called superlinear, or Babylonian, system, the point was originally not used at all, nor was dagesh indicated in all cases which required it. In Berlin MS. Or. quart. 680, which, according to Kahle, originally contained the true Babylonian punctuation, the dagesh has the form ⸗. It is used with the six letters בגדכפת, in such cases as require regularly the dagesh forte, but generally only where a mistake might be made; also in the letter resh, in alef when that letter is consonantal; and with lamed, especially in enclitic words. The dagesh is found four times with the alef in the Masoretic system (Stade, "Der Masoretische Text," § 42b) and often in the Karlsruhe MS. (see "Proc. Fifth Or. Con-

gress," II. i. 136). The dagesh is also used with the preposition אֵת, and is often retained at the end of a word, a practise not adopted by the Tiberian system.

In the peculiar fragments of shortened Hebrew published by M. Friedländer ("Proc. Soc. Biblical Archeology," 1896), the sign for both dagesh forte and dagesh lene is ◌ֿ, while rafe is expressed by ◌ֿ. The alef when consonantal is also provided with the dagesh. This system is also employed in the Maḥzor fragment published by Levias ("Am. Jour. Semit. Lang." xv. 157). In certain genizah fragments at Cambridge and in others in the possession of Elkan Adler, the dagesh is indicated by a line placed over the preceding vowel; though at times a point is used for dagesh lene. In the St. Petersburg codex of the Prophets, also, dagesh forte is represented by a line over the preceding vowel; dagesh lene, by a point in the letter as in the Tiberian system. The point, however, is used occasionally for both dageshes. In all these cases the use of the point seems to be an intrusion from the Palestinian system. The irregularity in the use of the dagesh may also be seen in MS. Berlin Or. quart. 578, from which Praetorius has published the Targum of Joshua (1901).

Bibliography: Bacher, *Die Anfänge der Hebr. Grammatik*, Leipsic, 1895; G. Margoliouth, in *Proc. Soc. Biblical Archeology*, 1893, pp. 170 *et seq.*; M. Friedländer, in *ib.* 1896, pp. 86 *et seq.*; Levias, *The Palestinian Vocalization*, in *Am. Jour. Semit. Lang.* xv. 157 *et seq.* (see also xiv. 129); Harris, in *Jew. Quart. Rev.* i. 233; Kahle, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Hebräischen Punktuation*, in Stade's *Zeitschrift*, 1901, pp. 273 *et seq.*; idem, *Der Masoretische Text des Alten Testaments*, pp. 6, 11, 34.

G. W. B.—G.

DAGGATUN: Nomad tribe of Jewish origin living in the neighborhood of Tementit, in the oasis of Tuat in the Moroccan Sahara. An account of the Daggatun was first given by R. Mordecai Abi Sarur of Akka (Morocco), who in 1857 journeyed through the Sahara to Timbuctu, and whose account of his travels was published in the "Bulletin de la Société de Géographie" (Dec., 1895; see "Bulletin All. Isr." ii. 42, 1880; "La Grand Encyclopédie," xxiii. 254; Meakin, "Land of the Moors," p. 17). According to R. Mordecai, the Daggatun live in tents and resemble the Berber Tuaregs, among whom they live, in language, religion, and general customs. They are fairer in complexion than the generality of African Jews, and are still conscious of their origin. They are subject to the Tuaregs, who do not intermarry with them. R. Mordecai is authority for the statement that their settlement in the Sahara dates from the end of the seventh century, when 'Abd al-Malik ascended the throne and pushed his conquests as far as Morocco. At Tementit he tried to convert the inhabitants to Islam; and as the Jews offered great resistance he exiled them to the desert of Ajaj, as he did also the Tuaregs, who had only partially accepted Islam. Cut off from any connection with their brethren, these Jews in the Sahara gradually lost their Jewish practises and became nominally Mohammedans.

These statements of R. Mordecai evidently rest upon some foundation. The Arabs driven to Ajaj are to be identified with the Mechagra mentioned by Erwin de Bary ("Ghat et les Tuareg de l'Ain," p. 181), among whom a few Jews are said still to dwell. V. J. Horowitz ("Morokko," p. 58, Leipsic, 1887) also speaks of many free tribes in the desert regions who are Jews by race, but who have gradually thrown off Jewish customs and have apparently accepted Islam. Among these tribes, he says, are the Daggatun, numbering several thousands and scattered over several oases in the Sahara, even as far as the River Dialiva or Niger. He says, also, that they are very warlike and in constant conflict with the Tuaregs. According to Horowitz, the Mechagra mentioned above are also to be reckoned as one of these Jewish tribes.

There seems to be little doubt that Jewish blood has largely been mixed with that of the Berbers living in the Moroccan and Algerian Sahara. In fact, the Berbers are said to have been at one time Jews ("Jew. Quart. Rev." iv. 375); according to another tradition they are descended from the Philistines driven out of Canaan (Basset, "Nedromah," p. 13). There is a tradition that Moses was buried in Tlemçen, and the presence of a large number of Jews in that part of Africa is attested, not only by the many sacred places and shrines bearing Biblical names which are holy to the Mohammedans as well as to the Jews, but also by the presence there of a large number of Jewish sagas, which Basset has collected in the work cited above. L. Ruin ("Origines Berbers," p. 406) says: "Certain Berber tribes were for a long time of the Jewish religion, especially in Amès; and to-day, even, we see among the Hanensha of Sukahras (Algeria) a seminomad tribe of Israelites devoted entirely to agriculture" (see "Rev. Arch. de Constantine," 1867, p. 102). In addition, it may be noticed that Jews are to be found in the Berber "ksurs" all along southern Morocco and in the adjacent Sahara. Thus, at Outat near Tafilet there is a mellah with about 500 Jews (Horowitz, *l.c.* p. 202); and at Figuig, a mellah with 100 Jews (*ib.* p. 204). Going farther south from Tafilet to Tuat, there is a large community of Jews in the oasis of Alḥamada; and at Tementit, a two weeks' journey from Tafilet, the 6,000 or 8,000 inhabitants are said to be descendants of Jews converted to Islam (*ib.* p. 205). Even much farther to the west, in the province of Sus, there is Ogulmin with 3,000 inhabitants, of whom 100 are said to be Jews. Detailed information in regard to the Daggatun (whose name may perhaps be derived from the Arabic "tughatun" = infidels) is still wanting. Rohlf ("Reise Durch Marokko," p. 144) found no professing Jews in the whole oasis of Tuat; those who lived there in former times having all been either converted or exterminated by the Mohammedans. He notes, however, that their descendants have preserved the Jewish characteristic aptitude for trade.

Jews Among Berbers.

Bibliography: I. Loeb, *Les Daggatouns*, Paris, 1880: H. S. Morais, *The Daggatoun*, Philadelphia, 1882.

G.

DAGGER: A short, edged, and pointed weapon for stabbing. It is given in the Ehud episode (Judges iii. 16, 21, 22) as the English equivalent for "ḥereb," which elsewhere is rendered "sword." See Sword.

E. G. H. G. B. L.

DAGHESTAN: Russian province, situated on the eastern slopes of the Caucasus, and bounded by Circassia, Georgia, and the Caspian Sea. In Turkish the name means "mountainous country."

According to the last census, that of 1897, the Jewish inhabitants numbered 12,000, or 1.85 per cent of the total population. The distribution of Jews in the various districts of Daghestan was as follows (1894): Avar, 11; Andi, 2; Gunid, 3; Dargi, 4; Kazikumukh, 3; Kaitago-Tabassaran, 2,853; Kyurin, 2,762; Temir-Khan-Shura: city, 1,950, and village of Sultan-Yangi-Yurt, 95; Derbent, 2,490; Petrovsk, 915; total, 11,088.

Some other Caucasian tribes of Daghestan are supposed to be descendants of Jewish colonists who in the centuries before the common era migrated to Daghestan in great numbers (Erckert, "Der Kaukasus," p. 360). Among these may be mentioned the Andies, numbering 26,000, and the Kyurines, numbering 150,000.

The Jews of Daghestan greatly resemble the other warlike inhabitants of this mountainous region; and they have acquired the virtues as well as the faults of the latter. They differ from their Christian and Mohammedan neighbors in speech, using the Tat language, which is a combination of Persian and Hebrew. Their writing is a mixture of square characters and Rashi. They wear the Circassian dress, and always go heavily armed, even sleeping without having removed their weapons. Their houses, like those of the other inhabitants, are ill built and dirty, and on the walls one finds, together with brightly shining arms, smoked fish or mutton hung up to dry. The main occupation of the Daghestan Jews is agriculture; but little of the land is owned by them, it being usually rented of their Mohammedan neighbors, to whom they pay their rent in produce, usually tobacco. They raise in addition vegetables and grapes; and some of them are engaged in the tanning of hides; while a few are small traders.

Manners and Customs.

The rabbis and prominent Jews of Daghestan in the nineteenth century were:

Rabbis: Shalom ben Melek Mizraḥi, Temir-Khan-Shura; Elijah ben Mishaël Mizraḥi, Derbent; Saadia ben Ezra, Tarku Ephraim ben Ḥaninah; Nissim ben Sharbit, Derbent; Jacob ben Isaac Mizraḥi, chief rabbi of Daghestan (1866), Derbent; Isaac Mizraḥi, father of Jacob, Derbent.

Other prominent men: Abraham ben Enoch, died 1861; David ben Shabbethai; Bisra ben Machir; Ephraim ben Koshi; Joseph ben Rabba; Ḥanukkah ben Jacob; Aaron ben Jeremiah; Pesaḥ ben Jonah; Osiyahu ben Elijah; Baba ben Machir; Mordekai ben Perez; Joshua ben Ḥanukkah; Ḥaninah ben Mordekai; Ẓaddik ben Nissim—all of Temir-Khan-Shura; Benjamin ben Issachar, president of Jewish community (1866), Derbent.

The Jews of Daghestan are noted for their hospitality; and they still retain the old Hebrew custom of washing the feet of strangers who visit them, this duty being performed by the women. The latter, like all Eastern women, lead a rigorous life. They have their separate rooms, are not allowed to sit at the same table with the men, and on the very rare occasions when they show themselves to strangers they keep their faces covered. As in Biblical times, they may be seen every evening on their way to the well, rich and poor alike barefooted and carrying earthenware jars upon their heads. The gathering by the well seems to be a recreation for the women, who exchange news there and linger to gossip with their neighbors. Another occupation which the women appear to enjoy is the noisy lamentation for some departed friend. Gathered on the flat roof, they sit in a circle, and, swaying their bodies, begin a mournful song. Gradually they all wail louder and louder, tearing their hair and biting their fingers until they find themselves compelled to stop from sheer exhaustion. When a funeral occurs the entire community takes part in the lamentations, which are kept up for a whole week. It is customary to break a silver coin over the open grave, and to scatter the fragments in different directions, presumably to drive away evil spirits.

Women.

The Daghestan Jews are very ignorant and superstitious, and are made the more so by their life and surroundings. Their rabbis are illiterate, although they speak Hebrew rather fluently. The Mohammedans often attack and rob the homes of the Jews, destroy their burial-places, and molest their graves. The Jews, being compelled to rent the land of them, are completely at their mercy, and are obliged to pay very heavy taxes, which at times are almost unbearable. In some places the Jews are reduced to great poverty; they live in dugouts, are constantly abused and exploited, possess scarcely any property, and have not even the means to pay for the religious instruction of their children. The Mohammedan landowners require every able-bodied man and woman to work for them a certain number of days in each year, either in the fields, or tending cattle, threshing, repairing their houses, etc. In one village the inhabitants give to the landlords at least one hundred days each in the course of a year, and are obliged besides to furnish a certain number of eggs and chickens, as well as charcoal, sand, wood, salt, and shoes. They must also make many cash payments for various purposes.

There is a tradition among the Jews of Daghestan that they are the descendants of the Lost Ten Tribes; but the history of their wanderings is now forgotten, the written documents which they once possessed having in the course of time been either lost or destroyed.

The mountain Jews dwell in "auls" (villages), scattered among those of non-Jewish tribes; at times in separate communities, and at other times in mixed ones. The greater part of them live in the districts of Temir-Khan-Shura, Kaitago-Tabassaran, and Kyurin, and the remainder in the cities. There are (1902) five synagogues in the province, besides numerous houses of prayer, and twenty-six Hebrew schools with an aggregate of 520 pupils. See Caucasus; Chazars; Derbent.

Bibliography: Chorny, *Sefer ha-Massa'ot*, St. Petersburg, 1884; Anisimov, *Kavkazskie Gortzy-Yevrei*, Moscow, 1888; Veidenbaum, *Putevoditel po Kavkazu*, Tiflis, 1888; Radde and König, *Der Nordfuss des Daghestan*, Gotha, 1895; Hahn, *Aus dem Kaukasus*, p. 179, Leipsic, 1892; Kozubski, *Pamyatnaya Knizhka Dagestanskoi Oblasti na 1895*.

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DAGOBERT: King of France (602–638). In order to emulate the religious zeal of Heraclius and Sisebut, the rulers of the Byzantine and West-Gothic empires, who were persecuting the Jews,

Dagobert decreed, about 629, that the Jews who were not converted to Christianity by a certain date should either leave his dominions or be put to death. "Many changed their faith at that time, while large numbers were slain by the sword," says the Jewish historian ("'Emeḳ ha-Bakah," p. 8). This measure could hardly have been instigated by Heraclius, since it was unlikely that Dagobert was in communication with him; it was rather, as Cassel rightly asserts, a local persecution, directed against certain individuals; and it was not even carried out rigorously, for at the Council of Rheims, held a year later, the canonical decrees issued previously, referring to the traffic in Christian slaves, attendance at Jewish feasts, and the filling of public offices, were renewed.

Bibliography: *Gesta Dagoberti*, i. 586; Ersch and Gruber, *Encyc.*, section ii., part 47, p. 63; Grätz, *Gesch.* v. 65 *et seq.*

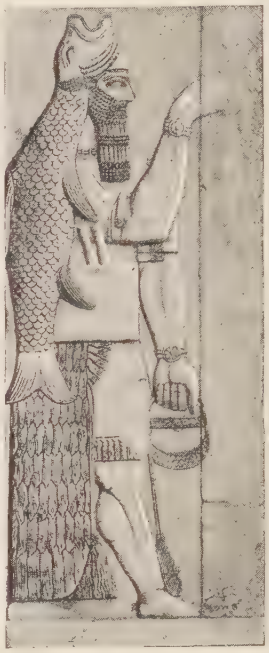
G. M. K.

DAGON (Hebrew, דגון): Philistine god, referred to in Judges xvi. 23; I Sam. v. 2–5; and I Macc. x. 83, xi. 4; but not in Isa. xlvi. 1, where Δαγων, in "Cod. Alex.," is a mistake for Ναβά; nor in I Chron. x. 10, where בית דגון is a corruption of בית ישן (I Sam. xxxi. 10). The extent of the worship of Dagon is also indicated by the name "Beth-dagon," designating (Josh. xv. 41) one of the towns of the Shefela, and another on the boundary of the territory of Asher (*ib.* xix. 27). The inscription of the Phenician king Eshmunazar also mentions "towns of Dagon" (line 19). The significance of this god can be gathered with sufficient certainty from his name and from the plastic representations of him: for דגון is most probably a derivative of דג ("fish"), just as צידון (Sidon) is derived from ציד ("booty") and שמשון (Samson) from שמש ("sun"); and it is probable that "Odakon" ('Ωδάκων), by which the Chaldean

Representation of Dagon.
(From a bas-relief in the Louvre.)

Berosus designates a personification of Oannes, who is supposed to rise out of the Persian Gulf, is identical with "Dakon," probably changed into "Odakon" through the similarity in sound to "Oannes."

It is, furthermore, by no means certain, notwithstanding G. F. Moore in "Encyc. Bibl." i. 985, that Dagon, the Odakon just mentioned, and the Assyrian god Dakan-Dagan stood in no relation with one another. Indeed, it is quite possible, as some scholars have suggested, that the figures of Dagon found on Babylonian gems, on an Assyrian cylinder, on a piece of sculpture from Khorsabad, on a similar piece from Nimrud, and on a Babylonian cylinder (compare the reproductions of these figures, especially in H. Clay Trumbull's "Jonah in Nineveh," 1892, p. 19), combining in different ways the body of a man and of a fish, are simply different representations of the god Dakan-Dagan (see Friedrich Delitzsch in Calwer, "Bibellexikon," *s.v.* "Dagon"; Layard's "Nineveh," 1849, ii. 466 *et seq.*). Neither is it contradicted by what is said in I Sam. v. 4 about the figure of the god Dagon, for the Assyro-Babylonian images also show the head and hands of the god. In this case, Dagon personifies the idea that the ocean, with its wealth of fish, was worshiped as the chief source not only of human nourishment, but also of human culture (compare Berosus' interesting amplifications of this idea in Trumbull, *l.c.* pp. 8–11). The same god would naturally be worshiped both near the Persian Gulf and on the Mediterranean Sea. The El-Amarna tablets indicate an intercourse at an early period between the regions along the Euphrates and Tigris, and those of western Asia and Egypt.



Assyrian Representation of Dagon.
(From Layard's "Nineveh.")

As regards the worship of Dagon, very little is known. Details of the construction of his "house," mentioned in Judges xvi. 26 *et seq.* and in I Sam. v. 1 *et seq.*, are likewise uncertain; and the only feature of the ritual to which reference is made (I Sam. v. 4 *et seq.*; compare Zeph. i. 9) is the fear of touching the threshold of his temple. Dagon's temple at Ashdod was burned by the Maccabee Jonathan (Josephus, "Ant." xiii. 4, § 5). See Threshold, Sacredness of the.

E. C. E. K.

DAINOW, ẒEBI HIRSCH B. ZEËB WOLF (known as the **Slutzker Maggid**): Russian preacher; born at Slutzk, government of Minsk, in 1832; died in London March 6, 1877. He possessed oratorical ability of a high order, and inspired the progressive element of the Russian Jewry through his exhortations in behalf of secular knowledge and his glorification of industry, patriotism, and progress. In him the modern Russo-Jewish "haskalah" (progressive movement) found its orator; and its great exponents, like Gordon, Smolenskin, and their

friends and followers—who up to that time had received from the pulpit nothing but condemnation and censure—recognized in Dainow a powerful ally, and at first encouraged him in every possible way. But he aggravated, rather than allayed, the fear of the conservative classes that he was not in accord with them on some religious questions; and by discarding the traditional dress and manners of the "maggid" he aroused suspicion and also opposition in certain quarters. The support and encouragement that he received from the government officials augmented the hostility, and this fact misled Dainow to believe that he was persecuted by fanatics and had to suffer for the sake of the principles which he wished to enforce on his audiences. Judah Loeb Gordon, who understood the Russian Jews and their needs much better than Dainow did, made light of these imaginary persecutions, and warned Dainow against the evils that would result from a complaint to the authorities against his opponents. The violent attack on his antagonists in general, and particularly on the Jews of Byelostok and on A. B. Gottlober—which Dainow published in "Ha-Shaḥar," v. 329–347—gives a good idea of the condition of his mind. The reply to that attack (*ib.* pp. 601–605) contains a good description of Dainow and his methods at that time.

In 1874 he left Russia forever, and settled in London, where he became preacher in a congregation of Russian and Polish Jews, and also lecturer on Haggadah at the En Jacob synagogue. Even in his letters from London he complained continuously of opposition and persecution, giving vent to grievances that were as imaginary as those he had suffered in his native land, if not more so. All contemporary accounts agree that he was highly respected and well treated in London, where his oratorical powers were recognized even by the English rabbis. His premature death in March, 1877, was universally regretted; and his funeral was probably the most imposing that a Russian Jew had ever had in the British capital.

Besides the article mentioned, there is only one publication bearing Dainow's name. It is a pamphlet named "Kebod ha-Melek" (Glory of the King, Odessa, 1869), and contains a sermon, delivered by Dainow in Odessa, eulogizing Czar Alexander II. It appeared also in a Russian translation.

Bibliography: J. L. Gordon, *Iggerot*, Nos. 60, 62, 77, 79, 97, 98, 101, 107, 108, 111, Warsaw, 1894; *Ha-Maggid*, v. 20, Nos. 8, 11, 13; *Jewish Chronicle*, March 9, 1877.

H. R. P. Wi.

DALBERG, KARL THEODOR, BARON VON: Archbishop of Mayence and subsequently Grand Duke of Frankfort-on-the-Main; born Feb. 8, 1744; died Feb. 10, 1817. He was one of the noblest German princes and statesmen, and took a friendly and liberal attitude toward the Jews. He always favored their complete emancipation; but was long prevented from realizing it in his own dominion, through the Frankfort patricians and, especially, the Rhenish Confederation. After the dissolution of the latter—when Frankfort created a constitution of its own on the principle of equality—Dalberg enacted (Dec. 28, 1811) a special law decreeing that all Jews living in Frankfort, together with their descendants, should enjoy civil rights and privileges equally with other citizens. For this the Jews paid him 440,000 florins, in consideration of which the annual protection tax of 22,000 florins was abolished. Thus Dalberg transmuted the Frankfort Jews from tolerated into full citizens.

Bibliography: Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*, xi. 255, 313; Herzog, *Real-Encyklopädie*, s.v.; Grégoire, *Observation Nouvelle sur les Juifs*, transl. into German in *Sulamith*, 1808; Beaulieu-Marconnay, *Karl von Dalberg und Seine Zeit*, Weimar, 1879, ii. 128 *et seq.*, 202-207.

D. I. War.

DALE, ALAN. See Cohen, Alfred J.

DALET (ד): Fourth letter of the Hebrew alphabet. The name is evidently connected with "delet," meaning "door," and was borrowed from the shape of the letter in the Phenician (ancient Hebrew) script (see Alphabet). It corresponds to the "delta" (Aramaic pronunciation of "dalet") of the Greek alphabet, in which the original form of the letter has been very clearly preserved. In the classification of letters (consonants), as it is found for the first time in "Sefer Yeẓirah" (iv. 3), the dalet is included in the group דטלנת (d, ṭ, l, n, t), which are formed at the upper edge of the tongue. The grammarians, who classify the letters according to the organs of speech by which they are formed, designate this group as linguals (see Abu al-Walid, "Luma'," ii.; Abraham ibn Ezra, "Ẓaḥot," 11b).

According to modern phonetic terminology, dalet ("d") is the sonant dental, corresponding to which ת ("t") is the mute, and ט ("ṭ") the emphatic explosive dental (König, "Lehrgebäude der Hebräischen Sprache," i. 34). According to the Masorah, dalet belongs to the letters (בגדכפת) which have a double pronunciation: softened or aspirated, and hard or unaspirated (see under Dagesh). The aspirated dalet (ד) was most probably pronounced like the Neo-Greek *ð* or the soft English "th" (in "the"). In the grammatical division of the letters which has been adopted generally by Hebrew philology since Saadia, dalet is included in the eleven which occur only as root sounds and never as functional sounds. Only Dunash b. Labraṭ included the ד as well as the ט in the group of functional sounds, because in forming the "hitpa'el" of certain roots, both represent ת (see Bacher, "Abraham ibn Esar als Grammatiker," p. 58).

For the textual criticism of the Biblical books the similarity of dalet (ד) and resh (ר) is an important point, as may be seen, for example, on comparing Gen. x. 3 with I Chron. i. 6 (ריפת and דיפת) or Gen. x. 4 with I Chron. i. 7 (דודנים and רודנים). In Job xxiv. 24 רמו is translated by the Targum אוריכו as if the word were דמו ("wait"), which was certainly the original reading. As a numeral, ד has the value 4. As an abbreviation it stands for דף ("page"), especially in later literature, and also for other words beginning with ד. The tetragrammaton is sometimes represented by ד', as being the second letter of אדני.

G. W. B.

DALLAS: County seat of Dallas county, Texas, on the east bank of the Trinity River. It was settled in 1844. It has a population of 50,000, including 1,200 Jews. Moses Ullmann, now of Galveston,

Tex., and Dr. E. M. Tillman, still of Dallas, were the first Jewish settlers, taking up their residence there in February, 1871. A few emigrants made Dallas their home after the promulgation of the Russian May Laws in 1881, a larger number arriving subsequent to the Russian persecutions ten years later. Since then the growth of the Jewish population has been gradual and steady.

The Hebrew Benevolent Association was founded in May, 1872, and the Ladies' Hebrew Benevolent Association in the same year. The Jewish cemetery was purchased in 1872, and the first Jewish service was held during the New-Year holidays of that year. Dallas Lodge, No. 197, I. O. B. B., was established in 1873, and now has a large membership. Congregation Emanuel was organized in 1874, and held its first service in the hall of the I. O. B. B. Temple Emanuel was dedicated on Shabuoth (Feast of Pentecost), 1876, but having become too small for the increased congregation, a new temple on Ervay street was dedicated in 1898. The Orthodox Jews established a congregation, Shearith Israel, in 1884, but their synagogue was not dedicated till 1894. Besides the two congregations here mentioned, there are two ḥebrot (small congregations) maintained by the Polish, Russian, and Rumanian immigrants. The Orthodox community also supports a ladies' benevolent association, making three Jewish benevolent societies in Dallas.

The social and literary interests of the Dallas community are represented by the Phœnix Club and the Progressive Literary Association. Benevolent orders are represented by the I. O. B. B., Free Sons of Israel, and B'rith Abraham. The following rabbis have ministered at Temple Emanuel since its foundation: A. Suhler, H. M. Bien, Henry Schul, Joseph Silverman, E. M. Chapman, G. A. Kohut, Oscar J. Cohen, and William H. Greenburg, the present (1902) incumbent.

In active communal and public life Dr. E. M. Tillman, David Goslin, E. M. Kahn, Charles Kahn, Alex. Ortlieb, and Alex. Sanger are prominent. Philip Sanger, recently (1902) deceased, was identified with nearly every public movement in the city. D. A. Eldridge, attorney, is an ardent communal worker.

Dallas has a Jewish weekly newspaper, "The Jewish Sentiment," edited and published by Frank J. Cohen.

Bibliography: H. Cohen, *Settlement of the Jews in Texas*, in *Pub. Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.* No. 2.

A. H. C.

DALMBERT, SIMON MAYER: Officer in the French army, and communal worker; born at Mutzig, Bas-Rhin, in 1776; died May 11, 1840. He took part in the early campaigns of the empire, at first with the cavalry, then with the infantry. He was commissioned at Cassel in 1809 to organize the army of Westphalia. Returning to France after the fall of the kingdom of Westphalia, he settled at Paris (1813), entering the service of the government. He took an active interest in the organization of Jewish worship, being nominated vice-president of the Central Jewish Consistory of Paris in 1816. He was instrumental in the abrogation (1818) of the decree of March 17, 1808 (see Napoleon I.). He obtained the royal ordinance of June 29, 1819, establishing Jewish primary schools, and secured the ordinance of Aug. 20, 1823. Dalmbert also contributed to the establishment in 1829 of the central rabbinical school of Metz. He was made a member of the Legion of Honor and was decorated with the Order of Westphalia.

Bibliography: *Archives Israélites*, 1840.

S. J. W.

DALPHON: The second of the ten sons of Haman. All were killed by the Jews and hanged upon gallows (Esth. ix. 10–14). The Septuagint reading is Δελφών.

E. G. H. G. B. L.

DALPUGET: Family of merchants; settled at Bordeaux, France. They originally came from Avignon, and refused to obey the decree of expulsion from Bordeaux passed by the jurats and Parliament of that city in 1734 at the request of the Portuguese Jews there. Successive decrees in 1739 and 1740 were likewise suffered to pass unnoticed, the Dalpugets plying their trade as linen merchants and building up quite a large business as bankers. In time the members of this family came to be looked upon as the leaders of the Avignonese Jews. In 1750 they were tacitly accepted as citizens of Bordeaux, although they still labored under certain disabilities, for the removal of which they and members of the Astruc and Lange families petitioned the king in 1757. In 1759 (July 14), letters patent of complete registration were granted to them.

Emanuel, Israel, Jacob, Joseph, Manuel, and **Salon Dalpuget** were the most prominent members of the family, all being engaged in commerce at Bordeaux. Several of the female members were converted to Christianity.

Bibliography: Th. Malvezin, *Histoire des Juifs à Bordeaux*, Bordeaux, 1875, Index, *s.v.*

D. A. M. F.

DALY, CHARLES P.: Historian and jurist; born in New York city 1816; died in 1899. Daly was of Roman Catholic parentage. He was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-three, and, after serving for a year in the state legislature, was elected judge of the court of commons pleas of New York in 1844, and filled the judicial office for forty-two years, for twenty-seven years as chief justice, retiring in 1886.

Judge Daly's profound scholarship, unquestioned integrity, brilliant conversational gifts, and commanding dignity combined to give him for many years a unique position in American life. He was deeply interested in Jewish affairs and Jewish history, and lost no opportunity to express disapproval of anti-Semitism. He was often chosen to be the orator at important Jewish functions, as, for instance, on the occasion of the celebration in 1872 of the fiftieth anniversary of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum in New York city; and again in 1883 on the laying of the corner-stone of the new building erected by that society, both of these addresses being published at the time. The former, as expanded by him in 1893, was reprinted in book form, with annotations by Max J. Kohler, under the title "Settlement of the Jews in North America,"

New York, 1893. It was one of the earliest works on the subject of American-Jewish history, and is still authoritative. Judge Daly was an honorary member of the American Jewish Historical Society, and several times presided over sessions of its annual meetings.

Bibliography: Max J. Kohler, in *The American Hebrew*, Sept. 22, 1899, reprinted in pamphlet form; *Publications Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.* No. 9, pp. 157–160.

A. M. J. K.

DAMA, SON OF NETINA: The name of a non-Israelite held up by Rabbi Eliezer and other rabbis to his brethren as an example of true love and piety toward parents. He lived in Ashkelon, and occupied there a high position, being *πατήρ βουλῆς*, "head of the council" (Pesiḳ. R. 23). One day, when grossly insulted by his mother in the presence of his colleagues, he preserved his reverential attitude toward her, and no angry utterance escaped his lips. Dama was once in possession of a precious stone wanted to complete the breastplate of the high priest. The agents commissioned to buy it happened to come when his father was asleep, the key of the box containing the stone being under his pillow. No offer of the agents could induce Dama to disturb his father. The agents were disappointed and went away. It is further related that in the year following, a red heifer was born in his herd, which compensated for the sacrifice incurred in carrying out his filial duty. As regards the name "Netina," it can not be determined with certainty whether it is that of a male or of a female. "Netina" may mean one of the Netinim (see Mishnah Ḳid. i. 1; compare the name *Δημάινετος*, name of a popular leader in the city of Gaza; Josephus, "Ant." xiii. 12, § 3).

Bibliography: *Ḳid.* 31; *'Ab. Zarah* 23; *Yer. Peah* i. 1; *Ḳid.* i. 7; *Pesiḳ. R.* 23.

S. S. M. F.

DAMAGE: Money recoverable as amends for a wrong or injury sustained. The simple and clear rule as to the obligation of a person who has caused damage to his fellow man is to give full compensation, and is expressed in the words "He that kindled the fire shall surely make restitution" (Ex. xxii. 6). Where one causes physical injury to his fellow man the following five things are to be considered in determining the amount of compensation due to the injured person: (1) "nezeḳ," the permanent loss, if any, caused by the injury; (2) "shebet," the temporary loss during the illness caused by the injury; (3) "za'ar," the pain and suffering of the injured person; (4) "rippui," the cost of the cure required for the restoration of health; (5) "boshet," the insult involved in the injury. The rule "as he hath done so shall it be done to him; breach for breach," etc. (Lev. xxiv. 19), has been interpreted by Jewish tradition and practise to refer to compensation, and does not demand actual mutilation of the body, as a literal interpretation might imply. Compensation had to be given by the offender not only for injuries inflicted by himself, but also for those caused by his property. The latter are brought under four heads ("arba'ah abot neziḳin"), namely: (1) a goring ox, (2) a pit, (3) a feeding animal, (4) fire. See Baba Ḳamma; Neziḳin.

S. S. M. F.

DAMASCUS: An ancient city of Asia Minor, situated at the foot of the Anti-Lebanon, 180 miles south by west of Aleppo; now the capital of the vilayet of Syria. In the Old Testament it is called דמשק (Dammeseḳ), or דרמשק (Darmeseḳ, I Chron. xviii. 5 *et seq.*; II Chron. xvi. 2, xxiv. 23), or דומשק (Dummeseḳ, II Kings xvi. 10). The form with "r" is Aramaic, although the Egyptian lists also contain a "Saramaski," which W. Max Müller ("Asien und Europa," p. 227) explains as "Tiramaski." The usual Egyptian transcription is "Timasḳu" (*ib.* pp. 162, 234). In the cuneiform inscriptions the name reads "Dimashḳi" or "Dimashḳa," the latter form being used also in the El-Amarna tablets (ed. Winckler, 142, 21), where, however, the form "Timashgi" (*ib.* 139, 63) also occurs. The Arabs called the city "Dimashḳ-al-Sham," for which "Al-Sham" is today usually substituted.

Position.

The present Damascus, which is undoubtedly situated on the site of the ancient city, covers the northwestern part of the beautiful and fruitful plain Al-Ghuṭa, south of the Anti-Lebanon. This plain is intersected by numerous mountain streams, one of which, Nahr Barada ("Amana," II Kings v. 12; the "Chrysorrhoas" of the Greeks), on leaving the mountains, separates into seven branches, two of which pass through Damascus. The rich vegetation of the plain, as well as the numerous gardens behind which the city lies half concealed, presents an enchanting view to the traveler approaching from the desert, who now understands why both Jews (Bab. 'Er. 19a) and Bedouins have called the city a paradise.

The situation is particularly favorable to commerce. Caravan routes of great antiquity, stretching from the shores of the Mediterranean, from Arabia, from the Euphrates, and from northern Syria converge at Damascus and serve to make it a commercial center of great importance. That inhabitants of the city, even in ancient times, utilized its favorable location is evident from I Kings xx. 34. Among the articles of commerce, Ezek. xxvii. 18 mentions wine of Helbon and other commodities. Unfortunately, however, these passages, owing to the corruption of the text, are no longer intelligible (compare Cornill, Bertholet, Kraetzschmar, and Toy *ad loc.*).

In Biblical Times.

That Josephus ("Ant." i. 6, § 4) mentions Uz, the son of Aram, as founder of Damascus, has little value, as the tradition probably reflects later conditions only. Similarly, the statement of Nicholas of Damascus ("Ant." i. 7, § 2), according to which Abraham immigrated to Damascus and ruled there for a time, probably rests upon later combination (compare Justin, xxxvi. 2), and finds no firm support in the ambiguous statement of Gen. xv. 2. The oldest reliable data in regard to the city are found on the Egyptian monuments, to which the El-Amarna tablets may be added. Damascus is mentioned among the cities captured by Thothmes III. From the El-Amarna tablets it appears that under Amenophis III. the Egyptian dominion in these districts began to totter, as the Hittites continually invaded the country. If the identification of Max Müller (see above) is correct, Rameses III. succeeded in conquering the city. At the time of David, Damascus,

together with the neighboring territory, was inhabited by Arameans. They endeavored to come to the assistance of their hard-pressed fellow tribesmen of Zobah; but David overthrew them, so that Damascus was compelled to recognize his authority (II Sam. viii. 5 *et seq.*). Under Solomon the fruits of this conquest were lost. A former subject of the King of Zobah, Rezon (LXX. 'Εσρώμ), the son of Eliadah, declared himself King of Damascus and founded a kingdom which was destined to give the Israelites considerable trouble (I Kings xi. 23 *et seq.*). The struggles with the Arameans of Damascus, of which the Jewish kings skilfully availed themselves (*ib.* xv. 18 *et seq.*), constitute a great part of the history of the Ephraimitic kingdom (*ib.* xx. 22; II Kings vi., viii. 12, x. 32, xiii.; Amos i. 3). Only when the danger threatening from Assyria became more obvious did a later king, Rezin (or, more correctly, Raẓun) of Damascus, change his policy. He formed a coalition with Pekah of Ephraim, with whose help he determined to enter upon the conquest of Judah (Isa. vii. 1–16). Ahaz meanwhile summoned the aid of the Assyrians; and the new policy finally led to the conquest of Damascus by an Assyrian army in 732 B.C. (II Kings xvi. 9). Concerning the city and its inhabitants during a period of 200 years there is no information. According to I Kings xx. 34, a quarter of the city was assigned to the Ephraimitic merchants. II Kings xvi. 10 *et seq.* mentions an altar in the city, of which Ahaz ordered a copy to be made; otherwise information on the religion of the Damascenes is confined to the facts which may be gleaned from the theophorous names of the kings (compare Baethgen, "Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte," pp. 66 *et seq.*).

After its conquest by the Assyrians, Damascus continued to be of a certain importance because of its favorable position. While little can be gleaned from the references contained in the Later Prophets (Jer. xlix. 23 *et seq.*; Ezek. xxvii. 18, xlvii. 16 *et seq.*; Zech. ix. 1), it is clear that the city, like other places in Syria, exchanged Assyrian for Babylonian rule, and this again for that of the Persians and of Alexander the Great. After the battle of Issus (333 B.C.), Damascus, when the Persian king had left behind his harem and his treasure, was treacherously delivered over to Parthenio (Curtius, iii. 13). During the following period, although the Ptolemies occasionally succeeded in exerting dominion over the city, it was principally in possession of the Seleucids; Antioch, however, and not Damascus, was made their capital.

In Post-Biblical Times.

In the history of the Maccabees the city is mentioned several times in connection with the campaigns of Jonathan (I Macc. xi. 62, xii. 32); and upon the division of the Seleucid empire it became for a short time the capital of a smaller kingdom (Josephus, "Ant." xiii. 13, § 4; 15, § 1). But in the year 85 Antiochus XII. was vanquished by the Nabatæan princes, who as a consequence acquired control over Damascus (*ib.* xiii. 15, §§ 1–2). About 70 B.C. Ptolemy of Chalcis endeavored to take the city, for which reason Aristobulus, son of the Jewish queen Alexandra, marched to its aid (*ib.* xiii. 16, § 3). But in 65 the Romans put an end to this period of changes by conquering Damascus and incorporating it with the province of Syria. Damascus obtained, however, the relative independence of a Hellenic city, and belonged to the municipal confederation of the Decapolis (Schürer, "Gesch." 3d ed., iii. 118 *et seq.*). The importance of the district which belonged to Damascus may be seen from the fact that it was adjacent to that of Sidon (Josephus, "Ant." xviii. 6, § 3). For a time the city was again under the dominion of the Nabatæan kings, inasmuch as the Arabian king Aretas (II Cor. xi. 32) had an ethnarch there, the Romans having probably accorded this privilege for the purpose of propitiating him.

At this time about 10,000 Jews lived at Damascus, governed by an ethnarch (Acts ix. 2; II Cor. xi. 32). The attraction which Judaism exercised at that time over the pagans was so great that many men and women were converted to that religion. Paul succeeded, after a first rebuff, in converting many of the Jews of Damascus to Christianity (49 C.E.). This irritated the Jewish ethnarch to such a degree that he attempted to arrest Paul; and the latter's friends only saved his life by lowering him in a basket out of a window built in the wall of the city. Many Jews were murdered by the pagan inhabitants upon the outbreak of the great war of liberation (Josephus, "B. J." ii. 20, § 2; vii. 8, § 7). Later, Damascus, as the coins show, obtained the title of metropolis; and under Alexander Severus, when the city was a Christian colony, it became the seat of a bishop, who enjoyed a rank next to that of the Patriarch of Antioch. In the fifth century, under the rule of the Eastern empire, being the Talmudic time, Jews were living at Damascus; for the rabbi Rafram bar Pappa went to pray in the synagogue of Jobar (Bab. Ber. 50a). During the conflicts between the Byzantines and the Persians the city frequently suffered heavily. When Syria was conquered by the Persians (614), the Jews of Damascus, profiting by the presence of the invaders, joined with their coreligionists of Palestine to take vengeance on the Christians, especially those of Tyre. In 635 Damascus fell into the hands of the Mohammedans; the inhabitants, by their timely and voluntary surrender, succeeding in saving fifteen Christian churches.

In Talmudic Times.

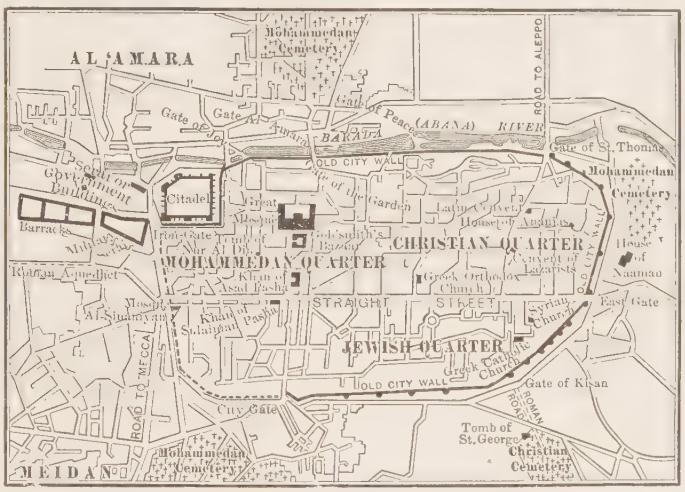
The rule of the Ommiads brought a new period of splendor to the city, which now became the capital of that califate. The Jewish community continued, and certainly existed in 970; "for," says a historian, "Joseph ben Abitur of Cordova, having lost all hope of becoming the chief rabbi of that city, went to Palestine in that year, and settled at Damascus" (Abraham ibn David, "Sefer ha-Ḳabbalah," in Neubauer, "Med. Jew. Chron." i. 69; Conforte, "Ḳore ha-Dorot," 5b). This period terminated with the advent of the Abbassids, and the city suffered during the following centuries from continuous wars. Fortunately for the Jews, it resisted the siege of the Second Crusade (1147). Some time afterward a large number of Palestinian Jews sought refuge at Damascus from the enormous taxes imposed upon them by the Crusaders, thus increasing the community.

Under Arab Rule.

G. F. Bu.

Little information exists concerning the Jews in Damascus during the following centuries. The few data are given by travelers who visited the place. In 1128 Abraham ibn Ezra visited Damascus (though compare the note of Harkavy, "Ḥadashim gam Yeshanim," vii. 38). According to Edelmann ("Ginze Oxford," p. ix.), Judah ha-Levi composed his famous poem on Zion in this city; but Harkavy (*l.c.* p. 35) has shown that "Al-Sham" here designates Palestine and not Damascus. In 1267 Naḥmanides visited Damascus and succeeded in leading a Jewish colony to Jerusalem.

Benjamin of Tudela visited Damascus in 1170, while it was in the hands of the Seljukian prince Nur al-Din. He found there 3,000 Rabbinite Jews and 200 Karaites. Jewish studies flourished there much more than in Palestine; according to Bacher it is possible that during the twelfth century the seat of the Palestinian academy was transferred to the city. The principal rabbis of the city were: Rabbi Ezra and his brother Sar Shalom, president of the tribunal; Yussef Ḥamsi, R. Mazliaḥ, R. Meïr, Yussef ibn Piat, R. Heman, the parnas, and R. Ẓadok, physician.



Plan of the Modern City of Damascus.
(After Baedeker, "Palestine and Syria.")

About the same time Pethahiah of Regensburg was here. He found "about 10,000 Jews, who have a prince. The head of their academy is Rabbi Ezra, who is full of the knowledge of the Law; for Rabbi Samuel, the head of the Academy of Babylon, ordained him" (ed. Benisch, p. 53). It was a Damascus rabbi, Judah b. Josiah, who, toward the end of the twelfth century, was "nagid" in Egypt (Sambari, in "Med. Jew. Chron." i. 133). At a later period another nagid, David b. Joshua, also came from Damascus (Grätz, "Gesch." ix., note i.).

In 1210 a French Jew, Samuel b. Simson, visited the city. He speaks of the beautiful synagogue situated outside the city (Jobar) and said to have been constructed by Elisha (see below; compare "Oẓar Ṭob," 1878, p. 38; Carmoly, "Itineraires," p. 136).

Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century.

Under Saladin the city again enjoyed considerable importance; but upon his death the disturbances began anew, until in 1516 the city fell into the hands of the Turks, since which time it has declined to the rank of a provincial town.

It seems probable that Al-Ḥarizi also visited Damascus during the first decade of the thirteenth century. At least he mentions the city in the celebrated forty-sixth "Makamah."

Toward the end of the thirteenth century Jesse b. Hezekiah, a man full of energy, arose in Damascus. He was recognized by Sultan Kelaün of Egypt as prince and exilarch, and in 1289 and in June, 1290, in conjunction with his twelve colleagues, he put the anti-Maimonists under the ban (Grätz, "Gesch." vii. 186–195).

The letters of the rabbis of Damascus and of Acre have been collected in the "Minḥat-Ḳena'ot" (a compilation made by Abba Mari, grandson of Don Astruc of Lunel). No data are available for the fourteenth century. Estori Farḥi (1313) contents himself with the mere mention of Damascene Jews journeying to Jerusalem (Zunz, "G. S." ii. 269). A manuscript of David Ḳimḥi on Ezekiel was written by Nathan of Narbonne and collated with the original by R. Ḥiyya in Damascus, Ab 18, 1375 (Neubauer, "Cat. Bodl. Hebr. MSS." No. 316). The Jewish community of Damascus continued its existence under the sultans (Borgites and Mamelukes) of Egypt, who conquered Syria; for the Jewish refugees of Spain established themselves among their coreligionists in that city in 1492, constructing a synagogue which they called "Khata'ib." The anonymous author of the "Yiḥus ha-Abot" (1537; published by Uri b. Simeon in 1564) also speaks of the beauties of Damascus; and of the synagogue at Jobar, "half of which was constructed by Elisha, half by Eleazar b. 'Arak" (Carmoly, *l.c.* p. 457; compare similar accounts by Raphael of Troyes and Azulai, *ib.* p. 487).

Elijah of Ferrara (1438) had come to Jerusalem and had a certain jurisdiction in rabbinical matters over Damascus as well. He speaks of a great plague which devastated Egypt, Syria, and Jerusalem; but he does not say in how far the Jews of the first-named city suffered (Carmoly, *l.c.* p. 333). Menahem Ḥayyim of Volterra visited Damascus in 1481, and found 450 Jewish families, "all rich, honored, and merchants." The head of the community was a certain R. Joseph, a physician ("Jerusalem," i. 211).

Obadiah of Bertinoro (1488) speaks in one of his letters of the riches of the Jews in Damascus, of the beautiful houses and gardens (ed. Neubauer, p. 30). A few years later (1495) an anonymous traveler speaks in like eulogistic terms (*ib.* p. 84). He lived

with a certain Moses Makran, and he relates that the Damascene Jews dealt in dress-goods or engaged in some handicraft. They lent money to the Venetians at 24 per cent interest.

An anonymous Jewish traveler (see "Shibḥe Yerushalayim," 51b; and Graetz, "Hist." Hebrew transl., vii. 27) who arrived a few years after the Spanish immigration, found at Damascus 500 Jewish households; also a Karaite community whose members called themselves "Muallim-Ṣadaḳah"; and a more important Rabbinite community, composed of three groups and possessing three beautiful synagogues. One of these belonged to the Sephardim; another, to the Moriscos (Moorish Jews) or natives; and the third, to the Sicilians. In each synagogue there was a preacher, who read the works of Maimonides to the pious every day after the prayer. The preacher of the Sephardim was Isḥaḳ Mas'ud, that of the natives Shem-Ṭob al-Furani, and that of the Sicilians Isaac Ḥaber. There were also two small schools for young students of the Talmud, containing respectively thirty and forty pupils.

Interior of a Damascus Synagogue.
(After a photograph.)

Sixty Jewish families were living in the village of Jobar, one mile from Damascus, who had a very beautiful synagogue. "I have never seen anything like it," says the author; "it is supported by thirteen columns. Tradition says that it dates from the time of the prophet Elisha, and that he here anointed King Hazael [see also Sambari in Neubauer, "Med. Jew. Chron." i. 152]. R. Eleazar ben 'Arak [tannaite of the first century] repaired this synagogue." In order to indicate, finally, that the city was even then under the Ottoman rule, the narrator adds that the people of Damascus had just received a governor ("na'ib") from Constantinople.

The "Chronicle" of Joseph Sambari (finished 1672) contains the names of a number of rabbis of note who lived here during the sixteenth century. He says that the Jewish community lived chiefly in Jobar, and he knows of the synagogue of Elisha and the cave of Elijah the Tishbite. At the head of the community was a certain Abu Ḥaṣirah (so-called from a peculiar kind of headdress which he wore), who was followed by 'Abd Allah ibn Naṣir. Of the rabbis of Damascus proper he mentions Joseph Ḥayyaṭ; Samuel Aripol, author of "Mizmor le-Todah"; Samuel ibn 'Imran; Joseph al-Ṣa'iḥ; Moses Najjarah, author of "Lekaḥ Ṭob"; Ḥayyim Alshaich; Joseph Maṭalon; Abraham Galante ("Med. Jew. Chron." i. 152). In this home of learning there was also a model-codex of the Bible called "Al-Taj" (the Crown; *ib.* p. 119). In 1547 Pierre Belon visited Damascus in the train of the French ambassador M. de Fumel. He speaks of the large number of Jews there; but makes the singular confusion of placing in this city the events connected with the famous Aḥmad Shaiṭan of Egypt ("Revue Etudes Juives," xxvii. 129).

In the Sixteenth Century.

Among the spiritual leaders of Damascus in the sixteenth century may be mentioned: Jacob Berab, who, in the interval between his sojourns in Egypt and at Safed, lived there for some years (*c.* 1534); Ḥayyim Vital the Calabrian (1526–1603), for many years chief rabbi of Damascus, and the author of various cabalistic works, including "Eẓ-Ḥayyim"; Samuel ben David the Karaite (not "Jemsel," as Carmoly, "Itineraires," p. 511, has it), who visited Damascus in 1641, mentions the circumstance that the Karaites there do not read the Haftarah after the Pentateuch section (*ib.* p. 526; but see Zunz, "Ritus," p. 56). Moses Nagara; his son, the poet Israel Nagara; and Moses Galante (died in 1608), the son of Mordecai Galante, were also among the prominent men of the sixteenth century. The most celebrated rabbis of the seventeenth century were Josiah Pinto, a pupil of Jacob Abulafia, and author of the "Kesef-Nibḥar" ("Med. Jew. Chron." i. 153; "Ḳore ha-Dorot," 49b), and his son-in-law, Samuel Vital, who transcribed and circulated a large number of his father's cabalistic manuscripts. During the eighteenth century nothing important is known of the community.

In the Nineteenth Century.

Some information is obtainable from travelers who visited Damascus during the nineteenth century. Alfred von Kremer, in "Mittel-Syrien und Damaskus" (1853), states that in the municipal government of the city two Christians and one Jew had places; the number of Jews was 4,000, only 1,000 of whom, however, paid the poll-tax; the last Karaite had died there some fifty years previously, the Karaite synagogue being then sold to the Greeks, who turned it into a church ("Monatsschrift," iii. 75). Benjamin II. gives the same number of inhabitants.

He describes the synagogue at Jobar (to the northeast of the city) thus:

"The structure of this ancient building reminds one of the Mosque Moawiah; the interior is supported by 13 marble pillars, six on the right and seven on the left side, and is everywhere inlaid with marble. There is only one portal by which to enter. Under the holy shrine . . . is a grotto . . . the descent to which is by a flight of about 20 steps. According to the Jews, the Prophet Elisha is said to have found in this grotto a place of refuge. . . . At the entrance of the synagogue, toward the middle of the wall to the right, is an irregularly formed stone, on which can be observed the traces of several steps. Tradition asserts that upon this step sat King Hazael when the Prophet Elisha anointed him king" ("Eight Years in Asia and Africa," pp. 41 *et seq.*).

was appointed by an imperial decree in 1888 (still in office in 1901).

During the nineteenth century the Jews of Damascus were several times made the victims of calumnies, the gravest being those of 1840 and 1860, in the reign of the sultan 'Abd al-Majid. That of 1840, commonly known as the Damascus Affair, was an accusation of ritual murder brought against the Jews in connection with the death of Father Thomas. The second accusation brought against the Jews, in 1860, was that of having taken part in the massacre of the Christian Maronites by the Druses and the Mohammedans. Five hundred of the last named,

Court-yard of a Jewish Residence at Damascus.
(From a photograph by Bonfils.)

Benjamin II. also speaks of valuable copies of parts of the Bible to be found in Damascus; though the dates he gives (581 and 989) are unreliable. Neubauer mentions a copy of the Bible which belonged to Elisha ben Abraham b. Benvenisti, called "Crescas," and which was finished in 1382 ("Med. Jew. Chron." i. 21).

Damascus has had eight chief rabbis during the last hundred years, namely: (1) Joseph David Abulafia (1809–16). (2) Jacob Antebi (1816–1833). (3) Jacob Perez (1833–48). (4) Aaron Bagdadi (1848–66). (During the next two years the office of chief rabbi was vacant, owing to internal quarrels.) (5) Ḥayyim Ḳimḥi of Constantinople (1868–72). (6) Mercado Kilḥi of Nish (1872–76). (7) Isaac Abulafia (1876–88). (8) Solomon Eliezer Alfandari, commonly called "Mercado Alfandari" of Constantinople, who

who had been involved in the affair, were hanged by the grand vizier Fuad Pasha. Two hundred Jews were awaiting the same fate, in spite of their innocence, and the whole Jewish community had been fined 4,000,000 piasters. The condemned Jews were saved only by the official intervention of Fuad Pasha himself; that of the Prussian consul, Dr. Wetzstein; of Sir Moses Montefiore of London, and of the bankers Abraham Camondo of Constantinople and Shemaya Angel of Damascus. From that time even down to the present day, blood accusations have several times been brought against the Jews; these, however, have never provoked any great excitement.

The present Jewish community of Damascus numbers 11,000 (though in 1894 Socin-Benzinger, in Baedeker's "Palestine," 2d ed., estimated their num-

ber as 6,320) persons in a total population of 160,000 inhabitants. It has eight synagogues, besides the ancient one of Jobar; several of them, according to local traditions, date from the sixteenth century. The entire administration of the community is concentrated in the hands of the chief rabbi, his secretary, and some rabbis. Twice a year, at Passover and at Sukkot, all the families are taxed by the chief rabbi in proportion to their means, and the revenues are collected accordingly. This sum is used to defray the salaries of the chief rabbi, the rabbis who study the Talmud at the yeshibah, and the slaughterers at the butcher-shops; also to relieve the poor of the community. The chief rabbi ("ḥakam bashi") represents the community in affairs with the government. There is also a spiritual chief to decide in religious questions, the incumbent in 1901 being Isaac Abulafia. On the peculiarities of the ritual, which Damascus has in common with other Syrian communities, see Zunz, "Ritus," pp. 55, 56.

Situation in 1901.

There are four Jewish benevolent societies in Damascus: (1) "Aḥe-Ezer" (mutual help), distributing money and food to the needy Jews of the city; (2) "Yishma' Yisrael," furnishing dowries for poor young girls; (3) "Biḳḳur Ḥolim," for relief of the sick poor; (4) the Ladies' Society, helping indigent families and women in childbirth.

The majority of the Jewish population are engaged as engravers on copper and wood, or as weavers, carpenters, and smiths. There are a few bankers and some small merchants. Four or five Jews are employed in the government offices, among them being Jacob Ades Effendi, inspector-general of real estate on the civil list in the vilayet of Damascus. But the mass of the population lives in misery. The members of the rabbinate, who form a kind of corporation, study in the yeshibot or in libraries belonging to pious families. Isaac Abulafia, the spiritual leader, is the only rabbinical author of the present time. Of the eight works which he has written, five are entitled "Pene-Yiẓḥaḳ"; one, "Leb-Nishbar"; and two are collections of discourses. Some of these books are still in manuscript.

Aside from the synagogues mentioned above, there is a yeshibah containing many books and an ancient genizah. In 1880 the Alliance Israélite Universelle founded a boys' school (which in 1899 had 229 pupils on its roll), and in 1883 a school for girls (298 on the roll in 1899). Two of the most important Talmud Torahs are now under the supervision of the Alliance: in 1899 they had 419 on their rolls. The Anglo-Jewish Association also contributes to the support of all these schools.

In 1902 a dispensary for the Jews was opened in Damascus by Edward D. Stern of London ("Jew. Chron." Jan. 2, 1903, p. 24).

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G. M. Fr.—G.

DAMASCUS AFFAIR: Accusation of ritual murder brought against the Jews of Damascus in 1840. At that time Damascus, together with Syria, belonged to Mohammed Ali, pasha of Egypt, who had revolted against the authority of his suzerain, the sultan Maḥmud of Constantinople. The governor of Damascus was an Egyptian Arab, Sherif Pasha by name.

On Feb. 5, 1840, Father Thomas, originally from Sardinia, and the superior of a Franciscan convent at Damascus, disappeared with his servant. This monk, who practised medicine, was very well known in the Jewish and Mohammedan quarters, as well as among the Christians. Some days previous he had had a dispute with a Turkish muleteer, who had heard him blaspheme Mohammed, whereupon the Turk is reported to have said: "That dog of a Christian shall die by my hand." Upon Thomas' disappearance the French consul at Damascus, Ratti Menton, who was an enemy to the Jews, following the advice of certain monks, instituted investigations in the Jewish quarter; and the governor, Sherif Pasha, pretending to act merely in accordance with the friendly relations existing between the governments of Louis Philippe and Mohammed Ali, aided the French consul in a culpable way. A confession was extorted by torture from a Jewish barber named Negrin, and eight of the most notable Jews, among them Joseph Lañado, Moses Abulafia, and Farḥi, were imprisoned and tortured. Their teeth and beards were pulled out, they were burned, and finally tempted with gold, to persuade them to confess an imaginary crime. Lañado, a feeble old man, died under this treatment. Moses Abulafia became a Mohammedan in order to escape the torture. In spite of the stoic courage displayed by the sufferers, Sherif Pasha and Ratti Menton agreed on the guilt of the accused in view of the words resembling a confession that had escaped them in their agony. While Ratti Menton published libels against the Jews in French and in Arabic, Sherif Pasha wrote to his master, Mohammed Ali, demanding authorization to execute the murderers of Father Thomas. In the mean time the populace fell upon the synagogue in the suburb of Jobar, pillaged it, and destroyed the scrolls of the Law.

The Jewish communities of Europe were appealed to, and public meetings were held in London, Paris, and even New York and Philadelphia. Especially important was a meeting called by the lord mayor of London at the Mansion House, London, July 3, 1840. As a result the lawyer Isaac Crémieux and the Orientalist Salomon Munk from France, and Sir Moses Montefiore from England were sent as mediators to Alexandria to plead with the khedive. They arrived at Alexandria Aug. 4, and after repeated interviews with Mohammed Ali, obtained from him, on Aug. 28, the unconditional release and recognition of the innocence of the nine prisoners who still remained alive of the thirteen imprisoned. They then went to Constantinople, and obtained from the sultan Majid a firman declaring the accusation of ritual murder to be absurd (see Blood Accusation). The Austrian consul at Damascus, Merlatto, and the Austrian consul-general at Alexandria defended the rights of the Jews during all the incidents arising in this celebrated case. It was in part the Damascus affair which suggested to

some French Jews later the idea of founding the Alliance Israélite Universelle.

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D. M. Fr.

DAMIANI, PETER: Italian prelate; born at Ravenna 1007; died at Faenza 1072. About 1035 he entered the convent of Fonte Avellana near Gubbio, of which he became abbot. Together with Hildebrand, subsequently Pope Gregory VII., and Abbot Desiderius of Monte Casino, Damiani belonged to the most zealous champions of Church reform. In 1057 he was appointed Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia. At the instance of an Egyptian ecclesiastic, Honestus, he wrote two small controversial pamphlets to serve as a guide in religious disputations against the Jews, although he himself had no taste for such polemics.

In the first of these pamphlets, "Antilogus Contra Judæos," he sought, by means of numerous passages from the Old Testament, such as those relating to the Creation, the building of the Tower of Babel, the triple priestly benediction, the thrice-repeated "Holy," and the Messianic passages, to prove the Christian doctrines of the Trinity, the Messiah, and the divine sonship of Jesus. In the second, entitled "Dialogus Inter Judæum Requirentem et Christianum e Contrario Respondentem," he endeavored to refute—by claiming that all of the laws referred to are to be interpreted spiritually—the objection raised by the Jews that the Christians fail to observe the ceremonial law, although Jesus declared that he came to fulfil that law.

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G. H. V.

DAMPIERRE (Hebr. דמפיר, דנפירא, or דפירא): Village of Champagne, in the department of the Aube, France; not to be confounded with "Dompaire," Vosges, as is sometimes done (Zunz, "Z. G." p. 33, and Renan-Neubauer, "Les Rabbins Français," p. 444). In the Middle Ages there was a somewhat important Jewish community in this village. King Philippe-Auguste, after an agreement with the Countess of Champagne, and Gui, Seigneur of Dampierre, in 1206, ordered the Jews to affix a special seal to the documents recording their loans, and forbade them to lend money on holy vessels or on the lands of the Church. During the years 1212, 1220, and 1225 the Jews had among their debtors the seigneurs of Dampierre and the abbey of Saint-Loup of Troyes.

Rabbis: (1) Isaac ben Samuel the Elder, abbreviated ר"י, surnamed "the Saint" (1120-95); (2) his son Elhanan, martyred in 1184; (3) Joseph ben Simeon; (4) Isaac ben Abraham, abbreviated ריבא or ריצבא, called sometimes "Isaac the Younger" to distinguish him from Isaac ben Samuel; (5) Isaac ha-Laban ben Jacob.

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G. S. K.

DAMROSCH, LEOPOLD: German-American violinist and conductor; born at Posen, Prussia, Oct. 22, 1832; died in New York Feb. 15, 1885. He commenced to learn the violin at the age of nine, but owing to his parents' opposition, who wished him to study medicine, he was compelled to study in the house of friends. In 1851 he entered Berlin University, where he studied medicine, and was graduated with high honors three years later. He then returned to Posen, and soon forsook medicine in order to devote himself entirely to music. In 1856 he appeared at Magdeburg as a violin virtuoso, and afterward made a tour of the chief cities of Europe. He was one of the famous band who sat under Liszt at Weimar. Liszt made him solo violinist in the ducal orchestra, and dedicated "Tasso" to him, a distinction conferred only upon two other musicians, Wagner and Berlioz.

In 1858 Damrosch married Helene von Heimburg, a singer of talent. He now became director of music at the Stadttheater in Posen, where he remained until 1866, when he accepted the position of director of the Philharmonic Concerts at Breslau. Here he organized a symphony society with an orchestra of eighty members. The society gave twelve annual concerts, and many eminent artists appeared among the performers. Damrosch also established a choral society, and gave recitals as a soloist.

In 1871 Damrosch was invited by the New York Arion Society to become its conductor. He went to America and soon became very successful both as a violinist and as conductor of his own compositions. In 1873 he organized a musical choir. Morris Reno and some twelve other lovers of music met at Damrosch's house and formally pledged themselves to become musical missionaries. Trinity Chapel was secured for a study-room, and on Dec. 3, 1873, was given the first concert of the Oratorio Society, with choir numbering 50 to 60. By the following May the society was able to produce Handel's oratorio "Samson" at Steinway Hall.

For five years Damrosch worked gratuitously for the Oratorio Society (at the time of his death it had a membership of 500, and ranked among the leading choruses of the world). In 1876 Damrosch became conductor of the Philharmonic Society, and in the following year, yielding that place to Theodore Thomas, founded the Symphony Society of New York. In 1880 he received the degree of doctor of music from Columbia College. The next year he planned the great musical festival which was held at the Seventh Regiment Armory, with a chorus of 1,200 voices and an orchestra of 250 instruments. But his crowning success was in 1884, when he successfully established German opera at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York. On the failure of that theater to secure an Italian troupe, he went to Germany, and in five weeks brought back a number of artists, who constituted the famous company which first established German opera in America. Damrosch not only personally directed each opera, but at the same time continued his work as director of the Oratorio and Symphony societies. His health broke down under

the strain, and he died of pneumonia in the following year.

Damrosch was one of the great conductors of modern times, and no man, except possibly Theodore Thomas, contributed so largely to the cultivation of good music in America. He was a devotee of Wagner. His works include: seven cantatas; symphony in A; the music to Schiller's "Joan of Arc"; an opera, "Sulamith"; and many other pieces.

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A. V. E.

DAN.—Biblical Data: 1. The name of Jacob's fifth son (Gen. xxx. 6), whose mother was Bilhah, Rachel's handmaiden (*ib.* xxx 3, xxxv. 25). He was therefore a full brother of Naphtali (xxx. 8). Dan's name occurs also in Gen. xlix. 16 *et seq.*; Judges xviii. 29; I Chron. ii. 2, and in all the passages where his sons are mentioned (Gen. xlvi. 23 *et seq.*).

2. "Dan" designates one of the twelve tribes of Israel, both in poetic (Deut. xxxiii. 22; Judges v. 17) and in prose passages (Num. i. 12; ii. 25, 31; Deut. xxvii. 13; Judges xiii. 25, xviii. 12; Ezek. xlviii. 1, 32 *et seq.*; I Chron. xxvii. 22; II Chron. ii. 13); but it generally occurs in combinations such as "the sons of Dan" (Num. i. 38, ii. 25, vii. 66, x. 25, xxvi. 42; Josh. xix. 47), "the generations of Dan" (Num. xxvi. 42), "the tribe of the sons of Dan" (Num. xxxiv. 22; Josh. xix. 40, 48), or, simply, "the tribe of Dan" (Ex. xxxi. 6, xxxv. 34, xxxviii. 23; Lev. xxiv. 11; Num. i. 39, xiii. 12; Josh. xxi. 5, 23). The following are detached details from the history of the tribe given in the Old Testament. The artist Aholiab or Oholiab, who took part in the construction of the Tabernacle (Ex. xxxi. 6, xxxv. 34, xxxviii. 23), was a member of this tribe, as was also the mother of a man who blasphemed the name of YHWH (Lev. xxiv. 11). At the time of Moses, Dan is represented as one of the larger tribes of the children of Israel, and as numbering 62,700 men of twenty years of age and upward (Num. i. 39, ii. 26). Somewhat later, when the tribe of Benjamin, for instance, is reported as having only 35,400 (Num. i. 37) or 45,600 men (*ib.* xxvi. 41), the number in the tribe of Dan is given as 64,400 (*ib.* xxvi. 43). Its men able to bear arms were among the three tribes (Dan, Asher, and Naphtali) whose army in the wilderness of Sinai covered the northern flank (Num. ii. 25–31, x. 25–27). Ammiel, one of the twelve spies (*ib.* xiii. 12), belonged to Dan; and its prince was Bukki (*ib.* xxxiv. 22). On entering Canaan the representatives of Dan, together with those of Reuben, Gad, Asher, Zebulun, and Naphtali, took their position on Ebal, the mount of the curse (Deut. xxvii. 13). In Moses' blessing Dan is characterized as "a lion's whelp: he shall leap from Bashan" (*ib.* xxxiii. 22). The latter clause, however, does not fit Dan, since that tribe did not live in the well-known plain of Bashan east of the Jordan.

The Tribe.

The land assigned to the tribe of Dan was in western Canaan, its several cities and boundaries being enumerated in Josh. xix. 40–46. Noteworthy among the cities are Zorah, Eshtaol, Thimnathah or Timnah, Ajalon (near which was fought the famous battle described in Josh x. 12), and Ekron, which is found in the cuneiform inscriptions as "Amḳarruna." On the north the territory of Dan ended opposite Joppa, the modern Jaffa. This territory, not very extensive originally, was soon diminished by its dangerous neighbors, the Philistines. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Danites had great difficulty in conquering the country that had been assigned to them (Josh. xix. 47; Judges xviii. 1). Accordingly, they sent a deputation to find a district suitable for the reception of a part of the tribe. This was found in the vicinity of the city of Laish (Judges xviii. 7–27; see below, 3). Another indication that the tribe of Dan was harassed is found in the sentence "Why did Dan remain in ships?" (Judges v. 17). This probably had reference to the fact that members of the tribe of Dan had enlisted on the ships of the Phenicians (see Budde, "Kurzer Handcommentar," 1897, and Nowack, "Handcommentar," 1900).

The Territory.

The distress of Dan increased when, toward the end of the period of the Israelitish judges, the Philistines, receiving reenforcements from their former home (Guthe, "Gesch. des Volkes Israel," 1899, p. 65), endeavored to invade the middle territories of Canaan (Josephus, "Ant." v. 8, § 1). Then help arose for Dan in the person of the hero Samson (Judges xiii. 2–xvi. 31), whose work was brilliantly continued by Samuel (I Sam. vii. 11), and then by David and other kings. This explains why the tribe of Dan is mentioned in the accounts of David (I Chron. xxvii. 22) and Solomon (II Chron. ii. 13), and in later times (Ezek. xlviii. 1, 2, 32).

3. The later designation for the Canaanite city Laish (Judges xviii. 7, 14, 27, 29) or Leshem (Josh. xix. 47), the latter name being probably derived from "Lesham." The city lay in a deep valley near Beth-rehob (Judges xviii. 28), on the northern frontier of Palestine, at the place where "men come to Hamath" (Num. xiii. 21). According to Josephus ("Ant." v. 3, § 1), it was not far from the sources of the lesser Jordan, and, according to the "Onomastica Sacra" (*s.v.* "Dan"), three or four Roman miles from Paneas. In the Book of Enoch (xiii. 7) it is said that "Dan lay south of the western side of Mt. Hermon." Originally inhabited by Canaanites, it was captured by a part of the tribe of Dan, whose territory in southwestern Palestine was invaded by the Philistines (Josh. xix. 47; Judges xviii. 1 *et seq.*), and who named it after their tribal ancestor (Josh. xix. 47). The mention of the name of Dan as early as the time of Abraham and Moses (Gen. xiv. 14; Deut. xxxiv. 1) is therefore anticipated by the later chronicler (compare "Beth-el" in Gen. xii. 8 and xxviii. 19). Consequently there is no reason to assume, from Gen. xiv. 14 and Deut. xxxiv. 1, the existence of another city of Dan.

The place seems to be identical with Dan-jaan (II Sam. xxiv. 6), which was situated east of the Lake of Gennesaret toward Sidon; and as this was the route on which Laish-Dan lay (Judges xviii. 7, 29), it is probable that "Dan-jaan" is a corruption of

"Dan-jaar" (Dan in the wood), and that this was merely an occasional designation of the city of Dan.

The place is often mentioned in the phrases "from Dan even to Beer-sheba" (Judges xx. 1; I Sam. iii. 20; II Sam. iii. 10; xvii. 11; xxiv. 2, 15; I Kings iv. 25; Amos viii. 14) and "from Beer-sheba even to Dan" (I Chron. xxi. 2; II Chron. xxx. 5); while in Jer. iv. 15 and viii. 16 it is mentioned as a northern frontier town of Palestine.

Dan is also referred to in connection with the ritual; for, according to Judges xviii. 31, a graven image stood there up to the time of the destruction of the sanctuary at Shiloh, which sanctuary is mentioned for the last time in I Sam. iv. 12. Jeroboam I. set up at Dan one of the two golden calves which he intended as symbols for YHWH (I Kings xii. 29). Many persons of the northern tribes of Israel, therefore, made pilgrimages to Dan (Amos viii. 14; II Kings x. 29); but the city soon fell into the hands of Israel's northern enemies (I Kings xv. 20; II Chron. xvi. 4).

A hill near the valley in which lay the ancient city of Dan is to-day called "Tall al-Ḳadi"—*i.e.*, "Hill of the Judge"—the name being, perhaps, a reminiscence of the name Dan = "judge."

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E. G. H. E. K.

——In Rabbinical and Hellenistic Literature: Dan plays a peculiar rôle in rabbinical tradition. Owing to the fact that his name, as the name of a tribe, is connected with the blasphemer (Lev. xxiv. 11), and with the idolatry of northern Israel (Judges xviii. 30; I Kings xii. 29; Amos viii. 14), while Samson, the judge of the tribe of Dan, proved faithless to his nazirate (Judges xiii. 2), Dan came to be regarded as the black sheep of the house of Jacob. His hatred of Joseph, because he brought to his father evil reports against the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah, induced him to plot against Joseph's life, and he advised the brothers to deceive their father by telling that they had found the coat of Joseph dipped in blood (Test. Patr., Zebulon, 4; Dan, 1; Gad, 1). Dan and Gad were in league with the crown prince of Egypt against Joseph and Asenath (see ASENATH, PRAYER OF).

As early as the days of Moses the tribe of Dan worshiped idols, wherefore the pillar of cloud failed to protect it, and consequently Amalek smote Dan, who was the "hindmost" and "feeble" because "he feared not God" (Targ. Yer. to Deut. xxv. 18; Pesiḳ. iii. 27b; Pesiḳ. R. xii.; Tan., Ki Teẓe). Being "the rearward of all the camps" (Num. x. 25), Dan fell a victim to "the fire that devoured the uttermost part of the camp because of the idol which provoked the anger of the Lord" (Targ. Yer. to Num. xi. 1, Hebr.). It was also Dan's idolatry which induced Balaam to order altar and sacrifices for the defeat of Israel (Targ. Yer. to Num. xxii. 41, xxiii. 1). Dan's idolatry restrained Abraham in his march against the Babylonian kings (Gen. xiv. 15; Gen. R. xliii.) and appalled Moses in his vision of the future (Targ. Yer. to Deut. xxxiv. 1; Sifre, Debarim, 357). The children of Dan taught their sons the idolatrous Amorite practises contained in the books hidden under Mount Abarim (Gaster, "Chronicles of Jerahmeel," 1899, p. 167).

Jacob's blessing of Dan, in which he is compared to a serpent (Gen. xlix. 16–18), is referred to Samson (Gen. R. xcviii.), and the serpent is said to have been made the emblem of the tribe on its standard (Num. R. ii.).

Dan, Type of Antichrist.

But Dan became the very type of evil-doing. He was placed to the north (Num. ii. 25), this being the region of darkness and evil (Jer. i. 14), because of his idolatry which wrapped the world in darkness (Num. R. ii.). Still further goes a tradition which identifies the serpent and the lion (Gen. xlix. 17 and Deut. xxxiii. 22) with BELIAL (see the literature in Bousset's "Antichrist," 1895, pp. 87, 113). Irenæus ("Adversus Hæreses," v. 302), Hippolytus ("De Christo et Antichristo," pp. 14, 15), and other Church fathers have a tradition, which can not but be of Jewish origin, that the ANTICHRIST comes from the tribe of Dan, and base it upon Jer. viii. 16: "The snorting of his [the enemy's] horses was heard from Dan"—a verse referred also in Gen. R. xliii. to Dan's idolatry. Irenæus remarks that Dan is, in view of this tradition, not in the Apocalypse (Rev. vii. 5–7) among the 144,000 saved ones of the twelve tribes. Nor is the omission of Dan in I Chron. iv. *et seq.* unintentional. Bousset, who has a special chapter devoted to the Dan Antichrist legend (*l.c.* pp. 112–115), believes that the connection of Dan with Belial in Test. Patr., Dan, 5 points to the same tradition. This seems to find corroboration in Targ. Yer. to Deut. xxxiv. 3, where the war against Ahriman (ארמלגום) and Gog or Magog in the vision of Moses seems to refer to Dan, 1 (compare Sifre, *l.c.* to הים האחרון; see also DAN and TEN TRIBES, THE LOST.) K.

——Critical View: Kuenen ("Theologisch Tijdschrift," v. 291) and others after him, such as Cheyne ("Encyc. Bibl." *s.v.*), have argued that "Dan" is the title of a deity. In the etymology adduced in the explanatory remarks attributed to Rachel (Gen. xxx. 6) nothing is said about the character of the child. The judgment referred to is by God, and is passed upon Rachel. The reference to the name "Daniel" and to the cuneiform name of a king, "Ashur-dan," in support of the critical view has not been regarded by conservative scholars as sufficient to prove the contention in issue. Still, the analogy with other names, both tribal (GAD) and personal, is strongly in favor of the views advanced by Kuenen and his successors. "Daniel," in all probability, means "Dan is El" (compare "Eliyahu") and not "God is my judge"; and "Ashur-dan" is also a combination of two names of deities.

The personal existence of a son of Jacob bearing the name "Dan" has also been denied by modern scholars. This is in accord with the general doubt cast on the patriarchal biographies and genealogies. It is contended that no clan or tribe ever sprang from one ancestor. While among the tribes one of

the name of Dan may have existed, the designation is that of an eponym, assumed after the tribe had come to reflect upon its own origin and its relations to other tribes (Cornill, "History of Israel," p. 32; Stade, "Gesch. des Volkes Israel," i. 124, 146; Guthe, "Gesch. des Volkes Israel," pp. 5 *et seq.*; Holzinger, "Kurzer Handcommentar," on Gen. xxx. 24; Gunkel, "Handcommentar," on Gen. xxix. 35; Cheyne, in "Encyc. Bibl." cols. 992 *et seq.*).

The assumption that Dan was the son of Rachel's handmaid, Bilhah, whose other son was Naphtali, signifies, according to the modern view of the ideas underlying such genealogies, that the tribe of Dan recognized a closer geographical or historical connection with that of Naphtali, in common with which it was regarded, or regarded itself, as somehow in a position subordinate to the tribes that traced their descent directly through Rachel from Jacob. The universal applicability of this principle has been doubted by König ("Bibelkritisches," 1902). In the case of Dan, tradition furnishes only scant material by which to test the theory. Yet, as the genealogies and biographies of other tribal eponyms appear to justify the general principle, there is no reason, from the point of view of the critical school, to question its applicability to Dan (see TRIBES, THE TWELVE). E. G. H.

DAN ASHKENAZI: German Talmudist and exegete; flourished in the second half of the thirteenth century. Dan, who was one of the most prominent Talmudists of Germany and the teacher of Mordecai ben Hillel, emigrated to Spain toward the end of the thirteenth century, probably in consequence of the cruel persecutions to which the Jews of Germany were subjected at that time, when many were driven to seek asylum in other countries.

In Spain, where he was called "Ashkenazi" (German), he met the foremost rabbinical authorities, who thought highly of him. Dan, however, was so imprudent as to give a letter of recommendation to a youth who pretended to be a prophet (compare ABRAHAM OF AVILA); and when the latter turned it to account, Solomon Adret cast scorn upon the German rabbi in his circular letter on the pseudo-prophet (Adret's Responsa, No. 548). Even before this occurrence the relations between these two men do not seem to have been very friendly, since Dan declared at Saragossa that, from the strict point of view of the Halakah, there could be no objection to the slaughtering of animals by Christians, as the reason given in the Talmud for forbidding the slaughtering of animals by pagans did not apply to Christians; for the pagan regarded the slaughtering as a sacrifice to his idols, while the same could not be said of the Christians (*ib.* No. 529; but Dan's reasons are not clearly stated).

Dan, who was a person of much individuality, was misunderstood by many, and acts were ascribed to him which he certainly did not commit (*ib.* No. 530). Adret's five responsa (Nos. 1229–1233) show that Dan was not a man to be overlooked; Adret's successor as rabbi of Barcelona, Nissim b. Reuben, also recognizes Dan's scholarship (Responsa, No. 32; ed. Rome, p. 72). Yom-Ṭob b. Abraham of Seville (RIṬBA) calls Dan "our teacher" (*ib.*), although this did not prevent him from writing a pamphlet against Dan regarding their dispute over an important halakic question (RIṬBA to Yibum, 109).

Dan was also very independent as an exegete; the fragments of his exegesis that have been preserved in manuscript, and also in the works of Baḥya ben Asher and in the collection "Hadrat Zeḳenim" (Leghorn, 1840), are highly interesting on account of their rationalism, which was not to be expected from one who had allowed himself to be misled by a false prophet. For instance, he interpreted מלאך, in Ex. xxiii. 20, as "messenger," not "angel," and supposed it to refer to Joshua. It is curious to note that in the collection of responsa "Besamim Rosh," which Saul Berlin published as Asher b. Jehiel's work, the statement is made that Dan wrote his Tefillin in Aramaic (No. 24).

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L. G.

DAN-JAAN: If the reading is correct, the name of a city mentioned only once in the Bible (II Sam. xxiv. 6). It was one of the places included in the route of Joab and his associates when they were sent out by David to number the people. Their route was eastward across the Jordan, northward through the trans-Jordanic tribes, westward to Sidon, passing Dan-jaan on the way, and southward as far as Beer-sheba. It is natural, then, to identify Dan, on the northern boundary of Israel, with Dan-jaan, although Conder, after Schultz, seeks to identify it with Danian near Achzib. For "Jaan" various emendations have been proposed. Gesenius changes יען into יער ("Dan of the wood"). Wellhausen and, following him, Budde, Kittel, and Driver read ומדן סבבו ("and from Dan they went round"). Klostermann and Grätz change יען into עין (Ijon), a city mentioned in connection with Dan in I Kings xv. 20.

E. G. H. G. B. L.

DANCING.—Biblical Data: Rhythmical and measured stepping to the accompaniment of music, singing, or the beating of drums. This exercise, generally expressive of joy, is found among all primitive peoples. It was originally incident to religious worship, or to the martial demonstrations of a tribe. It may be inferred, therefore, that dancing of this character obtained also among the ancient Hebrews. Their cognates, the Bedouin Arabs, at the present time indulge in wild dances of this kind (Doughty, "Arabia Deserta," i. 31), and in the rites of the hadj old religious dances have been preserved (Wellhausen, "Reste Arabischen Heidentums," 1st ed., pp. 106, 165).

Terminology.

That dancing among the Hebrews was chiefly connected with demonstrations of joy is indicated by the use of the word צחק = שחק, usually connoting "playing," "sporting," or "jesting" (I Sam. xviii. 7; II Sam. vi. 5, 21; I Chron. xiii. 8, xv. 29; Jer. xxx. 19, xxxi. 4: במחול משחקים). That violent motions of the feet, not a graceful gliding, characterized the dance appears from the verb רקד, meaning originally "to leap like lambs," used with the meaning of "to dance."

ברכר, in II Sam. vi. 14, 16, seems to indicate a round dance (compare I Chron. xv. 29), most likely the turning round and round upon the heels on one spot, as practised by the dervishes. The choric dance is denoted by מחלה מחול, a derivative of חול = "to writhe," "to turn" (Lam. v. 15; Ps. xxx. 11, 12; Cant. vii. 1; Ex. xv. 20, xxxii. 19; I Sam. xviii. 6 [Septuagint, "dancing women"], xxi. 2, xxix. 5; Judges xi. 34, xxi. 21; Ps. lxxxvii. 7). That the religious dance constituted the principal feature of every festival is shown by the history of the word חג ("Z. D. M. G." xli. 719; Driver's "Notes on the Books of Samuel," p. 173; Wellhausen, "Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte," p. 101, Berlin, 1897; *idem*, "Reste Arabischen Heidentums," *l.c.*). In the course of time it came to mean merely a festival, or one of the three pilgrim festivals, though its primitive connotation was a procession around the altar or shrine executed in a certain halting rhythm, whence the pilgrimage to Mecca, the hadj, has taken its name. The term "pesaḥ" recalls the same facts. It indicates this "limping" dance (see Toy in "Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis," xvi. 178 *et seq.*); whence, also, the jibe in I Kings xviii. 26: "How long will you dance at two 'thresholds'" (Jastrow's emendation). These religious processional dances may have represented some mythological event, a swaying to and fro of contending parties (see Jacob's experience in Gen. xxxii. 29: "he limps").

Religious Dances.

The Biblical books have undoubtedly preserved the memory of religious dances in connection with the making of the golden calf, and at the Red Sea (Ex. xv. 20, xxxii. 19). The story of Jephthah's daughter (Judges xi. 34) illustrates this custom, and suggests that it was a part of a very ancient sacrificial cult. In I Sam. xviii. 6, xxi. 11 women dance in honor of Saul and David. It seems that women were prominent in these choragic ceremonies. The "ḳedeshot" attached to every sanctuary may even have been professional dancers. Ps. cxviii. 27 probably alludes to a procession of this kind in the puzzling phrase אסרו חג. Post-exilic psalms evidence that processions of dancers to the sound of various musical instruments (flutes, trumpets, timbrels, cymbals, drums) had a prominent share in religious celebrations (Ps. xxvi. 6, cxlix. 3, cl. 4 [lxviii. 25: S. B. O. T.]). The request which was addressed to Pharaoh by Moses (Ex. x. 9) indicates that such processions were an old-established custom.

As do the dervishes even at the present day (Tristram, "Eastern Customs," pp. 207–210), so did the Prophets resort to dancing as a means of working themselves up to the proper nervous pitch (I Sam. x. 10, 11; xix. 20–24). Their resulting exaltation proved contagious, as do, according to Lane, the mad contortions of the dancing dervishes today.

Tribal and Family Dances.

Dancing marked also tribal and family festivals. At Shiloh an annual feast was celebrated at which the maidens indulged in dancing (Judges xxi. 21), and it is more than probable that Abel-meholah ("the dancing meadow") owes its name to a similar usage (I Kings xix. 16). For the times of the Talmud a kind of "marriage dance," such as is found in many modern children's plays, is remembered (Ta'an. iv. 8) as occurring on the Day of Atonement and on the fifteenth day of Ab; and the theory that these "dances" are survivals of marriage by capture is not without reasonableness. The "torchlight procession" which took place at the Festival of the Water-Drawing (שמחת בית השואבה) was participated in by the most distinguished notables (Suk. v. 1–4).

In the days when Greek immoralities menaced the very existence of Judaism, dancing—especially by professional and probably lewd women—was looked upon with disfavor (Ecclus. [Sirach] ix. 4). The daughter of Herodias undoubtedly imitated and took the place of a professional dancer at the banquet (Matt. xiv. 6). From other Biblical passages it is clear that dancing was demanded on similar occasions (Jer. xxxi. 4, 13). Lam. v. 15; Eccl. iii. 4; and Ps. xxx. 11 indicate that the dance was considered an expression of joy. Some have urged Cant. vii. 1 in support of the theory that a sort of square dance ("kimeḥolat ha-maḥanayim") was known to the Jews. Wetzstein identifies it with the sword-dance that still takes place at Eastern wedding-feasts.

E. G. H.

——In Talmudic Times: In post-Biblical times dancing continued to be a favorite exercise on both religious and secular occasions. "The woman of sixty runs to the sound of music like the girl of six" (M. K. 9b). A feast was made complete by dancing, and noted scholars were in the habit of providing such entertainment for their guests (Ned. 51a). Dancing in honor of the bride at a wedding was deemed an act of piety, and sedate rabbis often vied with one another in its exercise. Thus, R. Judah b. 'Illai used to dance at weddings waving a myrtle branch (Ket. 17a). Moreover, the festive procession which in Biblical times made the periodical pilgrimages to Jerusalem such a source of popular joy, forming the main feature in the observance of the great holidays, continued to fill with glee the highways of Palestine in Talmudic days. Franz Delitzsch properly uses a description of these jubilant ceremonies as an argument against these theorists who hold that the Law had rendered the life of the post-exilic Jews sad and gloomy, depriving their religious practises of spontaneity and joyfulness. The Mishnah, for instance, relates in how truly popular a manner and with what accompaniment of genuine joy the men from the provinces were wont to bring the first-fruits to the Temple at Jerusalem. They did not come singly, as men bearing burdens, but in festive processions, with light, joyous, grateful hearts.

"All the villages of a district send their dwellers to the chief city of the district; the pilgrims pass the night in the streets of the town, refraining from entering the houses, and at dawn the leader cries out: 'Arise, and let us go up to Zion, to the house of our God!' While on the march they sing choral psalms, 'I was glad when they said unto me, Let us go unto the house of the Lord,' being the favorite refrain. When they reach Jerusalem they chant: 'Our feet are standing within thy gates, O Jerusalem!' (Ps. cxxii.). At the Temple mount they strike up: 'Praise ye the Lord, praise God in his sanctuary!' (Ps. cl.), and having reached the hall, they finish with 'Praise ye the Lord, praise the Lord, O my soul!' (Ps. cxlvi.). The men from

the neighborhood bring fresh figs and grapes, and those from afar dried figs and grapes. And the ox of sacrifice goes before them, its horns embossed with gold and a crown of olive on its head. The flute is played all the while they are marching, until they come close upon Jerusalem. Then they send delegates to the city to offer their first-fruits. The foremost priests come out to meet them: according to the number of pilgrims is the priestly deputation. In Jerusalem all workmen in the streets pause in their work to greet the comers: 'Be welcome, our brethren, men of such-and-such a town!' And the flute still plays on before them until they reach the mount of the sanctuary" (Bik. iii. 2; Yer. *ad loc.*).

The Talmud also contains traditions concerning the joyful manner in which the two national holidays, the 15th of Ab (the Feast of Wood-Offering, or "Xylophoriæ," as Josephus calls it) and the Day of Atonement, were celebrated. Various causes, it appears, were held to have given birth to these two feasts; at any rate, they were generally observed. On those days the maidens of Israel were in the habit of going forth to the vineyards, each clad in well-washed white, and joining in the choral dances. They all appeared in borrowed gowns, so as not to shame the poor. The young men came and looked on, while the dancers sang appropriate songs. It would seem that brides were oftentimes chosen at these gatherings (Ta'an. 30b). Similarly, there is a Talmudic tradition that "whoever has not witnessed the joy of the Festival of Water-Drawing has seen no joy in his life." On those occasions, on the night of the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles, huge assemblies of people gathered in the women's court of the Temple, bearing lamps of gold and vessels for water, while every house in Jerusalem was brightly illuminated. "Pious men and men of affairs," adds the tradition, "danced with torches in their hands, singing songs of joy and of praise, and the Levites made music with lyre and harp and cymbals and trumpets and countless other instruments" (Suk. 51a; Maimonides, "Yad," Lulab, viii. 12, 13). Two galleries were built for the spectators, one for men and one for women. The celebration lasted all night and ended at dawn, announced by blasts of trumpets, with the pouring of water upon the altar.

Festival of Water-Drawing.

The fondness of the ancient Jew for dancing is suggested in the hope naively expressed by R. Eleazar: "Some day the Holy One, blessed be He! will give a dance for the righteous, and He will sit among them in the Garden of Eden, and each one will point his finger at Him, saying, as it is written (Isa. xxv. 9), 'Lo, this is our God; we have waited for him, and he will save us: this is the Lord; we have waited for him, we will be glad and rejoice in his salvation'" (Ta'an. end).

It will be seen that dancing among the Jews preserved its primitive character: a spontaneous expression of joy rather than an esthetic pleasure. In both ancient and medieval times, therefore, it consisted of "gesticulations, violent leaps and bounds, hopping in a circle, rather than graceful pose, and soft, rhythmic movements." The popularity of the amusement in the Middle Ages is attested by the spread of the dancing-hall, or "Tanzhaus," which, for the use of both weddings and ordinary dances, was established in almost every ghetto of France and Germany. At first these halls, frequented especially on Sabbaths and feast-days, witnessed little mixed dancing. But when the latter habit came into vogue, the Rabbis opposed it strenuously on account of the license and the marital quarrels to which it led, citing in support the verse in Proverbs: "Hand to hand shall not go unpunished" (xi. 21, Hebr.). The nearest relations alone, such as husband and wife, father and daughter, brother and sister, were exempted from the inhibition. Needless to say, the rabbinic rule was often infringed by the bolder young men and women. That mixed dancing was not without its moral dangers was witnessed by the license which its prevalence engendered among the enthusiastic followers of Shabbethai Ẓebi. Occasionally, professional Jewish dancers occur; for instance in the seventeenth century, when the sultan engaged Jewish fiddlers and dancers to perform at a banquet; and they are not infrequent in the modern Orient, more especially in Tunis. In these latter forms, of course, dancing has become a purely social diversion without any religious import; but the original significance of dancing as an expression of religious joy and fervor may yet be observed in the synagogues of Orthodox Jews on the Feast of Simḥat Torah ("Rejoicing of the Law"), where the primitive religious dance may be said to have survived.

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S. S. H. G. E.

DANHAUSER, ADOLPHE-LÉOPOLD: French musician; born in Paris Feb. 26, 1835; died there June 9, 1896. He studied at the Paris Conservatory under Bazin, Halévy, and Reber; took first prize in harmony (1857); first prize in fugue (1859); second Prix de Rome (1862). He became chief inspector of instruction in singing in the schools of Paris in 1875; afterward professor of solfeggio at the Conservatory. He composed: "Le Proscrit," a musical drama (produced at Auteuil in 1866); "Maures et Castillans," a three-act opera (not produced); several "Mélodies Vocales"; "Soirées Orphéoniques" (collection of twelve choruses for three equal voices). He wrote a well-known textbook, "Théorie de la Musique" (1878); "Abrégé de la Théorie de la Musique" (1879); "Chants pour les Ecoles"; "Recueil de Petits Chants à Une Voix" (1883); "Questionnaire, Appendice de la Théorie de la Musique" (1886).

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S. N. D.

DANIEL.—Biblical Data: In Hebrew (1) דנאל; (2) דניאל. (1) The form without the י (see Masorah Magna to Ezek. xiv. 14) occurs in Ezek. xiv. 14, 20; xxviii. 3; also in a Palmyrene inscription (see De Vogué, "Syrie Centrale," No. 93). The pronunciation "Dani'el" (God is my Judge) is more probable than "Dan'el" (God is a Judge), because in consonance with the general structure of Hebrew names. It is

therefore probably correct to vocalize the consonants in the three places thus: דָּנֵאל. (2) The hiatus between the vowels "i" and "e" gave rise to the pronunciation "Daniyel" (דָּנִיֵּאל, Dan. i. 6), with the insertion of a consonantal י; compare "Eli'atah" ("Eliathah," I Chron. xxv. 4) with "Eliyata" (verse 27; compare König, "Historisch-Kritisches Lehrgebäude der Hebräischen Sprache," ii. 481 *et seq.*). The name should be interpreted, in accordance with Gen. xxx. 6, as "God is the Defender of my right."

The Name in the Old Testament.

The following persons called "Daniel" are mentioned in the O. T.: **1.** A son of David by Abigail (I Chron. iii. 1); the parallel passage (II Sam. iii. 3) has "Chileab"; but this reading is perhaps a corruption due to the fact that the last three letters of כלאב are identical with the first three letters of the following word, לאביגיל, and the form in I Chron. iii. 1 is probably correct. The forms of his name found in the Septuagint—Δαλονια and Δαμνιηλ—support this view, in that they show the first letter of the name to be ד (Δ). G. Kerber (in his "Die Religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung der Hebr. Eigennamen," 1897, p. 36) combines the name "Kile'ab" with "Kaleb," the name of the well-known companion of Joshua, and with "keleb" = dog. This, however, is a mere hypothesis, and can not serve as an argument for the name "Kile'ab."

2. A man of extraordinary righteousness (Ezek. xiv. 14, 20) and wisdom (xxviii. 3), who appears to have been almost as well known as Noah and Job, with whom he is mentioned in both of the passages cited.

3. A priest of the sons of Ithamar (Ezra viii. 2). The parallel passage in the Greek Book of Ezra (viii. 29) has the forms Γαμαηλ, Γαμηλος, and Γαμαλιηλ, which are evidently miswritings for Δανιηλ. This priest returned with Ezra from Babylonia to Jerusalem in 458 B.C., and was one of those who sealed Israel's covenant with God (Neh. x. 6).

4. The most important bearer of the name is the hero of the canonical Book of Daniel and of the additions found in the Septuagint. This Daniel was among the prisoners carried by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon after the capture of Jerusalem in the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim; he was also one of the young men instructed, by order of Nebuchadnezzar, in the learning and the tongue of the Chaldeans (Dan. i. 3–4). No mention is made, however, of Daniel's birthplace or family. It is not known whether he belonged to the family of the King of Israel or to that of an Israelitish magnate. Josephus ("Ant." x. 10, § 1) evidently inferred from Sanh. i. 3 that Daniel was a relation of King Zedekiah (ἦσαν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Σεδεκίου γένους τέσσαρες), while Pseudo-Epiphanius, on the strength of the same passage, makes Daniel the scion of a noble Israelitish family (compare Prince, "Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel," p. 25).

Descent of Daniel.

The Chaldeans gave Daniel a new name derived from their own language; namely, "Belteshazzar," the Hebraized form of "Balatshu-uzur" (lit. "His Life Protect"). When requested to eat the food of the heathen, he asked that he and his Hebrew friends might be given their own food, in keeping with the Law of their fathers. Daniel soon had an opportunity to reap the reward of his piety; for, inspired by God, he interpreted King Nebuchadnezzar's dream, and the king in return made him ruler over the whole province of Babylon and chief over all the wise men of Babylon (Dan. ii. 48). Daniel distinguished himself a second time by interpreting another dream of Nebuchadnezzar (*ib.* iv.), and by deciphering the mysterious words "Mene, Mene, Tekel, Ufarsin" (*ib.* v. 25).

Daniel's Career.

Daniel retained his high position under Darius until his fellow dignitaries induced the king to issue a decree forbidding any one to ask anything of God, or of any man except the king, for a period of thirty days. When Daniel, nevertheless, continued to pray three times a day at an open window looking toward Jerusalem, he was cast into the lion's den, but was rescued by his God and honored anew by the king. He retained his influence until the third year of Cyrus' reign over Babylon (that is, up to 536 B.C.), and prophesied the future of God's kingdom (*ib.* i. 21, vi. 28, x. 1).

E. G. H. E. K.

——**In Rabbinical Literature:** According to rabbinical tradition Daniel was of royal descent; and his fate, together with that of his three friends, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, was foretold by the prophet Isaiah to King Hezekiah in these words, "and they shall be eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon" (Isa. xxxix. 7; compare Sanh. 93b; Pirḳe R. El. lii.; Origen, commentary to Matt. xv. 5; Jerome, commentary to Isaiah, *l.c.*). According to this view, Daniel and his friends were eunuchs, and were consequently able to prove the groundlessness of charges of immorality brought against them, which had almost caused their death at the hands of the king. Even in his youth, when he convicted the false witnesses against the pious and beautiful Susanna, Daniel gave proof of that wisdom (see Susanna, History of) which afterward made him so famous that it was said of him, "If he were in one scale of the balance and all the wise men of the heathens in the other, he would outweigh them all" (see Yoma 77a). When the king Nebuchadnezzar heard Daniel reproduce the dream which he had, had he could not doubt the truthfulness of his interpretation (Tan., ed. Buber, i. 191). Nebuchadnezzar admired Daniel greatly, although the latter refused the proffered divine honors, thus distinguishing himself favorably from his contemporary Hiram (the "prince of Tyre," in Ezek. xxviii.), who demanded honor as a god (Gen. R. xcvi.).

Nebuchadnezzar's Idol.

Life at court was fraught with many dangers for the pious Daniel. In the first place he denied himself much in the matter of food, since he would not partake of the wine and oil of the heathens ('Ab. Zarah 36a); and more than once he endangered his life by refusing to take part in the idolatry of the king. Daniel was not forced, as were his three friends, to worship the idol which Nebuchadnezzar set up; for the king, who well knew that Daniel would rather be cast into the fiery furnace than commit idolatry, sent him away from

Babylon in order that he might not be forced to condemn his own god—namely, Daniel, whom he worshiped—to death by fire. Furthermore, it was God's intention to cause the three men to be taken out of the furnace during the absence of Daniel, so that their rescue should not be ascribed to the merit of the latter (Sanh. 93a; compare also Cant. R. vii. 8, and AZARIAH IN RABBINICAL LITERATURE). Nevertheless, the king endeavored to induce Daniel to worship the idol by trying to make him believe that it was something alive and real; and he ordered that there be placed in its mouth the frontlet ("ẓiẓ") of the high priest, on which was written the name of God; and since this name possessed the miraculous power of enabling inanimate things to speak, the idol could utter the words "I am thy god." Daniel, however, was not to be so easily deceived. Asking permission to kiss the idol on the mouth, he stepped before it and conjured the frontlet in the following words: "Although I am only a man of flesh and blood, yet I stand here as God's messenger. Take care that God's name is not desecrated by you, and thus I command you to follow me." While he was kissing the idol the frontlet passed from the idol's mouth into his. When Nebuchadnezzar, as usual, sent for musicians to give songs of praise to the idol, he noticed that Daniel had silenced it (Cant. R. vii. 9).

On another occasion Daniel was strongly urged by King Cyrus to recognize Bel, whose divinity was evidenced by the fact that he ate up the sacrifices placed daily before him. This was reported by the priests, who entered the temple every night by a subterranean passage, ate the sacrifices, and then announced that the idol had eaten the offerings. Daniel exposed this fraud. He had ashes strewn on the floor of the temple, and on the following day he convinced the king that persons had entered the temple at night, by showing him the footprints in the ashes. At another time a dragon was worshiped by the Babylonians, and their king tried to make Daniel also worship it. Daniel boiled pitch, fat, and hair together and gave lumps of it to the dragon, which thereupon burst.

Daniel's success at court naturally excited the envy and ill will of the Babylonians, who gathered in a mob and threatened the king and his house if he did not deliver Daniel to them. The king was powerless to resist, and the people took Daniel and threw him into a den with seven famished lions. Daniel remained there unharmed for six days, being fed during that time by the prophet Habakkuk, whom an angel had in an instant transported from Judea to Babylon, holding him by the hair of his head. On the seventh day the king went to the den to bewail Daniel, and was astonished to find him alive. Praising God for the help accorded to His pious servant, the king ordered that Daniel should be drawn out of the den and that his accusers should be cast therein; and they were immediately devoured by the wild beasts (see BEL AND THE DRAGON).

In the Lion's Den.

In like manner was Daniel delivered from lions in the reign of Darius. By the advice of Daniel this ruler had placed the affairs of the government in the hands of a board composed of three officials, with Daniel at their head. He was, therefore, the second after the king. His high position excited the envy of the other officials, who, in an underhand way, succeeded in inducing the king to sign a decree forbidding any one, on pain of death, to pray to any god or man, except to the king (Yosippon, ed. Cracow, 1589, iii. 7a–7d). Although Daniel was not forced to sin in any way, he was prepared to sacrifice his life rather than omit his prayers; hence it was easy for his enemies to convict him of having violated the royal order. While he was at prayer his enemies entered his room, and watched to see whether the accusations against him could be substantiated, as the king did not believe them. Daniel did not omit his "Minḥah" prayer. Notwithstanding his friendship for Daniel, the king listened to the accusations of the nobles, and condemned him to be cast into the den of lions. The mouth of the den was closed with a huge stone, which had rolled of itself from Palestine to Babylon for that purpose. Upon this stone sat an angel in the shape of a lion, so that Daniel's enemies might not harass him (Midr. Teh. xxiv., lxvi.); and the beasts in the den received Daniel as faithful dogs might receive their returning master, wagging their tails and licking him (Yosippon, iii. 8b; Aphraates, "Homilies," ed. Wright, iv. 67). Early the next morning the king hastened to the den in order to learn Daniel's fate, and called him by name; but he received no answer, as Daniel was just then reading the "Shema'" (Midr. Teh. lxvi.), after having spent the night in song of praise to God, to which the lions had silently listened (Yosippon, *l.c.*). Daniel's enemies insisted that the lions were tame because they were not hungry, whereupon the king commanded that the accusers themselves spend a night with the beasts. As a result the enemies of Daniel, numbering 122, with their wives and children, making a total of 366 persons, were torn by 1,469 lions (Midr. Teh. *l.c.*; in Yosippon [*l.c.* 8c] this experience is attributed to Habakkuk. The legend of the dragon is in any case probably only a later differentiation of the Biblical story in Dan. vi.).

These miracles kept Daniel in favor with the king, who thereupon issued orders that the Jews should return to Palestine and rebuild the Temple. Daniel's great age induced him to ask for his dismissal from the king's service; but his request was not granted until he had found a worthy successor in Zerubbabel, whom he recommended to the king for all the offices that he himself had filled. Daniel was then graciously dismissed with valuable presents from the king, and went to Shushan, where he lived piously until his death (Yosippon, *l.c.* 9d–10a; but compare Cant. R., *l.c.*, according to which Daniel returned to Palestine at the command of Cyrus). Although Daniel was no prophet, God held him worthy to receive the revelation of the destiny of Israel, even to the Day of Judgment, thus distinguishing him from his friends, the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, who had no visions (Dan. x. 7). Daniel, however, forgot the "end" (קִץ) revealed to him, after an angel had shown him everything (Gen. R. xcviii. 2).

E. C. L. G.

——**In Arabic Literature:** The Moslems consider Daniel as a prophet, though he is not mentioned in the Koran. It was he who preached in Babylonian 'Iraḳ—that is to say, Chaldea—exhorting the people to return to God. He lived during the reigns of the Persian king Lahorasp and of Cyrus, and taught these two princes the unity of God and the true religion. Tabari says ("Chronique," French translation of Zotenberg, i. 44) that thousands of people who had died in a certain town from an epidemic were resuscitated a thousand years later by the prayer of Daniel, a legend probably borrowed from Ezek. xxxvii. 1–10.

When Daniel had become a noted prophet, Cyrus made him the chief of all his kingdom in order that he might teach his people the true religion. The prophet asked the king to let him go back to Palestine and build the Temple. Cyrus consented to the reconstruction of the sanctuary, but refused to let him go, saying, "If I had a thousand prophets like thee, I should have them all stay with me." There is another tradition, to the effect that Daniel was king of the Israelites after their return from captivity.

Traditional Tomb of Daniel.
(From Flandin and Coste, "Voyage en Perse Moderne.")

According to Muḥammad ibn Jarir (quoted by Tabari, *l.c.* p. 751), it was Nebuchadnezzar who ordered Daniel to be thrown into the lion's den. A pit was dug purposely for him; and he and five companions were cast before a famished animal. Shortly afterward the king, on approaching the pit, saw there seven persons instead of six. The seventh was an angel, who struck Nebuchadnezzar a blow in the face, and by that changed him into a wild beast.

The Arabs attribute to Daniel the invention of geomancy ("'ilm al-raml") and the authorship of the "Uṣul al-Ta'bir" (The Principles of Interpreting Dreams).

Mas'udi says there were two Daniels: Daniel the Elder, who lived in the period between Noah and Abraham, and was the father of the above-mentioned sciences; and Daniel the Younger, who, according to a tradition, was the maternal uncle of Cyrus, whose mother was a Jewess. The Arabs attribute to him the book "Kitab al-Jafar" (Divination) and many predictions relative to the Persian kings.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tabari, *Chronique* (French transl. by Zotenberg), i. 44, 496, 503, 571; ii. 283; Mas'udi, *Les Prairies d'Or* (ed. B. de Meynard), ii. 128; D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, s.v.

E. G. H. M. Sel.

DANIEL, TOMB OF: Tradition has named two places as the site of Daniel's tomb. In the "Martyrologium Romanum," for instance, which consecrates July 21 to Saint Daniel, the place of his death is given as Babylon, and it was claimed that he was buried in the royal vault there. Benjamin of Tudela, who visited the Holy Land about 1160 C.E., gives much more accurate information in his account of Susa. In the façade of one of its many synagogues he was shown the tomb assigned by tradition to Daniel. Susa is the modern Shuster, and this synagogue is still standing. There are some good representations of it, as, for example, in Flandin and Coste, "Voyage en Perse Moderne" (plate 100), and in Loftus, "Chaldæa and Susiana" (pp. 317 *et seq.*).

Benjamin declares, however, that the tomb does not hold Daniel's remains, which were said to have been discovered at Susa about 640 C.E. The remains were supposed to bring good fortune; and bitter quarrels arose because of them between the inhabitants of the two banks of the Choaspes. All those living on the side on which Daniel's grave was situated were rich and happy, while those on the opposite side were poor and in want; the latter, therefore, wished the bier of Daniel transferred to their side of the river. They finally agreed that the bier should rest alternately one year on each side. This agreement was carried out for many years, until the Persian shah Sanjar, on visiting the city, stopped

the practise, holding that the continual removal of the bier was disrespectful to the prophet. He ordered the bier to be fastened with chains to the bridge, directly in the middle of the structure; and he erected a chapel on the spot for both Jews and non-Jews. The king also forbade fishing in the river within a mile of Daniel's bier ("Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela" [Hebr.], ed. Asher, i. 74–76, ii. 152–154; compare Pethahiah of Regensburg, p. 77, below, Jerusalem, 1872). The place is a dangerous one for navigation, since godless persons perish immediately on passing it; and the water under the bier is distinguished by the presence of goldfish.

Mohammedan traditions agree in stating that Daniel was buried at Susa, and a similar tradition was current among the Syriac writers (Budge, "Book of the Bee," p. 73). Al-Baladhori (ninth century) says that when the conqueror Abu Musa al-Ash'ari came to Susa in 638, he found the coffin of Daniel, which had been brought thither from Babylon in order to bring down rain during a period of drought (compare Al-Ṭabari, i. 2567). Abu Musa referred the matter to the calif Omar, who ordered the coffin to be buried, which was done by sinking it to the bottom of one of the streams near by ("Futuḥ al-Buldan," p. 378). A similar account is given by Ibn Ḥaukal (ed. De Goeje, p. 174) and Al-Istaḥri (ed. De Goeje, p. 92), who add that the Jews were accustomed to make a circuit around Daniel's tomb and to draw water in its neighborhood (see also Yaḳut, "Mu'jam al-Buldan," iii. 189). Al-Muḳaddasi (ed. De Goeje, p. 417) refers to the contention between the people of Susa and those of Tustar. A slightly divergent tradition reported by Ibn Taimiyyah says that the body was found in Tustar; that at night thirteen graves were dug, and it was put in one of these—a sign that the early Moslems were opposed to the worship of the tombs of holy men ("Z. D. M. G." liii. 58).

The authenticity of the tomb at Susa is believed in by the mollahs of Arabistan, even though five days journey from Dizful, near Mal Amir, there is another tomb sacred to Daniel.

Bibliography: Jane Dieulafoy, *At Susa*, p. 131, New York, 1890; Driver, *The Book of Daniel*, p. xxi.

G. E. K.—G.

DANIEL, APOCALYPSE OF. See Apocalyptic Literature.

DANIEL, BOOK OF *—**Critical View:** One of the books of the Old Testament. It may be divided into two parts: chapters i.–vi., recounting the events of Daniel's life; chapters vii.–xii., containing his prophecies. "While the first part proves that it is impossible for the world-empire to belong to the heathen forever, the second part shows that Israel is destined to found this world empire through the son of man, who has long since existed in heaven" (J. Böhmer, "Reich Gottes und Menschensohn im Buche Daniel," 1899, p. 60).

In its form the book shows striking differences, for while ii. 4 to vii. 28 is written in Aramaic, the preceding and following portions are written in Hebrew. It is not easy to discover the reason for this peculiarity; it suggests, however, that the "Chaldeans" in this book are the Arameans or Syrians. A similar instance occurs in the Seder 'Olam Zuṭa (ed. Joh. Meyer), where the author gradually lapses into Aramaic in talking of personages of the Babylonian exile, but on p. 117 returns to Hebrew. The author may have meant to introduce the "Chaldeans" in their own language, and then inadvertently continued in the language that was familiar to him (see Driver, "Daniel," in "Cambridge Bible for Schools," p. xxii.). J. Böhmer (*l.c.* p. 150) maintains that the Aramaic portion was so written because its contents concerned all peoples; Prince and others suggest that the whole book was written originally in Hebrew, and translated into Aramaic; and that a part of the Hebrew book was lost, and replaced by the Aramaic translation. This opinion, however, does not weigh the fact that the Aramaic begins with the speech of the "Chaldeans." Other scholars think that the whole book was originally written in Aramaic, while the beginning and end were translated into Hebrew so that the book might be incorporated into the canon (Marti, in his Commentary, 1901, p. ix.). But if its inclusion in the canon had depended on its Hebrew form, it would have been necessary to translate the whole into Hebrew. In any case the linguistic diversity in parts of this book is no reason for assuming two sources for it, as Meinhold does in his Commentary (p. 262); for the Aramaic Book of Daniel could not have begun with ii. 4.

Form.

Another difference in form is found in the fact that the political history forming the background of the first six chapters is absent in vii.–xii. This difference may be thus explained: The author thought it his first task to recount without a break the historical facts of Daniel's life; his second task being to record the revelations vouchsafed to Daniel which were not connected with the experiences of other people. In the first six chapters Daniel is introduced in the third person, while in the others he appears as the speaker. This is explicable on the ground that the second part of the book is concerned only with the presentation of Daniel's inner experiences to the exclusion of all objective relations. Such transitions are found in other books—compare, for example, Hosea i. and iii. The change of person therefore does not necessarily affect the unity of the book. (For other opinions on the composite character of the Book of Daniel, see Eduard König, "Einleitung ins Alte Testament," p. 384; Von Gall, "Die Einheitlichkeit des Buches Daniel," 1895; G. A. Barton, "The Composition of the Book of Daniel," in "Jour. Bib. Lit." 1898, pp. 62–86). Barton finds a contradiction between i. 1, 5, 18, and ii. 1; for Nebuchadnezzar is designated as "king" in i. 1, and, according to i. 5, 18, Daniel and his friends were to be prepared three years prior to appearing before the king, while in ii. 1 it is stated that this happened as early as the second year of Nebuchadnezzar. Still it was not an unnatural prolepsis on first mentioning Nebuchadnezzar, who subsequently became king, to give him the title by which he was commonly known at the time of writing. Barton also finds a contradiction between the words "And Daniel continued even unto the first year of King Cyrus" (i. 21) and "In the third year of Cyrus, king

* For Biblical Data see Daniel.

of Persia, a thing was revealed unto Daniel" (x. 1). But i. 21 does not mean that Daniel *lived* "even unto the first year of Cyrus," but that Daniel survived even the fall of Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom and that of his successor. The other contradictions mentioned by Barton are discussed by Eduard König in "Theologisches Litteraturblatt," 1898, cols. 539 *et seq.* His conclusion that nine different and complete episodes follow the first chapter is therefore untenable. The book, however, may have included originally only i.–vii., an assumption that would explain the following three circumstances: the dropping of the Aramaic; the formula "Hitherto is the end of the matter" (vii. 28); and the juxtaposition of two materially identical narratives as found in vii. and viii. As events unfolded themselves, amplifications of the prophecy in the form of pamphlets, pointing even more clearly to the day of liberation, may have been added.

Date of the Book.

The date of the writing of the book may be inferred from the following considerations: It was not written by one of the exiles, for many portions of the text could not have been composed by a contemporary of the second king of the Babylonian empire and his immediate successors. This is proved even by the form of that king's name as given in the book. His Assyrian name was "Nabu-kudurriuṣur" (Friedrich Delitzsch, "Assyrische Lesestücke," 1900, p. 192), which the Hebrews at first pronounced "Nebu-kadr-eẓẓar" (Jer. xxi. 2 *et seq.* [26 times]; Ezek. xxvi. 7, xxix. 18 *et seq.*, xxx. 10). The middle "r" was then dissimilated from the final "r," giving "Nebu-kadn-eẓẓar," a form which is found in Jeremiah only in xxvii. 6–xxix. 3, but which is the usual form in all later writings (II Kings xxiv. 1 *et seq.*; II Chron. xxxvi. 6 *et seq.*; Ezra i. 7; Esth. ii. 6; Dan. i. 18 *et seq.*; Soferim xiv. 7; Seder 'Olam R. xxiv. *et seq.*; and Septuagint, Ναβουχοδονόσορ).

Nor would a contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors have written the stories of the Book of Daniel in the form in which they exist, since they contain many details that can not be harmonized with the data furnished in other historical sources. The first verse, for instance, contradicts other passages of the O. T. in saying that King Nebuchadnezzar came to Jerusalem in the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim, and besieged it. For the verb בא means here, as elsewhere, "come," "arrive," and can not be equivalent to "break up"; this is also proved by the context of i. 1. But Jeremiah announced the coming of the Chaldeans only in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, a year that is expressly designated, in Jer. xxv. 1, xlvi. 2, as the first year of King Nebuchadnezzar. The date, "in the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim" (Dan. i. 1), is probably derived from II Kings xxiv. 1 *et seq.*, where it is said that Jehoiakim, after having been subject to Nebuchadnezzar three years, turned and rebelled, and was attacked by predatory bands of the Chaldeans and their vassals. As no date is given for the beginning of this period of three years, it might be supposed that it began with the accession of Jehoiakim. The supposition being made, it could be said that the Chaldeans besieged Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim, when Nebuchadnezzar would naturally be their leader. But these statements in Dan. i. 1 are erroneously drawn from II Kings xxiv. 1 *et seq.*, and contradict those found in Jer. xxv. 1, 9, and xlvi. 2. Such discrepancies are not unparalleled in the O. T. (compare Eduard König, "Einleitung ins Alte Testament," pp. 172 *et seq.*). Nor can Nebuchadnezzar's madness (Dan. iv. 12 *et seq.*) during seven years be taken literally. Belshazzar's father, Nebuchadnezzar, is mentioned again (v. 11, 13, 18, 22) in a way which compels the inference that he really was such. This may be explained on the ground that during the long period of oral tradition the unimportant kings of Babylon might easily have been forgotten, and the last king, who was vanquished by Cyrus, would have been taken as the successor of the well-known Nebuchadnezzar. The same thing occurred in Bar. i. 11, and Sennacherib is mentioned as the son of Enemessar (*i.e.* Shalmaneser) in Tobit i. 15, Sargon (Isa. xx. 1) being passed over. It is also well known that the period 516–331, of which only a few events are recorded, was contracted to thirty-four years in computing the time elapsed since the Creation (Seder 'Olam R. xxx.).

The Book of Daniel was not written immediately after the Exile. The post-exilic prophets did not know it, for the four horns to which Israel's enemies are compared in Zech. i. 21, have a local meaning, representing the four points of the compass, and do not refer to the successive kingdoms, as in Dan. ii. 29 *et seq.* The same is the case with the four chariots in Zech. vi. 1 *et seq.* These passages are not exactly parallel with the predictions in Daniel, but it is also stated in Hag. ii. 6–9 *et seq.*, that within "a little while" the Messianic time will come. And even Ben Sira says expressly (Ecclus. [Sirach] xlix. 15) that he has never found a man who resembled Joseph, a statement he could not have made had he known the extant Book of Daniel, since Daniel is there drawn as a man who, like Joseph, rose to be prime minister by virtue of his ability to interpret dreams.

The Book of Daniel was written during the persecutions of Israel by the Syrian king Antiochus Epiphanes. This assertion is supported by the following data: The kingdom which is symbolized by the he goat (viii. 5 *et seq.*) is expressly named as the "kingdom of Yawan"—that is, the Grecian kingdom (viii. 21) the great horn being its first king, Alexander the Great (definitely stated in Seder 'Olam R. xxx.), and the little horn Antiochus Epiphanes (175–164). This kingdom was to persecute the host of the saints "unto two thousand and three hundred evenings and mornings" (viii. 14, R. V.); that is, "half-days," or 1,150 days; and Epiphanes did, in fact, profane the sanctuary in Jerusalem for about that length of time, from Kislew 15, 168, to Kislew 25, 165 (I Macc. i. 57, iv. 52). The little horn described in Dan. viii. 9–12, 23–25 has the same general characteristics as the little horn in vii. 8, 20; hence the same ruler is designated in both passages. The well-known passage ix. 23–27 also points to the same period. The first and imperative rule in interpreting it is to begin the period of the seventy times seven units (A. V. "seventy weeks") with the first period of seven (ix. 25), and to let the second period, the "sixty-two times seven units," follow this; for

if this second period (the sixty-two weeks) be reckoned as beginning again from the very beginning, the third period, the "one week," must be carried back in the same way. The context demands, furthermore, that the origin of the prediction concerning the rebuilding of Jerusalem be sought in Jer. xxv. 11–13 and the parallel passage, *ib.* xxix. 10. The "anointed," the "prince," mentioned after the first seven times seven units, must be Cyrus, who is called the anointed of the Lord in Isa. xlv. 1 also. He concluded the first seven weeks of years by issuing the decree of liberation, and the time that elapsed between the Chaldean destruction of Jerusalem (586) and the year 538 was just about forty-nine years. The duration of the sixty-two times seven units (434 years) does not correspond with the time 538–171 (367 years); but the chronological knowledge of that age was not very exact. The Seder 'Olam Zuṭa (ed. Meyer, p. 104) computed the Persian rule to have lasted fifty-two years. This is all the more evident as the last period of seven units must include the seven years 171–165 (see "Rev. Et. Juives," xix. 202 *et seq.*). This week of years began with the murder of an anointed one (compare Lev. iv. 3 *et seq.* on the anointing of the priest)—namely, the legitimate high priest Onias III.—and it was in the second half of this week of years that the Temple of the Lord was desecrated by an abomination—the silver altar erected by Antiochus Epiphanes in place of the Lord's altar for burnt offering (see I Macc. i. 54).

Genesis of the Book of Daniel.

Stories undoubtedly existed of a person by the name of Daniel, who was known to Ezekiel as a wise man. Tradition then ascribed to this wise man all the traits which Israel could attribute to its heroes. He was exalted as the pattern of piety and faithfulness; and it may also have been said that he interpreted dreams, read cryptograms, and foreshadowed the beginning of the Messianic kingdom. In any case his name may have played the same rôle in literature as that of Solomon or that of Enoch; and as one author ascribed his book, "Koheleth," to Solomon, so another author may have made Daniel responsible for his. As to the origin of his prophecies, it would probably be unjust to say that they were inventions. They may have been suggested by the author's enthusiastic study of the past history of God's people. He utilized the past to unlock the future. This is evident from ix. 2, where the author says that he had paid attention to the prophecy of Jeremiah concerning the seventy years, which prophecy became the basis for a new prophecy. This shows that the author was merely a disciple of the Prophets, one who reproduced the prophecies of his masters. His book, indeed, is not included in the section Nebiim.

Bibliography: J. D. Prince, *Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, 1899; Driver, *Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges: Daniel*, 1900; Behrmann, *Handkommentar zum Buche Daniel*, 1894; Marti, *Kurzer Handkommentar zum Buche Daniel*, 1901.

E. G. H. E. K.

DANIEL IBN AL-ANISHATA. See Daniel b. Saadia ha-Babli.

DANIEL, ḤAYYAṬA ("The Tailor"): A Palestinian, two of whose Scriptural interpretations are preserved in the Midrash: one to Gen. xxvi. 14 (Gen. R. lxiv. 7; compare Sanh. 58b; Yalḳ. on Prov. xii. 11), and the other to Eccl. iv. 1 (Lev. R. xxxii. 8; Eccl. R. *ad loc.*). The time of Daniel may only be conjectured. As the rabbis mentioned in the contexts are of the third and fourth centuries, and as the one cited after him, and supplementing his views, is of the fourth generation of amoraim, Daniel can not be placed earlier than that generation. Bacher ("Ag. Pal. Amor." iii. 761) includes him among those whose period is uncertain.

L. G. S. M.

DANIEL BEN ḤASDAI. See Daniel ben Solomon.

DANIEL B. ISAAC. See Pisa, Daniel da.

DANIEL BEN JACOB OF GRODNO: Russian halakist; died in Grodno April 30, 1807. He was dayyan there for forty years. He is ordinarily called "saint," "pious," and "modest." He is the author of "Ḥamude Daniel" (The Precious Things of Daniel), on questions concerning the preparation of food (Grodno, 1810). Daniel's opinions are frequently mentioned in Ẓebi Hirsch Eisenstadt's widely used work, "Pitḥe Teshubah," on Shulḥan 'Aruk, Yoreh De'ah.

Bibliography: Walden, *Shem ha-Gedolim he-Ḥadash*, ii. 32; Friedenstein, *'Ir Gibborim*, p. 65; Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael*, p. 264.

L. G. I. Ber.

DANIEL BEN JUDAH: Liturgical poet, who lived at Rome in the middle of the fourteenth century. He was the grandfather of Daniel ben Samuel ha-Rofe, rabbi at Tivoli. According to Luzzatto, Daniel ben Judah was the author of the well-known hymn "Yigdal Elohim Ḥai," containing the thirteen articles of belief of Maimonides. This poem, which forms part of the morning prayer among the Ashkenazim, and is sung by the Sephardim on the eve of Sabbaths and holy days, is included in the Romania ritual for Saturday evening.

Bibliography: Zunz, *Literaturgesch.* p. 507; Luzzatto, *Mebo*, p. 18; *He-Ḥaluẓ*, vol. ix., part 2, p. 50.

G. I. Br.

DANIEL B. ḲEṬINA: Babylonian amora; flourished in the second half of the third century. He was a contemporary of Ze'era (Yer. Suk. iv. 54b; Ḥul. 62a *et seq.*). He is cited in the Palestinian as well as in the Babylonian Talmud by some of the foremost teachers of his generation (Yer. Shab. iii. 5c; Yer. 'Er. i. 19d, ii. 20a; M. Ḳ. 8b, 12a; Ḥag. 8b; Ket. 97a; B. Ḳ. 97a; B. M. 64b), but generally as the transmitter of Halakot he had learned from his predecessors. That he was regarded as a saint appears from the legend relating that he would daily inspect his garden and mark the beds requiring water, whereupon rain would descend and moisten the beds thus marked (Ta'an. 9b; Yalḳ., Zech. 578). Rabbah bar bar Ḥanah, Rab's nephew, married his son to Daniel's daughter (Ber. 47a; compare Rabbinowicz, "Diḳduḳe Soferim," *ad loc.*).

Bibliography: Heilprin, *Seder ha-Dorot*, ii. *s.v.*; Frankel, *Mebo*, 73a.

L. G. S. M.

DANIEL BEN MOSES AL-ḴUMISI, or **AL-DAMAGANI:** One of the most prominent Karaite scholars of the earlier period; flourished at

the end of the ninth or at the beginning of the tenth century; a native of Damagan, the capital of the Persian province of Ḳumis, in Tabaristan, as is shown by his two surnames, the latter of which is found only in "Ḳirḳisani." His attitude to Anan and his violent opposition to the Ananites (*i.e.*, the first Karaites, Anan's followers and immediate successors) are characteristic of his place in Karaism. At first he esteemed Anan highly, calling him "rosh hamaskilim" (chief of the scholars); but later he despised him and called him "rosh ha-kesilim" (chief of the fools). Nevertheless, Daniel's opinions were respected by the Karaites.

As regards Daniel's theories, he denied that speculation could be regarded as a source of knowledge, and, probably in accordance with this tenet, he maintained, in opposition to Anan, the principle that the Biblical laws must not be interpreted allegorically, nor explained contrary to the simple text (see below). He evinces little regard for science, as, for instance, when he asserts that it is forbidden to determine the beginning of the new moon by calculation, after the manner of the Rabbinites, because such calculations are condemned like astrology, and the practise of them is threatened with severe punishment, according to Isa. xlvii. 13–14. Yet Daniel himself, in his commentary to Lev. xxvi., indulges in long reflections on the theodicy and on the suffering of the pious. His conception of the angels, also, is most extraordinary. He says that wherever "mal'akim" (angels) are mentioned in the Bible, the designation does not refer to living, speaking beings who act as messengers, but to forces of nature, as fire, fog, winds, etc., by means of which God performs His works (compare Maimonides, "Moreh," ii. 6). This may be due to the influence of the Sadducees (who also denied the existence of angels; compare Acts xxiii. 8), in view of the fact that works circulated among the earlier Karaites named after Ẓadoḳ and containing Sadducean opinions.

Daniel favored a rigorous interpretation of the Law. The following decisions of his have been preserved: It is forbidden to do any work whatever on the Sabbath—even to clean the hands with powder—or to have any work done on the Sabbath by a non-Jew, whether gratuitously, or for wages or any other compensation. The burning of lights is forbidden not only on Friday evenings, but also on the evenings of the festivals. In the description in Lev. xxiii. 40 of the trees which, according to Daniel, were used in erecting the booths, the phrase "peri eẓ hadar" (the fruit of goodly trees) is more definitely explained by "kappot temarim" (branches of palms), the palm being distinguished for its beauty (Cant. vii. 8).

Legal Decisions.

Like Anan, Benjamin al-Nahawandi, and Ishmael al-'Okbari, Daniel forbade in the Diaspora the eating of those animals that were used for sacrifice, adding to the proofs of his predecessors others drawn from Hosea ix. 4 and Isa. lxvi. 3. The prohibition contained in Ex. xxiii. 19 ("Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk") must not be interpreted allegorically, as Anan interpreted it, but literally. The priest carried out the injunction to "wring [pinch] off the head" of the bird ("meliḳah," Lev. i. 15) by cutting the head off entirely, after the slaughtering. The clean birds are not recognizable by certain signs, as the Rabbinites assert, but the names of the birds as found in the Pentateuch are decisive (and as these can not always be identified, the Karaites make the class of forbidden birds very large). Among the locusts only the four species expressly named in Lev. xi. 22 are permitted as food. It is forbidden to eat eggs because they must be considered as living things that can not be slaughtered, as is proved by Deut. xxii. 6–7, where it is permitted to take the young, but not the eggs. Of fish the eggs only are permitted; the blood is forbidden. The leper must still be considered as unclean (this, too, is directed against Anan, who had held that the laws regarding the clean and the unclean were not applicable in the Diaspora). The carcass of an animal, however, ceases to be unclean after use has been made of it in any way, as is proved by Lev. vii. 24.

In regard to the levirate marriage Daniel agrees with Anan that "aḥim," in Deut. xxv. 5, does not mean "brothers," which would violate the prohibition contained in Lev. xviii. 16, but "relations." The story of Judah and his sons (Gen. xxxviii. 8) proves nothing, because at that time the prohibition against marrying a brother's wife did not exist. The prohibition contained in Lev. xviii. 18 can not be taken literally (as the Rabbinites take it), for the wife's sister is forbidden under any circumstance, just as is the husband's brother (there is here an example of the method of analogy, "heḳḳesh"); it is rather the stepsister of the wife that is meant in the passage in question; *e.g.*, the daughter of the father-in-law's wife whom the last-named had by her first husband. In this case the prohibition ends with the wife's death. The daughter is not excluded from the heritage, as the Rabbinites say, although her portion is less than that of the son, being only one-third; for in the law of valuation in connection with vows (Lev. xxvii.) women were valued less than men. In conformity with this law, the mother also receives one-third. Daniel was doubtless influenced here by the Mohammedan law (see Koran, sura iv. 12, 175). In other respects Daniel follows the Talmud in holding that the descendants of one entitled to a portion succeed to his entire rights; the children of the son—*i.e.*, grandchildren—taking precedence over the daughter, their aunt. Finally, Daniel holds that responsibility for the observance of the commandments must begin not with the thirteenth, but with the twentieth year; that the New-Year begins on the tenth of Tishri, as follows from Ezek. xl. 1; and that Mohammedans also may act as witnesses of the new moon's appearance.

Influence of Islam and Talmud.

Daniel wrote several works in Hebrew, all of which, save for a few quotations and fragments, have been lost. There is undeniable evidence that he compiled a legal code ("Sefer ha-Miẓwot"), and a work on the rights of inheritance. The latter, against which Saadia directed his polemics, was perhaps merely a part of the code just mentioned. He also wrote commentaries to the Pentateuch, to Joshua, and to Judges, and probably to other Bib-

cal books. They were not running commentaries, but explanations to certain passages, and contained also digressions. Words were often explained in Arabic. These commentaries, especially that to the Pentateuch, probably contained many of the decisions enumerated above.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The principal source regarding Daniel and his opinions is *Kirkisani*, sec. i., ch. i.–ii. xviii. (ed. Harkavy, p. 280, lines 8–19; 285, 19–20; 316, 14–29); sec. iii., ch. xxi.–xxiii.; sec. xi., ch. xxvi.; sec. xii., ch. vii., xxxiii. (MSS. Br. Mus. Or. 2524, fols. 63–68; 2578, fols. 10–15 and 143–144; compare *Steinschneider Festschrift*, pp. 199 *et seq.*). For the other opinions of Daniel: Hadassi, *Eshkol*, 126ג, 233ג, 236ה, 240ר, 256ג, 287ג, 308ד, 316ה; Aaron b. Elijah, *Gan 'Eden*, 65b, below, and 169d, below; Bashyazi, *Aderet*, סדר ירושות, ch. ii., iii. Extracts from the ספר המצות, after quotations from Karaitic authors, are found in: Pinsker, *Likkute Kadmoniyyot*, ii. 188; Harkavy, in Berliner's *Magazin*, xx. 228; Poznanski, in *Jew. Quart. Rev.* viii. 683. A fragment of the commentary to Lev. i. 1–15, vi. 21–vii. 21, from the Cairo Genizah, has been published by Schechter, *Saadyana*, pp. 144–146 (*Jew. Quart. Rev.* xiv. 512; compare *ib.* 41, 79); another fragment, to Lev. xxv. 9–xxvi. 25, has been edited by Harkavy, in Fuchs' ההוקר, i. 169–173, who ascribes it to Benjamin al-Nahawandi. Daniel, however, is the author, compare Harkavy, *Studien u. Mittheil.* viii. 192, and note 2; 187. Compare also Pinsker, *l.c.* i. 45; Fürst, *Geschichte des Karäerthums*, i. 78; Gottlober, בקרת להולדות הקראים, p. 164; Harkavy, *Kirkisani*, p. 271; Poznanski in *Jew. Quart. Rev.* viii. 681 *et seq.*; Margoliouth, *ib.* ix. 436, note 2.

K. S. P.

DANIEL BEN SAADIA HA-BABLI (or **Daniel the Babylonian**): Talmudic scholar; lived at Damascus in the thirteenth century. He was a pupil of Samuel b. Ali Halevi, the anti-Maimonist. After Maimonides' death he undertook a campaign against the latter's works, which, however, he conducted in a more temperate and judicial spirit than was shown by his master. His criticisms took the form of questions (forty-seven on the "Mishneh Torah" and thirteen on the "Book of Precepts"), which he sent to Abraham, the son of Maimonides. The partizans of Maimonides urged the excommunication of Daniel, but Abraham contented himself with writing a controversial work (ברכת אברהם, "Blessing of Abraham," Lyck, 1870) in refutation of Daniel's attacks. Later on Daniel attacked the orthodoxy of Maimonides, and reproached him for not believing in the existence of evil spirits. As there are in the Talmud several passages on demonology, he did not shrink from denouncing him as a heretic. Abraham not being willing to launch the anathema, the Maimonides party induced the exilarch David of Mosul to excommunicate Daniel, who died of grief.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abraham Maimuni, *Milhamot*, pp. 11, 12; Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael*, i. 262; Neubauer, *Cat. Bodl. Hebr. MSS.* No. 628; Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature*, p. 91.

K. M. SEL.

DANIEL BEN SOLOMON (BEN ḤASDAI): Exilarch at Bagdad in the second half of the twelfth century. According to Pethahiah, Daniel's father, Solomon, was highly esteemed by the calif, a circumstance that for a time lent new dignity to the exilarchate, which had sunk into entire insignificance. Scholars assume that Daniel's father was also identical with the exilarch Hasdai, who, according to Benjamin of Tudela and Joseph Sambari ("Med. Jew. Chron." i. 123), was the teacher of the agitator David Alroy. The family, which traced its ancestry back to King David, lived in great splendor, to which Abraham ibn Ezra, who visited Bagdad in the middle of the twelfth century, alludes in his commentary to Zech. xii. 7, speaking of "the splendor of the house of David." Nothing is known of Daniel's political or literary activity. He doubtless approved the opposition to Maimonides led by the learned Samuel b. Ali of Bagdad, though Daniel himself did not come to the front. As he left no children, the exilarchate was transferred after his death to Mosul, where it was contested by two rival candidates, DAVID BEN HODAYA and SAMUEL. A fragment from the Cairo Genizah contains the colophon of a manuscript once in the possession of Daniel b. Solomon.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grätz, *Gesch.* vi., note 10; Schechter, in *Jew. Quart. Rev.* xiv. 221.

G. A. K.

DANIELILLO ("Little Daniel") OF LEGHORN: Anonymous author of a small apologetic work of the seventeenth century, written in Spanish, which Grätz erroneously considers to be pseudepigraphic. It was copied by Isaac Mendes in 1738, and published at Brussels in 1868, under the title "Danielillo ó Respuestas á los Cristianos," by M. Caplan from a manuscript in the Royal Library in that city. By far the larger part of the work is devoted to a dialogue between D. Antonio de Contreras and Danielillo, but it contains many passages from the dialogue of Andrés Antonio and Obadiah, written in 1583, and still in manuscript (Wolf, "Bibl. Hebr." iv. 487, 726; De Rossi, "Bibl. Antichrist," p. 36). The principal contents of the work is a dialogue of the Augustinian monk Juan Carrasco of Madrid, who was converted to Judaism in Holland, and wrote a work in defense of Judaism and against Roman Catholicism (Nodriza-Haya, 1633). The Duke del Infantado, Hurtado de Mendoza, who is mentioned in the work, was Spanish ambassador at Rome in 1623. From page 104 to the end is given to the "Razonamiento," the discourse delivered in the presence of theologians and courtiers at Paris, at the command of Henry IV., by Elijah Montalto, physician to the king.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grätz, *Gesch.* 3d ed., ix. 485; Steinschneider, *Bibl. Hebr.* xi. 84; *Monatsschrift*, xvii. 321 *et seq*;

G. M. K.

DANIELS, D. POLAK: Dutch communal worker at The Hague; died 1899. He was active in Jewish communal affairs, was president of the Jewish community for more than forty years, and was a member of the municipal council for the same length of time. His funeral was attended by the highest dignitaries of Holland.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Jewish Chronicle*, May 12, 1899, p. 13.

S. A. R.

DANILEVSKY. See RUSSIA.

DANON, ABRAHAM: Turkish writer; born at Adrianople, European Turkey, in 1857; attended the Talmud Torah in that city, pursuing his Talmudic studies at a yeshibah. After having presided over a small seminary at Adrianople, he was appointed director of the seminary founded by the Alliance Israélite Universelle at Constantinople. Under the title "Toledot Bene Abraham," he published a Hebrew translation of Theodore Reinach's "Histoire des Juifs," Presburg, 1888, completing the story, as he says in the preface, by extracts from Graetz, Geiger, Kalman Schulmann, and others. Under the title "Maskil le-Aidan" (Aidan's Poem;

א"י"ר, abbreviation of "Abraham Josef Danon"), he published a series of Hebrew translations of the poems of Vergil, Victor Hugo, and Sadi, together with some original contributions (Adrianople, 1888). In Sept., 1897, he went to Paris to represent the Oriental Jews at the Congress of Orientalists.

Danon's chief distinction rests on his initiative in founding at Adrianople in 1888 a historical review, bearing the title "Yosef-Da'at," or "El Progresso," which was published in Hebrew characters and in three languages; namely, Judæo-Spanish, Hebrew, and Turkish. The aim of the review was to collect all the documents relating to the history of the Oriental Jews. But the Ottoman government censorship suppressed this review, together with all others published in Turkey. As the fruit of patient labor, Danon published a collection of fifty-five Judæo-Spanish ballads which are sung in Turkey, each ballad being accompanied by its French translation. They first appeared in the "Revue des Etudes Juives," xxxii. and xxxiii., and were published separately by Durlacher, Paris in 1896. They form one of the most curious chapters in the literature of the Oriental Jews. Danon has also published some studies on the Oriental Jews (Jews of Adrianople and of Salonica), which appeared in the same review. Danon is the only author of the present generation of Oriental Jews who writes in Hebrew, other writers publishing their works in Judæo-Spanish.

S. M. Fr.

DANON, BERAKAH BEN YOM-ṬOB: Talmudical scholar; lived at Jerusalem in the first half of the nineteenth century. He was the author of a work entitled "Bad Ḳodesh" (Holy Linen), containing sermons, and novellæ on Maimonides' "Yad." It was published in Salonica in 1846, together with a work by his father on the same subject, entitled "Kebod Yom-Ṭob."

Bibliography: Ḥazan, *Ha-Ma'alot li-Shelomoh*, p. 51b; Zedner, *Cat. Hebr. Books Brit. Mus.* p. 195.

L. G. I. Br.

DANON, JOSEPH BEN JACOB BEN MOSES IBN: Hebraist and Talmudist; born at Belgrade about 1620; died at London toward the end of the seventeenth century. He was descended from an old Spanish family which had settled at Belgrade several generations earlier. Having received an excellent education, he became the secretary of Joseph Almosnino, rabbi of Belgrade. When Belgrade was taken by Prince Max Emanuel of Austria (Sept. 6, 1688), Danon, with the greater part of the Jewish community in that city, was exiled. He maintained for some time a precarious existence in various Moravian towns, dependent sometimes upon public charity for food and shelter. He finally wandered to Amsterdam, where he received aid and protection from the Mæcenas of Jewish learning, Joseph Ẓarfati.

Danon now devoted himself to literary pursuits, and wrote a work entitled "Sheloshah Sarigim" (Three Branches), a treatise on the three foundations upon which, according to the Talmud (Abot i. 2), the world is based—the Law, Worship, and Charity. The first part only of this manuscript work, with its preface, is still extant. During his residence at Amsterdam he composed an index of the abbreviations found in Hezekiah de Silva's "Peri Ḥadash," a commentary on Joseph Caro's Shulḥan 'Aruk. At the death of his protector, Danon settled in London, where he remained, highly appreciated, until his death.

Bibliography: E. N. Adler, in *Jew. Chron.* June 28, 1895; Kaufmann, in *Rev. Et. Juives*, xxxvii. 284 *et seq.*

L. G. I. Br.

DANON, MEÏR BENJAMIN MENAHEM: Rabbinical writer, and chief rabbi of Sarajevo in Bosnia; lived in the first half of the nineteenth century. He wrote "Be'er ba-Sadeh" (A Well in the Field), a supercommentary on Rashi's commentary to the Pentateuch, and on its supercommentator, Elijah Mizraḥi. It was published in Jerusalem in 1846.

Bibliography: Ḥazan, *Ha-Ma'alot li-Shelomoh*, p. 13.

L. G. M. Fr.

DANON, YOM-ṬOB: Author and rabbi of Smyrna in the first half of the nineteenth century. He went to Jerusalem in 1821, where he succeeded Joseph Ḥazan as chief rabbi. He wrote "Kebod Yom-Ṭob," a commentary on Maimonides' "Yad ha-Ḥazaḳah" (Salonica, 1846).

Bibliography: Ḥazan, *Ha-Ma'alot li-Shelomoh*, p. 51b.

L. G. M. Fr.

DANTE, ALIGHIERI: Florentine poet; born 1265; died at Ravenna Sept. 14, 1321. Dante took an active part in the political feuds then distracting his native city, and in 1302 was banished. From that time on he lived in exile, enjoying from time to time the hospitality of several princes of northern Italy, such as Can Grande della Scala of Verona and Guido Polenta of Ravenna. Dante's principal work is the "Divina Commedia." A few Hebrew words ("Hosanna," "Sabaoth": "Paradiso," vii. 1; "El," "Eli," "Malacoth": *ib.* xxvi. 134; "De Vulgari Eloquentia," i. 4), and the two hitherto unexplained and perhaps inexplicable passages ("Inferno," vii. 1—"Pape Satan, Pape Satan, aleppe"; and xxxi. 67—"Raphel maï amech, zabì almì"), have led to the assumption that Dante understood Hebrew; which, however, is contradicted by his own testimony ("Paradiso," xii. 73). Dante's "Divine Comedy" served as a model for his contemporary Immanuel ben Solomon in the closing (twenty-eighth) chapter, "Tofet we-'Eden" (Hell and Paradise), of his "Divan." Mose de Rieti's "Miḳdash Me'aṭ" (Little Sanctuary) can not unreservedly be considered an imitation of Dante's "Paradiso."

In spite of Kraus's objections (see his "Dante, Sein Leben und Sein Werk," p. 146), it seems certain that Dante entertained friendly relations with Immanuel ben Solomon. Whether the two poets became acquainted at the court of Can Grande in Verona, where Immanuel also stayed for a while, or at the house of their common friend Bosone in Gubbio, can not be ascertained. Their friendship is shown by an exchange of sonnets between Bosone and the Jew Manoello (*i.e.*, Immanuel), in which Dante's death is bewailed. An alleged exchange of sonnets between Cino da Pistoja and Bosone, in which Cino transfers Dante and Manoello to the Inferno, while Bosone defends both, is spurious. From this it appears that the close personal relations between the

two poets was a matter of common knowledge to their contemporaries. Concerning the question as to whether Dante is alluded to in the character of Daniel in the 28th chapter of Immanuel's "Divan," in which the poet is led through the Inferno and Paradise, see IMMANUEL BEN SOLOMON.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. X. Kraus, *Dante, Sein Leben und Sein Werk*, Berlin, 1897. The sonnet of Bosone was first published by Allacci, *Poeti Antichi Raccolti da Codici MSS. della Bibliotheca Vaticana e Barberina*, p. 112, Naples, 1661. The sonnet ascribed to Cino was first edited by Ciampi, *Rime de Messer Cino da Pistria*, p. 114, note 108, Pisa, 1813. All four sonnets were edited by Mercuri, *Lezione XI. in Forma di Lettera . . . Nella Quale è Trattato se Dante Veramente Fosse Morto Nel 1321*, Naples, 1853. Compare Soave, *Breve Notizie del Poeta Emmanuele di Roma*, in *L'Educatore Israelita*, 1862: D'Ancona, in *Rivista di Scienze Lettere ed Arti . . . Anno IV.* 1863; Garofalo, *Litteratura ej Filosofia*, pp. xviii., xlii., Naples, 1872; Mazzatinti, in *Studj di Filologia Romanza*, i. 330 *et seq.*; Modona, *Rime Volgari di Immanuele Romano*, Parma, 1898; German translation in Fürst, *Illustrirte Monatshefte für Israeliten*, 1865; Geiger, *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, v. 293 *et seq.*; Güdemann, *Gesch. des Erziehungswesens der Juden in Italien*, pp. 137 *et seq.*; Vogelstein and Rieger, *Gesch. der Juden in Rom*, i. 430 *et seq.*; see also Grätz, *Gesch.* vii. 265; Delitzsch, *Zwei Kleine Dantestudien*; Geiger, in *Ozar Nehmad*, iii. 123 *et seq.*; Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibl.* xi. 52 *et seq.*; Paur, *Jahrb. der Deutschen Dantegesellschaft*, iii. 423 *et seq.*; Carducci, *Studi Litterari*, pp. 260 *et seq.*, 275 = opere viii. 157 *et seq.*, 174 *et seq.*; Servi, *Dante Egli Ebrei*, 1893; Kaufmann, in *Rev. Et. Juives*, xxxvii. 252 *et seq.*; idem, *Allg. Zeit. des Jud.* 1898, pp. 330 *et seq.*

G. H. V.

DANZ, JOHANN ANDREAS: German theologian and Hebraist; born at Sundhausen, near Gotha, 1654; died at Jena Dec. 22, 1727. Danz studied at Wittenberg and at Hamburg, where he learned Hebrew under Esdras Edzardi; and he became professor of Oriental languages at the University of Jena, at first in the philosophical, and after 1713 in the theological faculty. He was considered the greatest Hebrew scholar among his Christian contemporaries. Danz wrote several text-books on Hebrew grammar, which for nearly a century remained standard works. He is the author of "Nucifrangibulum Sanctam Scripturæ V. T. Linguam Hebraicam Enucleans," Jena, 1686. This first edition contained two parts, the first treating of the etymology, the second of the syntax, of the Hebrew language. In the following editions these parts were published separately: part one under the title "Literator Ebræo-Chaldaicus," Jena, 1694, 1710, 1715, and 1745; part two under the title "Interpres Ebræo-Chaldaicus," Jena, 1694, 1708, 1710, 1755, and 1796. The "Nucifrangibulum" was followed by "Spicilegium," *ib.* 1689, and "Rabbinismus Enucleatus," *ib.* 1696, 1751; Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1761.

His most popular work, however, was his "Compendium Grammaticæ Ebræicæ-Chaldaicæ," Jena, 1699, of which numerous editions appeared. It was translated into German, under the title "Hebräische und Chaldäische Grammatik," and edited, by G. Kypke, Breslau, 1784. Among his works on Hebrew antiquity may be mentioned: "Antiquitas Baptismi Initiationis Israelitarum Vindicta," Jena, 1710; "Pluralitates Personarum Divinarum Genesis i, 26," Jena, 1710; "De Sinceritate Scriptorum V. T. Suspicio Errorum in Decade Exemplorum, Abrabaneli," etc., Jena, 1717.

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E. C. F. T. H.

DANZIG (Polish, **Gdansk**): Capital of West Prussia. The Jewish population of Danzig in 1895 was 2,474, in a total population of 125,605.

The oldest document concerning the Jews of Danzig, a charter of King Casimir authorizing two Jews, Zub and Michael, to trade in Prussia, bears the date of 1476; although Jews may have lived there in the preceding century. It is probable that the Jewish merchants who came to trade with Danzig were accustomed to land their merchandise outside the town, and return to their homes after having finished their business. Yet a great many of them were invited by rich merchants of Danzig to come to the town to translate letters written in Hebrew or to superintend the preparation of kasher-wine. The authorities took no notice of this, and therefore the Jews are not mentioned in any official document till the second half of the fifteenth century. Until 1813 they lived in the four suburbs of Danzig—Schottland, Weinberg, Mattenbuden, Langfuhr—and in Danzig proper, thus forming five distinct congregations. They maintained this division into separate congregations until 1881. Schottland was founded in the second half of the fourteenth century, and it appears that Jews settled there soon after its foundation.

The Five Congregations.

The commercial success of the Jews aroused the envy of the inhabitants of Danzig, and in 1551 the "voyevoda" (governor) of Danzig wrote a petition to Sigismund II. asking him to exclude the Jews from Danzig, except on fair-days. In 1552 he received a favorable answer, and, as a preliminary measure, Jewish commerce was heavily taxed. The authorities of Danzig appear to have placed an arbitrary interpretation on the edict, for in 1616 the burgomaster of Danzig was ordered by Sigismund III. to pay Isaac Joenbower of Cracow, Abraham Solomon of Posen, Jelen of Lublin, and Wolf of Lemberg a fine of 100,000 gold pieces for arbitrary exclusion. There are other documents showing that the "Privilegium Casimirianum" was not strictly observed. In the "Regesty" (i., No. 643) it is mentioned that on April 25, 1583, the Jew Abraham Shmoilovitz of Burov brought lumber to Danzig; that on the 28th of the same month the Jew Mendel Urelovichsh of Brest brought in 235 barrels of grain; and that on different days of May in the same year Shmoilovitz brought rye, wheat, barley, and oats.

The Suburbs.

The life of the Jews who settled at Schottland soon after its foundation was very precarious, and they were subjected to incessant and petty persecutions on the part of the non-Jewish inhabitants. In 1508 the council of Danzig enacted a fine for buying anything from a stranger. In 1520, when the German troops were marching against Danzig, the citizens burned the suburbs. Whenever an enemy approached the town, those who lived in the suburbs were generally the first to suffer. In spite of these difficulties the Jews of Schottland contemplated forming a congregation, and, indeed, they united themselves with the Jews of Hoppenbruch, a small town near Danzig, and acquired a synagogue and a cemetery. The Jews of Weinberg and those

of Stolzenberg formed the congregation of Weinberg. There were Jews in Danzig also, some being under official protection, while others lived there with the connivance, but without the permission, of the authorities. An edict of the council, dated 1605, prohibiting the Jews from meeting for religious exercises, reveals the presence of a community in Danzig itself. In 1616 the Jews were expelled from the town, their presence being permitted only during the six days of the Dominik fair, a fee of three florins each per day being exacted. In 1626 the council accorded certain privileges to Jewish lumber- and grain-dealers, and the "Privilegium Casimirianum" was renewed in favor of certain Jews.

The Reformation.

After the Reformation the situation of the Jews of Danzig grew worse. The contending religious sects were united in oppressing them, and the Reformation produced new efforts for their conversion, which efforts, however, as it appears from a sermon by Pastor Cramer (printed in 1664), were without success. The preacher lamented that a Jew, though sentenced to death, would not embrace Christianity. As the position of the Jews was not legally secured in Danzig during the seventeenth century, they dared not form a congregation. It was only at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Danzig was stricken with a succession of calamities, that their were admitted to the town to revive its commerce. But they did not enjoy that hospitality for long. About that time the Jews were driven from the bishop's domain, and the fact of their finding a refuge at Danzig roused the anger of the bishop. He protested before the council of Danzig, and, not obtaining any satisfaction, he incited the mob against the Jews. This happened in 1723, and there is no further mention of Jews in Danzig until 1747. Those of Schottland had, by 1724, a well-organized congregation. They founded in that year a society for the aid of the sick and a ḥebra ḳaddisha. The register of the latter was kept in Hebrew from 1724 to 1848.

Resettlement.

In 1750 Frederick Augustus permitted the Jews to settle again in Danzig, though they were subject to heavy taxes. The Jews of the three suburbs of Schottland, Weinberg, and Langfuhr steadily increased in number. In 1757 the congregation of Schottland numbered 46 contributing members. In 1767 its expenses amounted to 4,644 florins ($580); in 1768, to 6,117 florins ($764); in 1772, to 13,139 florins ($1,642), when the congregation had two synagogues. Till 1777 there was no physician for its hospital, but in that year it engaged Phoebus, the son of Meshullam of Prague. In 1752 the congregation elected as its rabbi ELHANAN BEN SAMUEL, formerly rabbi of Fordon.

The congregation of Langfuhr settled in that suburb when it was still under Polish protection. The Count of Weiher, owner of that domain, permitted the Jews to settle there, and they built a fine synagogue, acquired a cemetery, and formed a ḥebra ḳaddisha. The cemetery was devastated by the Russians in 1813, not a single tombstone being left in place. The register (פנקס) begins with 5535 =1775; the ḥebra ḳaddisha then counted 47 paying members.

The congregation of Langfuhr was then a dependency of the rabbinate of Schottland. In 1782 the three congregations cited above were united under Rabbi Meïr POSNER. In 1807 the suburbs being devastated by Napoleon's army, the Jews of Weinberg entered the town; a great many of them lost their lives during the bombardment of Danzig.

After the treaty of Tilsit (July 9, 1807) Danzig, with the three above-named suburbs, became a free state, and remained such for the space of not quite seven years. The Jews rejoiced at this development, but they had to pay a contribution of 50,000 German thalers ($18,000), most of which was sustained by the community of Schottland. Their life was still rather precarious: admission to the exchange was refused them, and their right of residence in the town was only provisional. In 1813, when Schottland and Langfuhr were destroyed, the Jews of these two suburbs were admitted to the town, and on Feb. 3, 1814, after Danzig had become a Prussian city, they obtained citizens' rights. They had then the opportunity of forming a congregation; but unfortunately there was no cohesion among them, and their 300 members were still divided among five distinct communities, four of which were named after the suburbs in which they had lived. Not until 1881 were these congregations united into one by the efforts of Rabbi Werner; in that year one large synagogue was built for the united communities. M. SEL.

Appended is a brief account of the rabbis of Danzig and of its suburbs:

Rabbis.

Schottland: Of the five original communities that of Schottland has always been reputed the wealthiest and most important. ABRAHAM B. ELIEZER HA-KOHEN, author of "Ori we-Yish'i" (Berlin, 1741), and R. Moses b. Jonah, who died there June 27, 1754, were among the scholars whose names are associated with the religious history of Schottland. The following were the regularly appointed rabbis of the community: R. Elhanan b. R. Samuel Sanwil Ashkenasi (1752–80), born in 1713, died Sept. 22, 1780; pupil of R. Ẓebi Hirsch of Halberstadt; R. Meïr b. R. Judah Löb Posner Munk (1782–1807), born in 1735, died Feb. 3, 1807; R. Chajim (1807–35), son of the preceding; died June 11, 1835; R. Israel b. R. Gedalja Lipschütz (1837–50); Dr. Abraham Stein (1850–64), subsequently rabbi of the Meisel synagogue at Prague, where he died Sept. 2, 1884; Dr. Joshua Wallerstein (1865–76), born in 1838, died June 19, 1876; Dr. Cosman Werner (1878), during whose rabbinate the communities were united.

Langfuhr and Weinberg: The community of Langfuhr had always been included in the rabbinate of Schottland. In 1782 the community of Weinberg also came under the same rabbinate, whose incumbent thereafter designated himself as rabbi of שול ("Schottland, Langfuhr, Weinberg"). When Dr. Stein became the rabbi of Schottland in 1850, R. Israel Lipschütz officiated as rabbi of Weinberg and Langfuhr, dying Sept. 19, 1860. In 1878 the community of Weinberg called a rabbi of their own, Dr. S. Gronemann, who assumed the district rabbinate of Hanover when the communities were united.

Mattenbuden: The community of Mattenbuden

was organized toward the end of the eighteenth century, and did not have a synagogue until 1793. The following officiated as rabbis: R. Moses b. R. Chajim Chefez of Sklow; died April 7, 1807; R. Isaac Itzig b. R. Elhanan, son of the rabbi of Schottland; died Feb. 19, 1814; R. Samuel Sanwil b. R. Judah Löb Rosenstein, grandson of R. Elhanan of Schottland; died Feb. 6, 1824; R. Michel Levin Munk (R. Jehiel Arje b. R. Matitjahu ha-Kohen), born in 1788; called to Danzig in 1853.

Danzig: R. Marcus Noah Perls (R. Mordecai b. Noah ha-Levi) of Lissa, died July 8, 1825; R. Moses Eliezer Thorner, died Aug. 6, 1837; R. Michel Levin Munk, died Aug. 23, 1853.

The above-named communities united under the name "Vereinigte Gemeinde." The following were its rabbis: Dr. Cosman Werner, called in 1878 to Schottland, was subsequently appointed rabbi of the united community. In 1895 he accepted a rabbinate at Munich. Dr. S. Posner, called as acting rabbi in 1896, subsequently became second rabbi at Karlsruhe. Dr. S. Blumenthal, called in 1897, and officiated to 1900 was subsequently appointed rabbi at Berlin. Since 1900 Dr. Max Freudenthal, previously district rabbi at Dessau, has been the incumbent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Monatsschrift*, vi. 205, 241, 321, 401; Jacoby, in *Israelit*, Nos. 44, 45, Mayence, 1864; *Regesty*, i., No. 613; Bram, in *Volkskalender*, 1849, pp. 124-129; *Israelitische Wochenschrift*, 1871, No. 35; Löschin, *Gesch. Danzigs*, Danzig, 1822; *Allg. Zeit. des Jud.* 1839, p. 383.

D. M. FRE.

DANZIG, ABRAHAM BEN JEHIEL: Lithuanian codifier; born in Danzig in 1747 or 1748; died at Wilna Sept. 12, 1820. He was descended from a family of scholars in West Prussia, his great-grandfather, Jehiel Michael, having been rabbi in Schottland, near Danzig; his grandfather was Samuel, the author of the commentary on Isaiah, "Neḥamot Ziyyon." When Danzig was fourteen years old his father sent him to the yeshibah in Prague, after exacting from him a promise that he would not mingle with the "Moderns," who, through the influence of Mendelssohn in Prussia, were gradually coming into prominence. Under the guidance of Ezekiel Landau and Joseph Liebermann, Danzig zealously devoted himself to the study of the Talmud, and at eighteen years of age he left Bohemia with a "ḥaber" diploma, showing him to be a proficient Talmudist. He then settled in Wilna, Lithuania. When offered the salaried position of rabbi he declined it, considering it improper to receive a stipend in such a capacity, and he engaged in business as a merchant, visiting the fairs of Leipsic and Königsberg. Only in his later years, and after having lost almost his entire fortune through the explosion of a powder-magazine, could he be induced to accept the position of dayyan in Wilna, which office he held until his death. His fixed intention had been to emigrate to the Holy Land.

His Youth.

Danzig is the author of the following: "Ḥayye Adam: Nishmat Adam" (The Life of Man: the Soul of Man), Wilna, 1810, reedited many times; "Ḥokmat Adam: Binat Adam" (The Wisdom of Man: the Understanding of Man), *ib.* 1814, reedited many times; "Sha'are Ẓedeḳ" (The Gates of Justice), on the commandments and prohibitions having reference to the land of Palestine, *ib.* 1812; Jerusalem, 1863; "Zikru Torat Mosheh" (Be Mindful of the Teaching of Moses), precepts for the Sabbath, Wilna, 1820, and several editions (this little work contains by way of supplement the treatise "Miẓwot Mosheh" [The Precepts of Moses], an extract from Askari's book "Ḥaredim" [The God-Fearing]; "Toledot Adam," a commentary on the Passover Haggadah, *ib.* 1817 (in the Haggadah edition "Ma'aleh Bet Ḥoron"); "Bet Abraham" (The House of Abraham), his last work, 1821, and many editions (also translated into Judæo-German by Isaac Hamburger, Lemberg, 1875). Among the writings of Danzig not yet published are an elaborate ethical work, specimen pages of which are contained in the introduction to "Zikru Torat Mosheh," and commentaries to several books of the Bible.

His Works.

Danzig is especially known as the author of "Ḥayye Adam" and "Ḥokmat Adam," which represent the most important productions in the line of codification after the time of Joseph Caro and Mordecai Yafe. In these two works Danzig treats of the same subject-matter as the first two parts of the Shulḥan 'Aruk. The enormous mass of new material which had accumulated in the field of the Halakah since the appearance of the Shulḥan 'Aruk—a period embracing more than two and a half centuries—was collected and critically sifted by Danzig and presented in a readily intelligible form. His codex, however, was intended primarily for the cultured layman and not for the officiating rabbi. Hence there is a tendency to give prominence to the more exacting side of the Law, even though in his expert decisions and treatises, which, under the respective titles of "Nishmat Adam" and "Binat Adam," are added to "Ḥayye Adam" and "Ḥokmat Adam," Danzig shows independence enough to oppose the views of the AḤARONIM, and he frequently protests against the tendency to decide in favor of new prohibitions. His "Ḥayye Adam" met with unusual success during the author's lifetime. In many cities societies were formed for the purpose of studying this work; and even to-day these societies may be found in most of the Polish-Russian communities.

This success was well merited; for there is hardly another work that presents in so concise and lucid a manner all the details of the discussions of the Aḥaronim. Danzig preserves in his works a certain freshness of tone, and dwells with special emphasis upon the ethical bearings of religious precepts. The high ethical standpoint of the author reveals itself most conspicuously in his "Bet Abraham," and the contents of this little book alone should suffice to refute the accusation that Talmudism had stifled religio-ethical sentiments. The love of God, it is pointed out, is man's highest mission, to which the fear of God is only a preparatory stage. The enjoyment of worldly things is not in itself to be condemned; but man is to bear constantly in mind that the recognition of God and the exercise of good deeds are the proper occupation of life. He lays great stress upon prayer; but this must not be

His Importance as Codifier.

mere lip-service; and, accordingly, he bids his children say their prayers in German rather than in unintelligible Hebrew. This is all the more noteworthy since Danzig in this very work enters a protest against all innovations, and even denounces the reading of German books.

Love of truth and contentedness he especially enjoins; and declares repeatedly that "an offense against one's fellow being is far more reprehensible than a sin against God." He not only admonishes his family, therefore, to refrain from all dishonesty in their business relations with both Jews and non-Jews, but makes it a duty never to decide in money matters according to one's own opinions, but to inquire of a learned man whether the intended action conforms to the Law. While insisting upon the strictest observance of the rites, he bids his children even to let the time of prayer pass if this be necessary to secure money wherewith to pay a working man's wages.

His Ethics.

Characteristic of Danzig is his warning not to study the Cabala before the age of maturity and before the study of the Talmudic-rabbinic literature. He himself shows an acquaintance with the Cabala; but in his halakic writings this is not made apparent. A somewhat mystical touch appears in his prayer for the eve of the Day of Atonement. This prayer may be found in "Ḥayye Adam" (No. 144), and has been published separately several times in Judæo-German as well as in Hebrew, under the title "Tefillah Zakkah" (Sincere Prayer).

Bibliography: Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael*, p. 18; idem, *Kiryah Ne'emanah*, pp. 232–239; Steinschneider (Maggid), *'Ir Wilna*, p. 218; compare Abrahams in *Jew. Quart. Rev.* iii. 476–477.

L. G.

DAPIERA (DE PIERA), ASTRUC: Martyr; lived in Barcelona. He was probably a relative of Isaac de Piera, who also lived in Barcelona, and who, in the year 1391, was baptized under the name of Guillermo Vidal Puiol ("Rev. Et. Juives," iv. 59). Dapiera, accused of witchcraft, was put in prison in 1370 by the grand inquisitor of Aragon, Fr. Nicolas Eymeric. He was sentenced to express his repentance publicly in the cathedral, and to suffer imprisonment for life.

Bibliography: Diago, *Historia de los Condes de Aragon*, l. 15; Fontana, *Monumenta Dominicana*, part ii., ch. 9, p. 236.

G. M. K.

DAPIERA or **DA PIERA** (דאפיירה, דפיארה), **SOLOMON BEN MESHULLAM:** Neo-Hebraic poet of North Spain; died after 1417. He was a relative of Meshullam ben Solomon Dapiera, who flourished, probably in southern France, in the earlier part of the thirteenth century, and who, in several extensive poems, declared against the "Moreh Nebukim" of Maimonides. Before the troubles which came upon him and the Jews in Spain generally, Dapiera seems to have been rich, and charitable to the needy. Forced to leave his native place, he took refuge in Saragossa at the house of Benveniste ben Labi, the Mæcenas of Hebrew scholars, where he became tutor to Benveniste's two sons, with one of whom, Don Vidal Joseph ibn Labi, he exchanged many letters and poems. Through the recommendation of his host, to whom he was not related, as Grätz avers, he became a favorite with Don Meïr Alguadez.

While in Saragossa, Dapiera filled the position of scribe to the congregation; letters are extant written by him in its name. He, however, did not remain there, but again took up the wanderer's staff. In 1417 he was in Monzon, where he made the acquaintance of a young poet, En-Samuel Bonastruc. Despite certain mannerisms, Dapiera may be ranked among the first Hebrew poets of his time. He showed great skill in rimed prose and artistic versification, and the criticism which Grätz passed upon him as a poet is now known to be undeserved. Under the title "Imre No'ash" (Speeches of a Desperate One) he compiled a comprehensive dictionary of rimes in three parts, two of which dealt with homonyms and synonyms. It is probable that the "Maskiyyot Keseḥ," edited by Mordecai Tama (Amsterdam, 1765), is a part of the "Imre No'ash" ("Literaturblatt des Orients," ix. 343; Steinschneider, "Cat. Bodl." col. 2386).

Dapiera was a prolific poet and writer; more than forty piyyuṭim issued from his pen; and the manuscript Or., fol. 1059, in the Berlin Royal Library, contains versified panegyrics sent by him to such men as Moses Abbas, Samuel al-Rabi, Don Bonfos, Astruc Ramuk, Astruc Crescas, Don Solomon al-Constantini, Mazliaḥ of Majorca, as well as to Christian scholars. Many of his letters are still extant; one of them, to the above-mentioned Mazliaḥ of Majorca, was published by Edelman in his "Dibre Ḥefeẓ" (p. 27). H. Brody has published in his "Beiträge zu Salomo Da-Pieras Leben und Wirken" (Berlin, 1893) a number of Dapiera's letters and poems. Solomon ben Meshullam Dapiera must not be confounded with Solomon ben Immanuel Dapiera, who probably died shortly before 1363, and who, under the title "Batte ha-Nefesh" (Smelling-Flask), translated from Arabic into Hebrew the didactic poem "Al-Saba'niyyah" by Abu 'Imran Moses Ṭobi, to which he wrote a commentary (see Hirschfeld in the "Report of the Judith Montefiore College," 1894, p. 8).

Bibliography: Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 2385; *idem*, in *Hebr. Bibl.* xiv. 78 *et seq.*, xvi. 86 *et seq.*, xvii. 129 *et seq.*; idem, *Verzeich. der Hebr. Handschr. der Königl. Bibl. zu Berlin*, i. 37; idem, *Die Hebr. Handschr. der Königl. Hof- und Staatsbibl. in München*, cod. 57, 3; idem, *Hebr. Uebers.* p. 932; Grätz, *Gesch.* viii. 151; Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, p. 145; Brody, as above; compare *Monatsschrift*, 1895, p. 423; *Jew. Quart. Rev.* vi. 182; *Zeit. für Hebräische Bibliographie*, ii. 46.

G. M. K.—G.

DARDA: One of the wise men surpassed in wisdom by King Solomon (I Kings iv. 31). He is mentioned, with Ethan, Heman, and Chalcol, as a son of Maḥol. In I Chron. ii. 6 he is called "Dara," the son of Zerah. Rabbinic fancy has identified Darda with "the generation of knowledge" ("dor de'") of the wilderness. "Kol Adam" refers to Adam; "Ethan" is Abraham; "Heman" is Moses; and "Chalcol" is Joseph (see Rashi on I Kings v. 11).

E. G. H. G. B. L.

DARDANELLES or **CHANAK-KALESSI:** Name of the two cities situated opposite each other on the shores of the strait at the entrance to the Sea of Marmora. The European city is inhabited by

Mohammedans exclusively; the Asiatic city contains Mohammedans, Greeks, Armenians, Europeans, and Jews. The Jewish community dates from the year 1510 according to local traditions which report that the Portuguese rabbi Jacob Ben-Ḥabib, the author of "'En Ya'aḳob," after emigrating from Portugal, established himself at Salonica, and afterward led a colony of twenty Jewish families from Gallipoli to Dardanelles. The old epitaphs in the cemetery of the city are illegible. The community is not mentioned until the middle of the seventeenth century, when the false Messiah Shabbethai Ẓebi was imprisoned by Sultan Mohammed IV. in the castle of Abydos in the vicinity of the Dardanelles. The Jewish population of this city, as well as of all the places along the Sea of Marmora, made a pilgrimage to the pseudo-Messiah (1664). Dardanelles is the birthplace of a Jewish author, Judah Benveniste, who wrote two works, "Tiwwasha' Yehudah" (Judah Shall Be Saved), published at Smyrna, and "Zeker Dabar" (Remembrance of the Word), published at Salonica (1863).

In a total population (1902) of 11,600 inhabitants there are 2,700 Jews. The latter have four synagogues, one school of the Alliance Israélite Universelle with 178 boys, a congregational school for girls (100), a Talmud Torah with 150 pupils, and a society of young people, "Ahabat Re'im," which furnishes a midday meal to poor school-children. Members of the three chief Jewish families, the Sedaccas, Gormezanos, and Taraganos, represent foreign powers as consular agents.

D. M. Fr.

DAR'I, MOSES (or **MOSES OF DAR'AH** [דרעה; in Africa]):

1. Moses ben Adonim ha-Lewi: Karaite; flourished in Dar'ah toward the end of the ninth century. He was a grammarian of prominence, as is shown by the title "Medaḳdeḳ" (Grammarian) given to him. Some of his exegetic notes, conceived in the true Karaite spirit, have been preserved. Of his religious poems one fragment only is in existence, and of this the first stanza alone is in print, so that it is difficult to form an opinion regarding the poem. Pinsker assumes that the father of Moses was that Adonim one of whose poems is yet extant ("Liḳḳuṭe Ḳadmoniyyot," p. 138); but this theory can not be accepted without further proof.

Bibliography: Pinsker, *Liḳḳuṭe Ḳadmoniyyot*, p. 105; Fürst, *Gesch. des Karäert.* i. 97.

2. Moses Dar'i: Rabbinite; mentioned by Maimonides in his collection of responsa, "Pe'er ha-Dor" (No. 19). He emigrated from Maghreb (Spain) to Egypt, where he exchanged his own tefillin for others conforming to the regulations of the Geonim. Steinschneider inclines toward the opinion that he later joined the ranks of the Karaites, and that he is identical with the Moses Dar'i below.

Bibliography: Pinsker, *Liḳḳuṭe Ḳadmoniyyot*, p. 46; Steinschneider, in Geiger's *Jüd. Zeit.* ix. 178.

3. Moses Dar'i: The most prominent among Karaite poets. Concerning the dates of his life and activity the last word has not yet been said. Pinsker, the first to study his collected poems and give detailed information concerning him, places him in about the middle of the ninth century, and holds that Dar'i's "Diwan," according to certain data contained therein, was finished about 843. Steinschneider, Geiger, and Schorr have, for weighty considerations, rejected Pinsker's supposition.

There can be no doubt whatever that Dar'i was familiar with the works of the greater poets, from Gabirol to Abraham ibn Ezra, and that he derived much material from Judah ha-Levi, and not, as Pinsker maintains, that Gabirol, Moses ibn Ezra, Judah ha-Levi, and other Rabbinite poets took Dar'i as their model. Dar'i himself, in the superscriptions to his poems, names pieces by Judah ha-Levi and others that served him as patterns. The earliest date, therefore, that can be assigned to Dar'i is the end of the twelfth century. The date which appears in Dar'i's collection of poems must be regarded as a falsification.

Concerning the life of Dar'i little is known. His ancestors are said to have gone from Jerusalem (the presumptive starting-point of so many old families) to Spain, and from thence to have emigrated to Dar'ah, where Dar'i was born. He took up his abode in Egypt, and there completed the "Diwan." He made visits to Damascus, but his reception there was not cordial. While on his way to Jerusalem he wrote one of his poems. Two of his sons died at an early age; his third son, Uri, heads a genealogical table (Pinsker, "Liḳḳuṭe Ḳadmoniyyot," p. 49) extending to the twentieth generation.

Dar'i's poems often contain his name in acrostics; the fullest of these is: אני משה בן מרי ורבי אברהם הרופא הקראי חזק אמן אמן. It also occurs abbreviated as משה קראי רופא חזק and משה רופא קראי חזק; which makes it evident that the epithet "rofe" (physician) refers to Dar'i himself. The "Diwan" (collection of poems) consists of two parts: the first part is the work proper, bearing the title "Firdaus Azhar al-Ḳaṣa'id wal-Ash'ar"; the second part is in the nature of a supplement. The two parts together contain about five hundred religious and secular poems. By far the greater number are in Hebrew; a few are written in Arabic. In some poems the verses are in Hebrew and Arabic alternately. Dar'i was acquainted with all those forms of poetry introduced into Hebrew literature from Spanish-Arabian countries.

In his religious poems—one whole series of which is arranged to correspond to the weekly lessons—he prays for forgiveness of sins, bewails persecutions and hardships, and gives expression to his longings for redemption. Among his secular poems occur several of a satirical character, directed against the "Anshe Mishnah" (followers of the Mishnah, or Rabbinites). There are also nuptial poems and love-songs, somewhat coarse in conception; eulogies and poems on friendship, extravagant in their fervor; besides elegies, epigrams, enigmas, etc. He is not wanting even in the affectations and artificialities of form and language peculiar to his models. His imagination often soars to great heights, and he displays great cleverness, especially in his epigrams. His language is fluent, but occasionally he has recourse to poetic license. His productions contain the stereotyped ideas and imageries which his predecessors used, following them even in the matter of linguistic expression; in other words, he plagiarizes

freely. Of Dar'i's longer poems all that is known is reported by Pinsker.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Pinsker, *Likkute Kadmoniyyot*, pp. 46-105, 135, and pp. 113 *et seq.*, where Dar'i's religious poems are enumerated; Geiger, in *Z. D. M. G.* xv. 813 *et seq.*, xvi. 290; Schorr, in *He-Haluẓ*, vi. 57; Steinschneider, in Geiger's *Jüd. Zeit.* ix. 176 *et seq.*, where other sources also are mentioned; D. Kohn, in *Oẓar ha-Sifrut*, v. 90 *et seq.*

K. H. B.

DARIUS I. (דריוש; Δαρεῖος): King of Persia from 521 to 485 B.C.; son of Hystaspes. The sources for the history of Darius are his own trilingual inscription at Behistun, the Babylonian contract tablets, and the accounts which the Greeks from Herodotus onward have given. Herodotus is corrected repeatedly by Ctesias. The older branch of the Achæmenides died out with Cambyses and his brother, the true Smerdis, while the head of the younger branch, which traced its descent to Teispes, was Hystaspes, governor of Parthia, who submitted to the new ruler. His son Darius, however, undertook to win back the scepter from the Magian Gaumata, who had assumed the title of king and had married Cyrus' daughter. Darius and six intimate companions of noble blood, relying on the protection of Ahuramazda, attacked the usurper on the 10th of Tishri (Oct. 16), 521, at a city in Media, and killed him; Darius now became king.

In Persia itself Darius was confronted by a new pretender, a second pseudo-Smerdis. In addition, the subject nations throughout the East (for instance, the Elamites, Medians, Parthians, Hyrkanians) tried to win back their independence, and placed at their head men who claimed descent from the royal family. The most serious rebellion was the one in Babylon under Nidintabel, who called himself Nebuchadnezzar III., the son of Nabonid. The first Babylonian record of Nebuchadnezzar III.'s reign is dated Tishri 17 (Oct. 23) of the year of his accession, 521.

Darius besieged Babylon and sent capable generals against the other usurpers. In Jan. or Feb., 520, Babylon yielded, and Darius was free to personally direct the crushing of the Median revolt. But in the spring Babylon rebelled again under the Armenian Arakha, who also pretended to be Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonid. There are many records dated in Darius' reign. At the beginning of 519 Babylon was retaken by Vidafra; and by the summer of 519 Darius had authority over the whole of the empire. These events directly concerned the Jews, who thought they presaged the great crisis, the self-annihilation of the heathen kingdom, which, according to Ezekiel, was to precede the Messianic era. But the Jews entertained no idea of rebelling: they were too thoroughly imbued with the teaching of the Prophets that it was wicked to forestall the ways of God. Nevertheless, they looked upon Zerubbabel, of the house of David, who, as the Persian governor, was the head of the little province of Judea, as the coming Messiah. It was fit then that they should make preparations, since God Himself was evidently preparing. Consequently, on the first day of the sixth month, in the second year of the reign of Darius, the prophet Haggai announced to Zerubbabel that the time was ripe, and the high priest Joshua began the rebuilding of the Temple.

Darius Crushes Rebellions.

On the 24th of the ninth month (Dec. 17), 520, the foundation-stone of the Temple was laid. The prophet Zechariah supported Haggai and encouraged the people, even when news came of the continuous victories of the Persians. As late as the 24th of the eleventh month (Jan. 13), 519, he had a crown made for Zerubbabel out of gold sent by Jews in Babylon.

The hopes in the Messianic era were vain, for soon the Persian rule was more firmly established than ever. Jerusalem received a visit from the satrap of 'Abarnahara (the Persian province of Syria), Tatnai (Greek Σισίνης; Babylonian, "Ushtani"). The activity of the Jews and the building of the Temple naturally excited his suspicion. When the elders referred to Cyrus, who had ordered the Temple built, he dared not interfere, but reported the matter to Darius, who judged the affair correctly and without prejudice. He knew he need never fear a rebellion of the Jews, and that it would be of advantage to the kingdom to further their religious interests. The cost of building the Temple was paid out of the tribute-tax of Syria. He commanded the Jews to offer in the Temple a daily sacrifice for the welfare of the kingdom and for his sons. On Adar 3 (March 10), 515, in the sixth year of Darius, the Temple was completed (Ezra vi. 14).

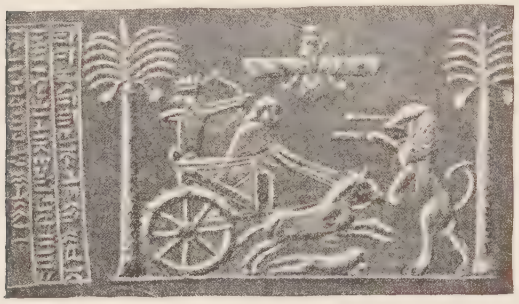
Darius Seated on His Throne.
(From Flandin and Coste, "Voyage en Perse.")

Darius was the organizer of the Persian Empire. His conquests served to round out the boundaries of his realm in Armenia, the Caucasus, and India, and along the Turanian steppes and the highlands of Central Asia. In order to systematize the collection of the tributes from subject nations, Darius divided his empire into twenty provinces ruled by governors, who are enumerated by Herodotus (iii. 89 *et seq.*). Each province was subdivided, each part with its own head. These governors and vice-governors were called, in Persian, "khshatrapavan" (guardians of the land; in Greek, σατράπης; in Hebrew, אחשדרפן; in Babylonian, "paḥat" (= Hebrew פחה). The number of the satraps and the districts over which they ruled frequently changed. According to the Book of Daniel (vi. 2), "It pleased Darius to set a hundred and twenty princes [satraps] over the kingdom"; while Esther says that Xerxes (Ahasuerus) "reigned from India even unto Ethiopia, over a hundred and seven and twenty provinces [מדינה]"; but this number can not be relied upon. It was Darius, also, who introduced and regulated the coinage of the realm. The standard coin was the

Organizes the Empire.

golden daric (Hebrew and Phenician אדרכן, to be distinguished from אדרכמן, "drachma"), weighing 8.4 grams = 130 grains, and in silver worth 20 shekels, each 5.6 grams = 86.5 grains; 100 shekels, or 5 darics, made a silver mina; and 6,000 shekels, or 300 darics, made a silver talent.

Light is thrown upon the religious policy of Darius by the inscription of Uzaḥor, chief priest of the goddess Neit in the Egyptian city Sais. Uzaḥor was summoned to Elam (Susa) by Darius, and was fully empowered to restore the Hierogrammatic College (the House of Life), for which institution he trained many children. Darius himself went to Egypt and showed such deep interest in the institutions of the land that the Egyptian priesthood re-



Cylinder Seal, with Name of Darius in Persian, Scythian, and Assyrian.
(In the British Museum.)

garded him as the last great lawgiver of Egypt (Diodorus, i. 95; compare Herodotus, ii. 110).

In the Book of Daniel, whose author had but a dim knowledge of Persian history, "Darius the Median" appears as the son of Xerxes (ix. 1), successor to the Babylonian Belshazzar and predecessor of Cyrus (vi. 28, x. 1). The epithet "Median" is to be explained by the fact that in the Orient, as among the Greeks, the name "Media" was applied to the whole Persian realm (for instance, in the Minean inscription of South Arabia [Halevy, n. 535]; compare "kings of Media and Persia" in Dan. v. 28, viii. 20; Esth. x. 2; compare i. 3, 14).

Bibliography: E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Alterthums*, i. 512; idem, *Forschungen zur Alten Gesch.* ii. 472; idem, *Entstehung des Judenthums*, pp. 41 *et seq.*, 79 *et seq.*; Peiser, in Schrader, *K. B.* iv. 304; Meissner, in Stade's *Zeitschrift*, xvii. 191 Revillout, in *Revue Egyptologique*, i. 72 *et seq.*

G. E. Me.

DARIUS III.—Biblical Data: Last King of Persia; reigned from 336 to 330 B.C.; conquered by Alexander the Great. He is probably the "Darius the Persian," with whose reign the record of the priestly heads of families mentioned in Nehemiah (xii. 22) ended. On this passage compare Eduard Meyer, "Entstehung des Judenthums," p. 103.

G. B. Me.

——**In Rabbinical Literature:** Darius and Cyrus were the commanders of Belshazzar's two legions. When they saw him in a debauched state, they made him descend from his throne, deprived him of his crown and of his royal robes, and left him standing in his shameful nakedness (Esth. R. iii. 1; compare David Luria *ad loc.*). According to another version, Darius and Cyrus were Belshazzar's doorkeepers (Cant. R. iii. 1). It was during Darius' reign that Daniel disobeyed the order to worship the king ('Ab. Zarah 3a; compare Dan. vi. 11–12).

The latter Darius, by whom the Talmud means the king mentioned in Ḥag. i. 1, and who is not identical with Darius the Persian (see R. H. 3b, and Tos. *ad loc.*), was the son of Esther, and thus of pure descent on his mother's, and impure on his father's, side. This is implied in the Syrian hyrax (Lev. xiii. 5), the emblem of the Medo-Persian empire, uniting as it does the signs of the clean and of the unclean animals (Esth. R. viii. 3; Lev. R. xiii. 5). Compare Cyrus.

L. G. C. L.

DARKNESS: The rendering in the English versions of the Hebrew חשך and its synonyms אפל, אפלה, ערפל, צלמות. At one time darkness was regarded as something substantial, and not merely as the absence of light. This is apparent from the frequent juxtaposition of "darkness" with "light." God forms light and darkness (Isa. xlv. 7); light and darkness are consumed or confined (Job xxvi. 10). In the Creation-story, darkness is said to have been over primitive chaos, Abyss. In this opening sentence traces or reminiscences of an early mythological personification have been detected (see Cosmogony). Darkness antedates creation. It has also been noticed that it is not called good, as are the other works of the Creator. The absence of the definite article before חשך in Gen. i. 1 points in the same direction.

Something of this mythological notion is present in Job's imprecation (Job iii. 4, 5), where both "Ḥoshek" and "Ẓalmut" (or "Ẓalmawet") are invoked as though ravenous monsters lying in wait for prey (the verb recalls the blood-avenger, the "goel"). They are in parallelism with a phrase—"Let all that maketh black the day" [R. V.]—which is now recognized by nearly all commentators to describe mythological beasts (see Dragon). In ordinary speech, of course, the Hebrew mind did not revert to this personification of darkness and its underlying antecedent mythological conceits. Darkness is simply the night, as light is the day (Gen. i. 5, 18). The sun grows dark; the day is darkened; and the like. In mines and other subterranean regions darkness has its realm, which the searcher for the precious metals invades, and thus forces upon it the establishment of new boundaries (Job xxviii. 3). This impression of substantiality goes with the descriptions of Egyptian darkness (Ps. cv. 28; Ex. x. 23). Darkness is also likened to a pillar of cloud (Ex. xiv. 20), as something almost palpable, if not personal. It is a frequent circumstance of theophany (II Sam. xxii. 12 = Ps. xviii. 12); and is associated with "She'ol" in such a way as to make it plausible that this place of the ingathering of the shades was a domain ruled over by twin demons, Ḥoshek and Ẓalmut (darkness and thick darkness). The double form, masculine and feminine, "ḥoshek" and "ḥashekah," also goes back to mythology.

In figurative speech, for reasons that are apparent, darkness was used for a secret hiding-place (Isa. xlv. 3; Job xxxiv. 22; Ps. cxxxix. 11, 12). As the effect of sorrow is to dim the eyes by tears, or as grief or sin injects darkness into the world (com-

pare 'Ab. Zarah 8a), the Hebrew speaks of distress as darkness (Isa. v. 30, xxix. 18; Ps. cvii. 10–14, again "Ḥoshek" and "Ẓalmut").

Darkness is uncanny. It may be the hiding-place of evil spirits; this, at all events, was the notion in post-Biblical times (compare Demonology); therefore darkness expresses fear, dread, terror. As such it is one of the equipments of the Day of the Lord, a circumstance of judgment (Amos v. 18, 20; Zeph. i. 15; Nahum i. 8). This eschatological idea underlies also the darkness which ensues upon the Crucifixion (Matt. xxvii. 45). According to the theory advanced by Gunkel ("Schöpfung und Chaos"), that in eschatological visions primitive mythology finds its expression, the underlying idea is that darkness is an attendant on final judgment or punishment (Matt. viii. 12, xxii. 13, and frequently in N. T.).

Darkness is also the emblem of mysterious afflictions, of ignorance and frailty (Job xix. 8, xxiii. 17; Isa. ix. 2), of sin and evil (Isa. v. 20; Prov. ii. 13), of mourning (Isa. xlvii. 5), of doubt and vexation (Job v. 14, xii. 25), and of confusion (Ps. xxxv. 5). As wisdom is light, so ignorance is darkness (Job xxxvii. 19; Eccl. ii. 14).

Darkness was the ninth of the ten Egyptian plagues (Ex. x. 21 *et seq.*). What caused the darkness has been a subject of much unsatisfactory discussion. Some reminiscence based upon observation of natural phenomena is always involved in the other plagues. What the reminiscence is in this case has not been determined; a storm of dust has been suggested by some commentators. E. G. H.

DARMESTETER, ARSÈNE: French philologist and brother of James Darmesteter; born at Château-Salins Jan. 5, 1846; died at Paris Nov. 16, 1888. Darmesteter, who came as a little boy to Paris, went first to a primary school, but learned much from the books in the workshop of his father, who was a bookbinder. At the age of twelve he went to the Talmud Torah school, where, in addition to religious subjects, he studied French, Latin, and Greek. It was in this school that he determined to solve the problem of the Old French words in the text of Rashi. At the age of sixteen he presented himself for the baccalaureate. His father had intended him to become a rabbi; but criticism of the New Testament had led him to criticize the Old; his religious orthodoxy had been shaken, and, although he continued his Hebrew studies, his warm religious faith had given place to scientific interests. Science was destined, he thought, to transform and to unite humanity.

For a year he was a pupil at the Séminaire Israélite under Zadoc Kahn; the next year he worked at the Collége Ste. Barbe to qualify for his licentiate, which he obtained in 1864. He studied Latin epigraphy under Léon Renier. In 1865–66 he began to study Old French at the Ecole des Chartes. It was about this time that he wrote the remarkable essay on the Talmud which he had finished just when the similar article by Emmanuel Deutsch had appeared. The article was afterward revised by Darmesteter and published posthumously in his "Reliques Scientifiques."

In 1867 Darmesteter became a pupil of Gaston Paris, the great Romance scholar, who quickly recognized his powers. In 1869, at the request of Paris, the minister of public instruction sent Darmesteter to study the French glosses in the manuscripts of Rashi at Oxford and Cambridge, and in the British Museum. In six weeks, working from twelve to fourteen hours a day, he went through fifty-nine manuscripts. His object was to elucidate the phonetics and structure of Old French by means of the forms preserved in Hebrew characters. The first results of his investigations were published in "Romania" in 1872, in which year he was nominated "répétiteur" (lecturer) in Romance languages at the Ecole des Hautes-Etudes. He finished in the same year his first large work, "Traité sur les Mots Composés" (published in 1874), in which he showed his powers as a philologist on ground which he had made his own.

Arsène Darmesteter.

To Darmesteter a language was essentially living; he was not content with a mastery of the bare facts of phonetics and morphology; the problem which above all attracted him was that of the creation of new words, and the development of new senses from old words. The "Mots Composés," in which some 12,000 words are dealt with, has become a classic.

Earliest Publications.

In 1871 Darmesteter had already begun, jointly with Adolphe Hatzfeld, a dictionary of the French language, expecting to complete it in three years. Its publication, however, did not begin until after Darmesteter's death. Hatzfeld, a man with singularly fine logical and literary perceptions, struck by the lack of order in the classification of the meanings of words given in Littré's great work, proposed to reduce them in each case to one or two fundamental meanings. Darmesteter saw that the problem of each word could only be solved by the history of the word. Hatzfeld and Darmesteter worked together for seventeen years. When Darmesteter died the first draft of the manuscript was complete and the printing was begun. The revision of the etymological part, and the great treatise on the formation of words which he had planned and, in part, written, as a preface, were completed by his former pupils A. Thomas and L. Sudre. The work was awarded a grand prix at the Paris Exhibition of 1900, and the prix Jean Reynaud, of 10,000 francs, by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, the highest honor in its power to bestow.

The dictionary was far from absorbing Darmesteter's energies. In 1874 he deciphered the difficult and beautiful French elegy, preserved in the Vatican, on the burning of the thirteen Jewish martyrs at Troyes in 1288. In the same year he

examined in Parma and Turin fifty-five other manuscripts of Rashi. In 1876 he discovered the important phonetic law of the protonic, known since as "Darmesteter's law." He obtained in 1877 his doctor's degree from the Sorbonne, presenting two dissertations: "De Floovante" and "De la Création Actuelle des Mots Nouveaux dans la Langue Française." On June 16, 1877, he was nominated "maître des conférences" in Medieval French at the Faculté des Lettres of Paris.

In 1878 he published, in collaboration with Hatzfeld, "Le Seizième Siècle," a book on the language and literature of the sixteenth century in France, which is used as a text-book in the universities of Germany and of England as well as of France. In 1880 he gave much of his time to the foundation of the Société des Etudes Juives, and especially to the "Revue" issued by it, in which he published a number of papers dealing with ancient and medieval Jewish history. He was also for some time professor of French at the Paris Rabbinical Seminary. In 1881 he became lecturer at the Ecole Normale Supérieure des Filles at Sèvres. His lectures, delivered to audiences of women students training as teachers in secondary schools, became the "Cours de Grammaire Française" (4 vols.), published posthumously, and translated into English by Alphonse Hartog. The French Academy awarded it the Saintour prize in 1897. In 1883 he was appointed at the Sorbonne titular professor of Medieval French literature and of the history of the French language. In 1886 he published "The Life of Words," which appeared first in an English translation, and then in the French original under the title "La Vie des Mots," a series of lectures on the changes of meaning in words, in which certain theories, originally published in 1876 in the "Revue Philosophique," were extended and developed. Most of Darmesteter's papers were collected in two volumes, "Reliques Scientifiques" (Paris, 1890), by his brother James. The first volume contains a biography, a bibliography, and Jewish and Franco-Jewish studies; the second, the purely French studies. The book was intended for the public, and has gone through many editions in France; it throws a new light on linguistic development. In 1885 heart-disease, unsuspected but of long standing, probably aggravated by the accidental death of his mother and by periods of almost superhuman intellectual effort, declared itself. On Nov. 7, 1888, he acted as examiner at the Sorbonne in a room without a fire; the chill brought on endocarditis, and he died on Nov. 16, 1888.

"The Life of Words."

A second edition of the "Mots Composés," edited by Gaston Paris, and with an index of 12,000 words compiled by Darmesteter's wife, was published in 1894. An essay on the Celtic element in French was published in the "Revue Celtique" for 1901.

The notes on the "La'azim" of Rashi are still unpublished.

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S. P. J. H.

DARMESTETER, JAMES: French Orientalist; born March 28, 1849, at Château-Salins, Lorraine; died Oct. 19, 1894, at Paris. His parents were from a family established in Lorraine since the middle of the eighteenth century. When, in 1791, the Jews of France were bidden to choose surnames for themselves, the great-grandfather of James selected the name "Darmstädter," in remembrance of the Darmstadt ghetto whence his parents had emigrated to Lorraine. The French registrar translated the name into his own language and wrote it "Darmesteter." Calmann and Cerf, the son and grandson of the original Darmesteter, were booksellers and bookbinders in the town of Château-Salins; and there, in 1839, the latter married Rosalie Brandeis, the daughter of one of Napoleon's officers. The Brandeises, of Polish origin, were of a notable stock—rabbis, physicians, and soldiers through many generations. The family archives contain interminable series of rabbis. A great-uncle of the Darmesteters was physician to the Czar of Russia; their grandfather and their maternal uncles were soldiers or army doctors. From the Brandeises James and his brother Arsène inherited their love of letters, their scientific bent, and their enthusiastic patriotism.

James Darmesteter.

James was the youngest son. The eldest, Achille, a lad of uncommon promise, died suddenly one evening on his return from school, when Arsène was about six years and James about three years old. In 1852 the death of Calmann Darmesteter in Paris, leaving there a widow wholly unprovided for, gave Cerf and his wife a reason for moving to the capital; and with the widow they settled in the crowded quarter of the Marais. Work was difficult to procure; privations were many; and the close air and inappropriate food affected the health of James, who never grew to his full size, his stature being slightly deformed and his health always frail. He resembled in an extraordinary degree the illustrious poet of Recanati; and when he visited Florence in 1887 the Florentines dubbed him "Il piccolo Leopardi."

With the tenacious idealism of the Hebrew race, the bookbinder and his wife, poor as they were, spared no sacrifice to afford their children a first-rate education. Both of them were grounded at the primary school of the Rue des Hospitalières, Saint Gervais; proceeding thence, on attaining their tenth or twelfth year, to the Talmud Torah, the seminary of the Jewish Consistory, a school whence most but not all of the pupils entered the Rabbinical College. At the age of eleven James obtained a Bischoffsheim scholarship; and thenceforth he followed the education of the Lycée, first at the Collège Charlemagne, then at the Collège Bonaparte (now Collège

Condorcet), the most prominent of Parisian public schools. In after days he was wont to compare the "amiable and sterile education of the public school," much to its disfavor, with the original and somewhat chaotic system of the Talmud Torah; but it was partly to the classical discipline of the Lycée, and to its preoccupation with rhetoric and logic, that James Darmesteter owed his singularly beautiful style, at once lucid and suggestive, terse and admirably descriptive, elliptic and convincing.

Education.

Darmesteter's school-days were a series of triumphs that terminated in the acquisition of the "Prix d'Honneur" at the general competition in 1867. On the morrow every school in France echoed with the Latin phrases which the delicate little Jew of eighteen had put into the mouth of the dying Demosthenes.

After such brilliant school-days, Darmesteter showed a certain hesitation in deciding on his career. He obtained his baccalaureate in science and in letters, took the higher degrees in letters and in law, and then earned his daily bread by giving lessons. He had as yet published nothing. He had indeed begun a drama, a philosophical novel, a history of the satanic element in modern literature, and a synthesis of religions. But all these schemes were relinquished ere they neared completion. He fancied, as at his age Ernest Renan had imagined, that his gift was perhaps in the line of natural science. "But I studied only vague generalizations," he wrote later, "without that interest in details which is the beginning of wisdom. I wished to make a synthesis of the universe. I decided to employ nine years in research: a year for each science, following the order of Comte. In the tenth year I would write my book." Meantime he studied Byron in English, Heine in German, and Carducci in Italian. But ere the fourth year of his program was completed—a program loosely adhered to—one day, in reading Michelet's "Bible de l'Humanité," he heard the voice of the antique Orient: he had found his vocation.

On the advice of Michel Bréal, Darmesteter in 1872 entered the Ecole des Hautes Etudes. He was not long a student. His rapid and surprising progress soon invaded the whole domain of ancient Persian literature, language, history, and religion. From the first he associated the life and the history of a people with the development of its language, and sought to interpret its faith by its traditions rather than by arbitrary philological comparisons.

Iranian Studies.

In order to understand the Avesta, he felt it important to study the inscriptions of ancient Iran, the legends of Firdusi's "Shah Nameh," the Pahlavi commentators of the "Bundahish," and even the rites of the modern Parsees of Bombay, rather than to compare the text of the Iranian Scriptures with the Holy Writ of ancient India, in the manner of certain German scholars. Each race, he felt, was, in matters of religion, more like itself throughout the continuity of its history than it was like any other race, however near a neighbor and contemporary. His "Haurvatât et Ameretât," published in 1875, proclaimed the student a master; and soon after he entered the Ecole des Hautes Etudes as professor.

In 1877 his "Ormuzd et Ahriman" attracted the notice of F. Max Müller at Oxford; the eminent Sanskrit scholar entrusted to the young Frenchman the English translation of the Avesta for the collection of the "Sacred Books of the East"; and the same year Darmesteter went, for the first time, to England. While continuing his English edition of the Avesta, he contributed to the French reviews various essays and articles on points of historical and philological interest: these were collected in 1883 under the title "Etudes Iraniennes." The same year witnessed the completion of his English Avesta, of which the first volume had appeared in 1880.

Darmesteter's translation of the Avesta had advanced him in the knowledge not merely of Persian, but also of English; and at one moment his increasing admiration for English literature went far toward robbing Zoroaster of his last and most brilliant disciple. But his devotion to his real career was too deep-rooted for any other interest to endanger it, though ever and anon the Orientalist paused in his more serious labors to publish an edition of "Childe Harold" (1882), a volume of "Essais de Littérature Anglaise" (1883), a classical edition of "Macbeth" (1884), a book on Shakespeare (1889), or to write the charming pages collected in his posthumous "English Studies" (1896). Few Frenchmen have understood England so intimately. Darmesteter, by a sort of happy guesswork, had divined the English character before he set himself to study it.

English Studies.

His translation of the Avesta into English had convinced Darmesteter that these sacred books—being in fact a prayer-book, a collection of ritual—could be understood only by a study of the religion which still practises their rites; and in February, 1886, almost immediately after his election to the chair of Iranian languages at the Collège de France, he left Paris for Bombay, the seat of an important Parsee community. The thirteen months spent by him in India formed, in many respects, the most important period of his life. In Bombay he became acquainted with the sages of the Zoroastrian cult; read priceless manuscripts with the venerable Tahmuraz; discussed points of ritual with the alert and modern-minded Yivanje Modi; and laid the foundations of that epoch-making translation of the Avesta to which in 1893 the French Academy of Inscriptions awarded the "Prix Biennal" of twenty thousand francs. There, too, he came to the conclusion that the antiquity of the Avesta had been greatly exaggerated by Iranian scholars; and that the Zoroastrian Scriptures bear traces of the influence not only of Buddhism, but also of the Jewish Bible, and especially of the Neoplatonist philosophy: "On peut dire que les Gâthas sont le premier monument du Gnosticisme, mais d'un Gnosticisme pratique, arrêté sur la pente fatale par un sens profond du réel et une préoccupation morale qui ne cherche dans l'abstraction qu'un moyen d'édification." According to Darmesteter, no part of the text of the Avesta is anterior by more than a century to the common era; the oldest fragments being

Journey to India.

contemporary with Vologeses, while the bulk of these Scriptures may be attributed to the reign of Ardashir (middle of the third century of the common era).

But if the letter be relatively modern the spirit is ancient. The faith that Ardashir and his minister, Tansar, sought to restore and to reduce to writing was, even in their time, an inheritance from distant forefathers. This antique element persists in a great part of the doctrine of the Avesta—in the principle of dualism, for instance, as in the limit set to the duration of the world, in the final defeat of evil, and in the idea of resurrection—no less than in certain details of the ritual, such as the sacrifice of the sacred plant, the Haoma. In an elaborate introduction to the third volume of his French translation published by Leroux (Paris, 1893), Darmesteter brings the whole force of his philological knowledge and his historical method to bear upon this question of the origins of Zoroastrianism. In the present state of science some of the factors of the problem are lacking; but those existing have never been classified with so masterly a competence nor presented with such originality and grace as by Darmesteter.

During his stay in India Darmesteter did not devote the whole of his time to the study of Zoroastrian tradition. He had left Europe with a mission from the French government to collect the popular songs of the Afghan tribes. On leaving Bombay he proceeded to the Northwest frontier and thence to the hills of Abbotabad. He who had made friends at Bombay with the Parsee priests might then be seen on the market-place of Peshawur talking with ragged mountain chiefs from Afghanistan or Baluchistan, or listening in prison to a poet in tatters—taken more or less redhanded—and writing down from his dictation some picturesque incendiary Pushtun ballad. These wild songs of border hate and love delighted the romantic soul of Darmesteter, while that other half of his mind, the scientific half, never asleep, noted strange linguistic forms and singular mutations of consonants, until,

Afghan Studies.

from a quantity of scattered details, he drew the unforeseen conclusion that in the language of the Afghan tribes there still survives the antique speech of the Medes. The Afghan tongue of to-day springs from Zend, as French springs from Latin. These Afghan songs, with a French translation and an important philological essay, were published by Leroux under the title "Chants Populaires des Afghans" (1888–90).

Darmesteter did not confine himself to seeing every side of native life. Everywhere he met with the kindest, the most hospitable reception. At Bombay he stayed with the governor, Lord Reay; at Lahore, with Sir Alfred Lyall. The officers of Abbotabad made him an honorary member of their mess; just as the learned "mobeds" of Bombay had welcomed him as a brother in Zoroaster, and as the most distinguished mendicants of the fair of Peshawur had treated him as a fellow of their rambling academy of Afghan letters. He liked, admired, and understood all this variegated universe of India. Something of the magic and the miracle, something of the sheer delight and amazement of this voyage into the silver land of Indian nights lingers still in the pages of his "Lettres sur l'Inde," published on his return to Paris (Lemerre, 1888).

In his Peshawur garden one day Darmesteter chanced to read a small volume of English verses entitled "An Italian Garden." On his return to Europe in 1887 he called in London on their author, Miss Mary Robinson; in 1888 he married her. Between these two dates he translated into French, under the title "Poésies de Mary Robinson" (1888), a selection of her poems, and published them with an introduction which is one of the most spontaneous and lyric of this scholar's efforts.

Darmesteter was no scholar buried in his books. His immense and noble curiosity embraced the whole order of the universe. Everything interested him, and more and more, as the years of middle life expanded and matured his marvelous faculties, was he preoccupied by the problems of moral, social, and political reform. He longed for the day when justice and righteousness should rule in the land. He was more than a Republican: he was a Liberal, convinced that the future lay with the party that should organize democracy for the greatest good of the greatest number, without forgetting that a moral ideal and a moral discipline are integral parts of the greatest good. He felt that the first thirty years of the Third Republic had been too exclusively given to political battles. The lot of the toiler, the education of the young, the faith of reasonable men, had been neglected.

When still a youth of fifteen or sixteen, at the Collège Condorcet, Darmesteter had broken from the Jewish faith. For many years the rigid orthodoxy that he associated with the Synagogue inspired him with a singular distaste. Yet his nature was a profoundly religious one, as was shown in "La Chute du Christ" (1880), which was republished and remodeled in an infinitely finer form in 1889 under the title "La Légende Divine." Therein he reveals a revolt against the silence of God in the world, a pity for human suffering, an enthusiastic altruism which at last becomes the source of a new religion—a religion of justice and rectitude, the religion of Amos and Hosea.

Relation to Judaism.

Darmesteter never returned to the Synagogue; but he returned to the Bible. "My faith is of my own making, not metaphysical, but moral, evolutionist, and Biblical," he wrote in 1887. A few years later he was to give to this new faith the name of "Prophetism." In the reconciliation of the truths of science with the social ethics of the Hebrew Prophets, he saw the possible faith of the future. He expressed this conviction in the essays collected under the title "Les Prophètes d'Israël" (Calmann Lévy, 1892). The prophetism of James Darmesteter reveals no secrets of the future life and makes no promises. In his system the spiritual other-world is neither included nor denied. No rites and no miracles enforce the moral faith which Darmesteter drew, in almost equal portions, from the writings of the Prophets of his race and the principles of the Revolution of 1789.

Darmesteter was far less a metaphysician than a moralist and a sociologist. So early as 1882, under the pseudonym of "Y. D. Lefrançais," he had writ-

ten for the primary schools of France a book of "Lectures Patriotiques," destined to imprint on the minds of children the love of their country and those principles of peace, justice, fraternity, and mutual aid from which he was to construct, ten years later, his ideal prophetism. In 1893, when the house of Calmann Lévy founded the "Revue de Paris" and offered its political direction to Darmesteter, he accepted this new duty, seeing in it an opportunity to forward ideas that he felt necessary to the dignity and happiness of France. The article in which he proposed to all the warring parties of his country a general disarmament in favor of a policy of social reform, opens the volume, "Critique et Politique," published posthumously in 1895.

Darmesteter died suddenly on Oct. 19, 1894, after a few days' indisposition. No successor has been found for his chair either at the Collège de France or at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes.

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S. M. R. D.

DARMSTADT. See Hesse.

DARMSTADT, JOSEPH BEN MEÏR-ẒEBI: German Talmudist; flourished in the second half of the eighteenth century. He was a pupil of Mordecai Halberstadt, author of "Ma'amar Mordecai." Darmstadt wrote "'Eẓ Yosef" (Joseph's Tree), novellæ to the tractates Berakot, Beẓah, and Megillah (Karlsruhe, 1763).

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L. G. I. Ber.

DAROCA: Town in the Spanish province of Saragossa, and formerly a part of the ancient kingdom of Aragon. It contains an old Jewish community. It had its privileges, like the neighboring community of Calatayud, and for the most part shared the same fortunes. In 1264 it paid an annual tax of seven hundred and fifty dineros. Many wealthy Jews lived at Daroca, among them Don Abraham Maquatel (Maquarel), a contemporary of Isaac b. Sheshet. A number of them were baptized in 1413, among them a wealthy Jew named Alfonso Reus; the Ram family, whose children and grandchildren filled high offices; and others. Don Astruc ha-Levi represented the community of Daroca at the disputation of Tortosa, and was the author of the circular letter to the community of Gerona.

Bibliography: J. Amador de los Rios, *Historia de los Judios en España*, i. 196; Jacobs, *Sources*, p. 296; Isaac b. Sheshet, *Responsa*, No. 511; *Shebet Yehudah*, p. 68.

G. M. K.

DARSHAN, SIMEON. See Kara, Simon.

DARSHANIM. See Homiletics.

DART: A pointed weapon to be thrown by the hand; a javelin or light spear. The English version uses "dart" as an equivalent for five Hebrew words: (1) "Ḥeẓ," which should be rendered "arrow" (compare the Assyrian "uṣṣu" and the Phenician חץ). (2) "Massa'," given in the list of weapons which of necessity must prove ineffective in the struggle with the leviathan (Job xli. 26). In the same connection is found (3) "totaḥ," and from the words "counted as stubble," a weapon with a shaft can be inferred (Job xli. 18). (4) "Shebeṭ": with three of these Joab smote Absalom (II Sam. xviii. 14). The most usual form is (5) "shelaḥ." This the workers on the Temple wall under Nehemiah constantly had with them (Neh. iv. 11). Hezekiah provided them in abundance for the defense of the Temple (II Chron. xxxii. 5). The men under Jehoiada were armed with them (II Chron. xxiii. 10). Darts were used in sieges (I Macc. vi. 51), and it may be that the reference here is to darts used to carry fire into the works and the city of the enemy. The New Testament speaks of the "fiery darts of the wicked" (Eph. vi. 16).

E. G. H. G. B. L.

DASCOLA, ASTRUC. See Kansi, Samuel.

DASHEV: Village in the government of Kiev, Russia. It has a population of 6,200, including 3,200 Jews, whose sources of income are mainly commercial and industrial. About 714 are artisans, 278 of these being masters. Tailoring occupies 176 persons; blacksmithing, 80; cabinet-making, 72. The output of the cabinet-makers and blacksmiths is valued at 10,000 rubles annually, and is sold at the neighboring fairs. There are 252 Jewish day-laborers, most of whom (175) hire out for field-work. About 17 families are engaged in dairy-farming. There are no charitable institutions. Three hundred children are taught in ḥadarim.

H. R. S. J.

DATE-PALM. See Palm-Tree.

DATHAN: Son of Eliab, of the tribe of Reuben. He conspired with his brother Abiram against Moses and Aaron. See Abiram.

E. C. M. Sel.

DATHEMA: The name of a fortress in Gilead to which the Jews fled when hard pressed by Timotheus. There they shut themselves in, prepared for a siege, and sent to Judas Maccabeus for aid (I Macc. v. 9–11). Dathema was one of many places in a similar plight, and seems, from the description of it, to have been strongly enough fortified to necessitate "an innumerable people bearing ladders and other engines of war" to take it. Judas attacked in three divisions, drove off Timotheus, killed eight thousand of the enemy, and saved the city (I Macc. v. 29–34). The Peshiṭta reads "Rametha," from which George Adam Smith ("Historical Geography of the Holy Land," p. 589) infers that it was perhaps Ramoth Gilead. Conder (Hastings, "Dict. Bibl." i. 560) suggests the modern Dameh on the southern border of the Lejah district. It can not, however, be positively identified.

E. G. H. G. B. L.

DATO, MORDECAI BEN JUDAH: Italian rabbi and preacher; born 1527; lived in various places in the territory of the house of Este; died after 1585. Steinschneider thinks it possible that he was a grandson of Angelo (= Mordecai) Dato, mentioned in Vogelstein and Rieger, "Gesch. der Juden in Rom," ii. 436. Dato was a pupil of the cabalist

Moses Cordovero, and was himself an adept in the Cabala. He is honorably mentioned by Azariah de Rossi in connection with a Messianic prediction ("Me'or 'Enayim," ch. xliii.), by Menahem Azariah de Fano, and by Angelo Alatrini, who dedicated to him his "Angelica Tromba" (Ferrara, 1579). Dato's writings follow the Cabala of Cordovero and Luria. He added marginal notes to the "Asis Rimmonim," a compendium of his pupil Samuel Gallico's "Sefer ha-Pardes" (Venice, 1601), but the editors have so mutilated and misplaced his notes, which they have incorporated in the text, as to render the compendium unintelligible. It has since been reedited by M. A. de Fano (Mantua, 1623). Dato wrote "Migdal Dawid" (Tower of David), a disquisition on questions relating to the Cabala, and also annotations to the Zohar, both of which are in manuscript. The British Museum contains manuscripts of some of his sermons in the Italian language, but in Hebrew script ("Yad Yosef," p. 24), of a cabalistic commentary to Esther, and of collections of his poems.

Bibliography: Landshuth, *'Ammude ha-'Abodah*, p. 197; Benjacob, *Ozar ha-Sefarim*, p. 115, No. 374; Perles, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Hebr. Studien*, p. 193; Steinschneider, in *Monatsschrift*, xlii. 521; S. Margoliouth, *Descriptive List of the Hebrew and Samaritan MSS. in the British Museum*, pp. 28, 48, 49, 58, 59.

G. G. J.—G.

DA'UD EFFENDI MOLKO: Chief of translation in the Turkish Foreign Office; born at Salonica in 1845. Da'ud is of humble parentage. His family settled in Constantinople while he was still a boy, and he received his elementary education at the Camondo Institution. Attached to the service of the Foreign Office at the age of 18, he rose to the position of translator-in-chief during the reign of Sultan 'Abd al-'Aziz, and retained that post when 'Abd al-Ḥamid II. ascended the throne.

Da'ud has been decorated with the Grand Cordon of the Order of Nishan-i-Osmanie, that of the Nishan-i-Medjidie and that of the Nishan-i-Imtiaz, and with the Persian Order of the Sun and Lion. Da'ud is also a commander of the Legion of Honor, and has been decorated with the Order of the Crown of Prussia.

Bibliography: *Univers Israélite*, Jan. 15, 1897.

S. M. Fr.

DAUGHTER IN JEWISH LAW: The legal status of a daughter in Jewish law changed very materially from patriarchal times to the Talmudic era. In the former period the daughter had no appreciable legal rights; she was merely a member of her father's household, and as such was, in common with the other members of the household, subject to the power of her father, who was accountable to no one for his treatment of her. This state of absolute subjection to the parental control was somewhat modified by the Mosaic law; but it was not until the days of the rabbinical authorities that this ancient patriarchal authority was abolished, and legal rights secured for the daughter, resulting in her practical emancipation from parental government upon reaching her majority at the age of twelve years and six months.

In illustration of the power of the father in patriarchal times, many incidents may be cited from the Bible, of which a few will suffice. The right of the father to kill his daughter is apparently not questioned in Judges xi. 34-39, though some commentators (*e.g.*, Levi ben Gershon and David Ḳimḥi, also Nicholas de Lyra) hold that the passage must not be interpreted as indicating that Jephthah actually killed his daughter in this case. In later times this extraordinary power, more especially when used to offer up sons and daughters as sacrifices, is condemned (II Kings xxiii. 10; Ps. cvi. 37, 38; Ezek. xvi. 20, 21). A man could sell his daughter to be a maid servant (Ex. xxi. 7), and, like Laban, he could also sell her in marriage (Gen. xxxi. 15; compare Gen. xxix. 21–30). The incident in reference to Lot's daughters (Gen. xix. 8), as well as a similar incident in Judges xix. 24, shows the extent of paternal authority. Since the daughter was practically the property of her father, damages for an injury done to her were demandable by the father (Ex. xxi. 31). The father was likewise entitled to damages for slander of the good name of his daughter (Deut. xxii. 19) and for her seduction (Ex. xxii. 16; Deut. xxii. 29).

Laban, after having given his daughters in marriage to Jacob, claimed the right of paternal authority over them long after their marriage (Gen. xxxi. 43); and it seems that Jacob, to a certain extent, recognized this right (*ib.* xxxi. 31). In Judges xv. 1, 2, and in I Samuel xxv. 44, incidents are recorded showing the exercise of paternal authority over the married daughter; for in both cases the married daughter is taken from her husband by her father, and given in marriage to another without the husband's consent.

In the Talmudic and post-Talmudic law there is an entire change in the legal status of the daughter. Thus, of the law in Ex. xxi. 7, according to which the father was permitted to sell his daughter to be a maid servant, the Talmud says that it was in force only as long as the law concerning the jubilee was in force (Ḳid. 69a; Maimonides, "Yad," 'Abadim, i. 10); and the Talmud bases this view upon the ground that in the year of the jubilee all slaves were absolutely free, and that, therefore, when the jubilee year was no longer observed, the right of the father to sell his daughter to be a maid servant must necessarily be taken away, because the safeguard against her continuance in perpetual slavery no longer existed.

Right of Sale.

According to another tradition, the jubilee year was not observed after the destruction of the First Temple ('Ar. 12b); thus, according to the Talmud, the right of the father to sell his daughter was taken away at least as early as the sixth century before the common era. The mother never had the right to sell her daughter (Soṭah iii. 8).

The Talmudic law practically emancipated the daughter from parental authority when she attained her majority. The daughter was a minor ("ḳeṭannah") under the age of twelve years; between the ages of twelve and twelve and a half she was called "na'arah"; and upon attaining the age of twelve years and six months she became "bogeret," and was no longer under parental control. All of the father's rights over his daughter's person and prop-

erty which survived in Jewish law from patriarchal times ceased when she became bogeret. These rights are thus summed up in the Mishnah (Ket. iv. 4; *ib.* Gem. 46b): While the daughter is a minor, the father may give her in marriage; he is entitled to her earnings and to that which she finds; he may annul her vows; and he must receive the bill of divorce when one is given by her husband. She becomes sui juris upon attaining the age of twelve years and six months, or upon her betrothal earlier (Mishnah B. M. i. 5; Ket. iii. 8, iv. 4; Nid. v. 7).

The right of the father to annul his daughter's vow is based upon Biblical law (Num. xxx. 4–6). His right to give her in marriage while she is a minor is admitted in the Mishnah (Ket. iv.); but it is condemned as immoral by the Rabbis, who are of the opinion that the father should not give his daughter in marriage during her minority, but that he must wait until she is old enough to decide whether or not she is satisfied (Ḳid. 41a).

The father is entitled to the custody of his daughter; but, if he divorces his wife, his daughter remains with her mother (*ib.* 102b). According to the later law, however, which seems to have followed the decisions of the Roman law, the court must determine whether the mother in such cases is a proper guardian for the daughter; and the question of the custody of the girl is one to be judicially determined according to the best interests of the child (Shulḥan 'Aruk, Eben ha-'Ezer, 82, 7).

Custody and Support.

The father must support his daughter while she is a minor (Ket. 49a), even though she has been given into the custody of her mother who has been divorced ("Yad," Ishut, xxi. 17); but the father is not obliged to support his daughter after she has attained the age of six years, if she has a separate estate which is sufficient for her maintenance (Eben ha-'Ezer, 71, 1). If the daughter, after attaining her majority, remains with her father, and is supported by him, he continues to be entitled to her earnings and to that which she finds (B. M. 12a; and Shulḥan 'Aruk, Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 270, 2).

After the death of her father, his son and heir must support the daughters out of the patrimonial estate until their marriage (Ket. 52b; B. B. 116b). The daughter's right to be supported out of the estate of the father is limited to that part of the estate which actually was in her father's possession at the time of his death. She has no right to demand support out of any part of the estate which has accrued to the heirs after the father's death, and which may be the increase or increment of the estate which they received from him (Bek. 52a; Ishut, xvi. 5). The right of the daughter to be supported out of the father's estate is recognized by an early decision, delivered in Jerusalem by Judge Admon (*c.* 40 C.E.), whose decision was approved by Rabban Gamaliel. Admon said: "If a man die, leaving sons and daughters, and his estate be large, the sons inherit it and the daughters are maintained by it; but if the estate be small the daughters are maintained by it and the sons may go begging" (Mishnah Ket. xiii. 3; *ib.* Gem. 108b). If the heirs are spendthrifts, and the estate is in danger of being dissipated by them, the court will set aside a certain portion of the estate beyond the control of the heirs, in trust for the support of the daughters (Eben ha-'Ezer, 112, 11, gloss). It seems that, inasmuch as the mother is not liable for the support of her daughter, the latter can not claim maintenance out of the estate of the mother (Mishnah B. B. viii. 4; Gem. 122b).

The Talmudic law provides furthermore (Mishnah Ket. iii. 11; *ib.* Gem. 52b) that the husband shall include in the marriage contract (Ketubah) a clause providing that any daughters which may be born to him shall live in his house and be supported by his estate until their marriage. This right of support or alimentation is technically known as "mezonot," and is to be distinguished from "parnasah," or the right of dotation which the daughter has in her father's estate.

Right of Dowry.

The law requires that the father shall provide the daughter with a suitable dowry upon her marriage; and the obligation to provide the Dowry rests upon the father's heirs (Mishnah Ket. vi. 6; Gem. 68a). There is a difference of opinion among the authorities as to the right of a daughter to receive a dowry from her mother's estate, although the preponderance of authority is in favor of this right (Eben ha-'Ezer, 113, 1, gloss).

The daughter may inherit her father's estate if he has left no son or issue of a deceased son. The right of the daughters to inherit was originally established by the Mosaic law in the case of the daughters of Zelophehad (Num. xxvii. 7); and the decision in this case was made a general law (*ib.* verse 8). The right of the daughter to inherit was qualified by a later decision in the same case, providing that the heiress of her father's estate was obliged to marry one of the family of the tribe of her father, in order to preserve the inheritance within the tribe. Rabba said that this provision of the law applied only to the time of the division of the land of Palestine among the different tribes, and that it had no application in later times (B. B. 120a); so that a daughter inheriting the estate of her father might marry any one she pleased, more especially because, since the destruction of the Temple and the dispersion of the people, all laws relating to the land of Palestine were in abeyance.

The laws of inheritance are the same with reference to the sons and daughters, with the exception that the law of primogeniture does not apply to daughters (Bek. 52a; B. B. 122b).

The Talmudic authorities disagreed as to whether the son and the daughter inherit the mother's estate equally or whether the sons inherit to the exclusion of the daughters (*ib.* 111a). It was finally decided, however, that the same rule applied as to the father's estate, the sons being preferred (Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 276, 4). If the maternal inheritance descends to the daughter while she is yet a minor, it is nevertheless beyond the control of her father; and the general rule, that the father is entitled to all the property of his minor daughter, does not apply in this case (Ḳid. 46b).

In order to evade the law of inheritance, which prefers the sons to the exclusion of the daughters,

it has become customary since the Middle Ages for the father to provide an inheritance for his daughter upon her marriage, by executing an agreement wherein he confesses that he has received a certain sum of money from his daughter in cash. He acknowledges this as a debt due by him and his heirs, to become payable upon his death in cash; and he thereby pledges or mortgages all of his goods, movable and immovable, to pay the same. He furthermore states that it was a condition of the loan that, when his male heirs enter upon their inheritance, they shall have the right either to pay the said sum in cash or to give to the daughter a share in his estate equal to one-half of the share of one son (not the first-born). By this agreement the daughter is assured of a share in her father's estate or of a sum of money equivalent to it (Eben ha-'Ezer, 113, 2; Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 281, 7, gloss). The form of this contract is given in Appendix F to Mendelssohn's "Ritualgesetze der Juden," and it is known as the "shetar ḥaẓi zakar" (contract for a son's half share).

Nuptial Settlement by Father.

If a man marries a widow who has a daughter by her first husband, and, as part of the consideration of the contract of marriage, agrees to support the daughter for a specific number of years, it is a binding contract which may be enforced by the daughter, even though the mother is divorced and leaves the house of her husband taking her daughter with her, or even if the daughter is married (Mishnah Ket. xii. 1; *ib.* Gem. 101b; "Yad," Ishut, xxiii. 17, 18; Eben ha-'Ezer, 114, 1).

Compare CHILD; DIVORCE; DOWRY; INHERITANCE; KETUBAH; SLAVES AND SLAVERY.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Salvador, *Gesch. der Mosaischen Institutionen*, ii. 261–323; Moses Bloch, *Der Vertrag nach Mosaisch-Talmudischen Recht*, pp. 106 *et seq.*; Moses Mendelssohn, *Ritualgesetze der Juden*, iv. 14.

L. G. D. W. A.

DAUPHINÉ: Former province of France, now absorbed in the departments Isère, Hautes-Alpes, and La Drôme. It is supposed that Jews settled here in the first centuries of the common era (Bédarride, "Les Juifs en France, en Espagne, et en Italie," xxviii.); but nothing is known of their history down to the thirteenth century. Six Jews of Valréas, department of Vaucluse, were accused in 1247 of having murdered a Christian child for ritual purposes. The investigation, which was set on foot by two Franciscan monks, was conducted with ferocity. The unfortunate accused, who unanimously protested their innocence, were horribly tortured for eight days, and finally condemned by the judges—creatures of Dragonet de Montauban, Lord of Valréas—"to be burned, without the crime charged against them having been legally proved, or having been confessed by them" (Elie Berger, "Les Registres d'Innocent IV." i. 424). Profiting by the sentiment aroused by this alleged crime, the Bishop of St. Paul-Trois-Châteaux, the constable of Valence, and a few other noblemen of the province imprisoned the Jews living on their estates and despoiled them of all their possessions.

Thirteenth Century.

Pope Innocent IV. intervened in their behalf, and, in a letter addressed to the Archbishop of Vienne, he enjoined that prelate "to bring to the bar of equity all the wrongs that had been so inconsiderately inflicted upon the Jews, and not to suffer them in the future to be arbitrarily molested on account of these and similar accusations" (Elie Berger, *l.c.*).

In 1253, however, the same pope, yielding to the importunity of the archbishop Jean, authorized him to expel the Jews from the province ("Gallia Christiana, Prov. Vienne," instr. l., li.). They came back in 1289, but in that year the council of Vienne compelled them to wear the yellow badge in the shape of a quoit, and forbade them to employ Christian servants.

The dauphin Humbert I. favorably received the Jews driven from France in 1306, and authorized them to establish banking-houses within his states, on payment of considerable taxes (Prudhomme, "Les Juifs en Dauphiné aux XIV^e^ et XV^e^ Siècles," p. 12; compare "Revue Etudes Juives," ix. 254, and Depping, "Les Juifs dans le Moyen-Age," p. 161). He entrusted them also with public offices and admitted them into his court (Prudhomme, *l.c.* pp. 14, 18, 72).

Fourteenth Century.

During the Black Death, having been accused of poisoning the cisterns and wells, the Jews of St. Saturnin and Ste. Euphémie were butchered and their possessions plundered (1348). At Veyne ninety-three were massacred. At La Mure a Jew accused of having kidnaped a Christian child was condemned to a horrible death; being cut in two and his quivering limbs hanged on a gallows (*l.c.* 30). Urged by the need of money, the dauphin Humbert, between 1350 and 1365, confiscated all the outstanding credits of the Jews in the county of Gap and in the baronies of Montauban and Meuillon ("Revue Etudes Juives," ix. 247); and in 1388 he annulled the privileges which he had granted to the Jews of Dauphiné, who, in order to have them restored, had to pay him the sum of 1,000 florins (Valbonais, "Histoire du Dauphiné," vol. ii., *preuves* No. 9; compare Prudhomme, *l.c.* p. 23, and Depping, *l.c.* p. 162). In the same year he imposed upon them a special tax of 10,000 francs, and in 1390 he laid upon them an additional tollage of 2,000 francs.

The Black Death.

On March 4, 1413, the dauphin's council compelled the Jews to have their synagogues, their ovens, their wells, and their markets separate from those of the Christians (Prudhomme, *l.c.* p. 58; Depping, *l.c.* p. 196). The dauphin Louis (1461–83), afterward King Louis XI. of France, accused them of excessive usury and of dealings with his enemies during his exile in Flanders and Brabant, and condemned them to a fine of 1,500 gold crowns ("Revue Etudes Juives," ix. 239). In consequence of this they emigrated in great numbers from Dauphiné.

Fifteenth Century.

From the seventeenth century onward they were no longer allowed to reside in that province. A decree of Parliament (Jan. 10, 1665) granted them a sojourn there of not more than three days, under penalty of being whipped and of having their merchandise, money, and chattels confiscated (Prud-

homme, *l.c.* p. 69). Jews lived in all the important places of Dauphiné, but the principal congregations were in Vienne, Nyons, Grenoble, St. Symphorien d'Ozon, Crémieu, Montélimar, Valence, and Etoile.

Jews were resident in the following places also:

Graisivaudan District: A Hebrew document dated Adar 6, 5106 (Jan. 30, 1346), states that the officers of the Jewish communities of the district had pledged themselves under oath to pay to the dauphin, in addition to their share of the money needful for the expenses of the country, such further taxes as should be levied upon them ("Revue Etudes Juives," x. 239, 240).

Crest or **Crest-Arnault:** Here, in 1296, R. Menahem ben Aaron copied the Pentateuch with the five Megillot and the Haftarot, for Jacob of Crest, son of Solomon the Saint, the martyr of Grenoble (Zunz, "Z. G." p. 208; Gross, "Gallia Judaica," p. 143).

Montauban: R. Eliezer ben Jehiel, מונבן, copied here, at the end of the thirteenth century, the manuscript of the "Semak" now preserved at Paris (Gross, *l.c.* p. 318). The dauphin Humbert II. gave orders in 1339 to all his officers in the baronies of Montauban and of Meuillon to compel all the debtors of the Jews to settle their debts when due (Prudhomme, *l.c.* p. 19).

Serre: The wealthy Astrug Macip, or Astrugon Mancip, one of the familiars of the dauphin Humbert II., lived here. In a document of the year 1346 he calls himself the dauphin's "garderium specialem" (Prudhomme, *l.c.* pp. 25, 76).

L'Albenc: The home of R. Solomon ben Eliezer Ḥayyim ha-Kohen, called "Diéau" or "Deuaye," who about 1340 copied the Pentateuch with Onkelos and the commentary of Rashi (Prudhomme, *l.c.* p. 18; Gross, *l.c.* p. 269).

Gap: The physician David Levi lived here. Raoul, lord of the manor of Gaucourt and governor of Dauphiné, granted him in 1445, on the recommendation of King René, Count of Provence and Forcalquier, the right to practise medicine in the baronies, the counties of Gap and Embrun, and the districts of Champsaur ("Revue Etudes Juives," ix. 261).

Peirins: Home of Moses, the surgeon, to whom the governor of Dauphiné in 1370 granted the unrestricted right to practise medicine in the whole province, "where the lack of physicians is daily deplored" (*ib.* ix. 251).

Jews also dwelt at La Salette (Carmoly, "Revue Orientale," iii. 460), La Tour-du-Pin, Villeneuve de Royban (Prudhomme, *l.c.* pp. 16, 58, and 76), Aoûste, Oriol-en-Royan, Bordeaux, Communay, Albon, Tullins, Beaucroissant, St. Christophe, Chatte, Grane, Moutiers, Le Pont, Bourgoin, St. Sorlin, La Roche-sur-le-Buis, Moirans, Voiron, Roy bon, St. Nazaire, Laval, and Montrigaud ("Revue Etudes Juives," ix. 240–247).

All these communities have entirely disappeared. To-day in the ancient province of Dauphiné only a few Jewish families remain, and these are scattered at Grenoble, Valence, Nyons, and Valréas.

Bibliography: Prudhomme, *Les Juifs en Dauphiné aux XIVe et XVe Siècles*, in *Acad. Delphinale*, xvii. 129 *et seq.*; idem, *Notes et Documents sur les Juifs du Dauphiné*, in *Revue Etudes Juives*, ix. 231 *et seq.*

G. S. K.

DAVID.—Biblical Data: Second King of Israel; according to I Chron. ii. 15, the youngest of the seven sons of Jesse the Bethlehemite; or, according to I Sam. xvi. 10 *et seq.*, xvii. 12, the youngest of eight sons. His adventurous career before he became king was evidently a popular theme in Israel; and so many incidents were woven around his early years that it is now impossible to construct a strictly historic account from the traditions preserved. David kept his father's sheep, and found opportunities to prove himself a dauntless defender of his charges. He was further noted for his poetic and musical talents; and these determined his future. When Saul fell into an incurable melancholy, David was summoned to court to cheer the despondent king by playing upon the harp; and Saul became so fond of the young man that he selected him as his armor-bearer.

David Consoles Saul.

During the wars with the Philistines, which occupied most of Saul's reign, David distinguished himself so highly that he attracted the attention of all Israel. Saul gave him his daughter Michal for a wife; and the king's eldest son, Jonathan, became his intimate friend. David, however soon incurred the anger of the suspicious king, and had to flee in peril of his life. Thereupon the priests of Nob, who had innocently aided the fugitive, had to bear the brunt of the sick king's anger, and all but one —who escaped to David—were executed as traitors. David then placed himself at the head of a band of men daring and desperate. Eager to be of use to his countrymen, he relieved the city Keilah, which was threatened by the Philistines; but when Saul, regarding him as a rebel, advanced against him, David could make a stand only for a very short time.

After various adventures, during which he magnanimously spared the life of the king, David fled into the land of the Philistines, and became a vassal of King Achish of Gath, who assigned to him the city of Ziklag for a residence. He ruled here a year and four months, when the disastrous battle near the mountains of Gilboa ended the life and reign of Saul. These are the bare facts of David's early history, which in the second Book of Samuel are developed into a charming picture.

The unfortunate battle of Gilboa completely changed the situation. Saul and three of his sons lay dead on the field; Israel was prostrate; and the country west of the Jordan was again under Philistine rule. East of the Jordan, in Mahanaim, Abner, Saul's general, founded a small kingdom for Saul's only surviving son, Ishba'al, or Ishbosheth, as the name is changed in Samuel; but this kingdom, too, was probably under Philistine suzerainty. David then determined upon returning to his own country; and after having opened negotiations in Ziklag with the tribes and families of Judea, he had himself anointed at Hebron as tribal King of Judea, without, however, giving up his relations as a vassal of the Philistines. This state of affairs lasted for seven years and six months; and when Abner attempted to conquer David's little kingdom for Saul's son, he was defeated at Gibeon by David's general, Joab. Afterward, owing to a

At the Battle of Gilboa.

quarrel between them in connection with Rizpah, one of Saul's concubines, Abner left Ishba'al and went over to David, but was killed by Joab on pretext of a vendetta. Ishba'al, also, was murdered soon afterward. Since Mephibosheth, a young lame son of Jonathan, was now the only surviving male descendant of Saul, the districts lately ruled over by Ishba'al offered David—as the heir of Saul through his marriage with Michal—the throne made vacant by death; and, after a solemn election, David was anointed at Hebron as King of all Israel.

King of All Israel.

The duties of the newly anointed king were marked out for him by the conditions of the country. His first task was to shake off the suzerainty of the Philistines and again make Israel an independent state. This undertaking was brilliantly accomplished by David. In a long series of fierce battles he "smote the Philistines and subdued them," and took Metheg-ammah out of their hands

Traditional Tomb of David at Jerusalem.
(From a photograph by the American Colony, Jerusalem.)

(II Sam. viii. 1), so that they were no longer a menace to Israel. David's next solicitude was to provide another center for his new kingdom; for, aside from the ancient rivalry between Judah and Joseph, the position of Hebron, in the extreme south, made it impossible for David, as King of all Israel, to remain there. He therefore selected Jerusalem for his capital, that city being still in possession of the Canaanite tribe of the Jebusites, and consequently on neutral ground. Notwithstanding its almost impregnable position, he conquered the city, and made it the political as well as the religious center of Israel by transferring to it the old national shrine, the Ark of the Covenant, in a solemn procession with sacrifices, in which he himself figured prominently as a worshiper and celebrant. In memory of its migrations in the wilderness, the Ark was at first placed in a tent. According to II Sam. vii. 1–17, David thought of building a magnificent temple for it at Jerusalem, but was dissuaded by the prophet Nathan.

As a Conqueror.

Concerning David's military and political achievements, there is but meager information: a few isolated facts, however, are known; and the interrelation of these can only be conjectured. David subdued and made tributary to the new Israelitish kingdom the cognate tribes of Moab, Ammon, and Edom, as well as their neighbors on the northern frontier of Israel, the Arameans, who had joined the Ammonites in a war against David and his kingdom. Scanty as is the record of these wars, it indicates that they were not instituted for plunder or conquest; nor can it be proved that David was in a single instance the instigator. The Syrian-Ammonite war, the only conflict of which there is a detailed account, was occasioned by a frivolous provocation, the messengers of David having been wantonly insulted when on an errand of good-will and friendship (II Sam. x.).

David waged his wars vigorously, and did not hesitate to employ stern measures. His punishment of Moab and Edom was especially severe; but his alleged cruelties against the Ammonites rest on a misinterpretation of II Sam. xii. 31.

Thus, through David, the people of Israel, who only a generation before had submitted to the insults of the Ammonites (I Sam. xi. 2), became the ruling nation between the Nile and the Euphrates; and it seemed as if their king was to end his days in peace and in the enjoyment of the position he had attained. In the prime of life, however, and at the height of his fame, David sinned; and the inexorable consequences of his transgression plunged him into misery, and threatened even the stability of his kingdom. David's sinful connection with Bath-sheba, whose husband he indirectly assassinated, encouraged his eldest son, Amnon, to deal wickedly with his beautiful stepsister, Tamar; whereupon he was slain by Absalom, her full brother. Absalom had to flee, but was recalled at the intercession of Joab. Stung, however, by the ill-timed severity of his father, Absalom instigated a rebellion in David's former capital, Hebron. David, taken completely by surprise, had to flee across the Jordan; but gaining time through Absalom's fatal delay, he gathered his old, well-tried troops about him, and easily dispersed Absalom's undisciplined bands at Mahanaim. Joab, with his own hand, killed the fleeing Absalom, against the king's express command.

Death of Absalom.

David irritated the Israelites by unwise and one-sided negotiations with the Judeans, whose defection had evidently been a heavy blow to him; and this bitterness resulted in a conflict between the Israelites and the Judeans on the return march. This conflict, which took place at the Jordan, became so bitter that the Benjamite Sheba ben Bichri succeeded in urging Israel to a revolt, which Joab, however, immediately quelled. Sheba fled to the city Abel Beth-maachah, on the northern boundary of the kingdom; but the inhabitants seized him, cut off his head, and threw it over the wall to Joab.

The remaining years of David's life and reign were peaceful. The question of his successor, however, brought up new difficulties. Adonijah, the eldest of David's sons after Absalom's death, was generally

regarded as his heir, and David allowed him to appear officially as crown prince. The ambitious and intriguing Bath-sheba tried to secure the succession for her son Solomon, the youngest of David's children, and David, infirm and completely under Bath-sheba's influence, believed a report—whether true or false—that Adonijah, unable to await his father's death, had already proclaimed himself king and had received the oath of allegiance. David, therefore, solemnly presented Solomon to the people as his successor and had him anointed. Soon afterward he died, at the age of seventy, having reigned for seven years and six months at Hebron as tribal King of Judah, and thirty-three years at Jerusalem as the second King of all Israel.

Concluding Years.

E. G. H. K. H. C.

——**In Rabbinical Literature:** David, the "chosen one of God" (Ab. R. N. xliii.; ed. Schechter, p. 61), belonged to a family that was itself among the elect of Israel. His ancestors were the noblest of the noble, the great men of the most prominent tribe of Israel (Ruth iv. 18–22), and he was a descendant of Miriam, the sister of Moses, although this is not clearly stated in Scripture (Sifre, Num. 78; ed. Friedmann, p. 20b). The judges Ibzan and Othniel were David's relations (B. B. 91a; Sifre, *l.c.*), and as the "ruler David" (David ha-Melek) continued the honorable traditions of his family, so the "pious David" was the son of a man who died sinless (Shab. 55b). Notwithstanding his piety Jesse's marital life was not untroubled; he intended even to liberate his favorite female slave and marry her, but his wife frustrated this design by disguising herself as the slave, and Jesse unwittingly married her the second time. The result of this union was David, who was passed off as the son of the slave, in order to leave Jesse in his error (Yalḳ., Makiri, ed. Buber, ii. 214; compare also Samuel Laniado's "Kele Yaḳar" to I Sam. xvii.). The supposed son of a slave, David was not educated with Jesse's other sons, but passed his days in the wilderness pasturing sheep (Yalḳ., Makiri, *l.c.*).

This pastoral life prepared him for the position he was to occupy. He treated the sheep entrusted to his care lovingly and tenderly, wherefore God said: "He understands how to pasture sheep; therefore he shall become the shepherd of My flock Israel" (Midr. Teh. lxxviii. 70; Ex. R. ii. 2; for a similar Arabic legend see Grünbaum, "Neue Beiträge," p. 193). In the lonely desert David also found opportunity to display his extraordinary strength and courage. Thus, in one day he strangled with his hands four lions and three bears that attacked his flock (Baraita of the Thirty-two Rules, iii.; Midr. Sam. xx.). David was once in great danger when he came upon a gigantic reem asleep. Taking it for a high mountain, he tried to climb it; but the animal awakened suddenly, and David found himself lifted high up into the air on its horns. David now vowed to God to build a temple 100 ells high—as high as the horns of the reem—if He would save him from the beast, and God thereupon sent a lion, which, as "king of the animals" (compare Ḥag. 13b), exacted respect even from this gigantic beast, which fell down before the lion, enabling David safely to alight. Then a deer came, which the lion immediately pursued, so that David escaped both from the reem and the lion (Midr. Teh. xxii. 22). David's pastoral life ended in his twenty-eighth year, when Samuel anointed him king (Yalḳ., Makiri, *l.c.*; compare also Seder 'Olam R. xiii.).

The prophet thought at first that Eliab, David's eldest brother, was destined by God to be king, but it was indicated to him by means of the holy oil that David was the chosen one. When Samuel attempted to pour oil from the vessel upon each of David's brothers in succession, the oil remained in the vessel; but when David's turn came it flowed freely of itself; the drops that fell on his garments changed immediately into diamonds and pearls; and when the anointing was finished the horn was as full as before. David's mother now came and revealed the secret that had been kept for so many years, and his father and brothers learned that he was not the son of a slave (Yalḳ., Makiri, *l.c.*; Yalḳ. ii. 124 contains only a part of this legend; also Ephraem Syrus in his commentary to I Sam. xvi. 13, ed. Benedictini, p. 365; compare Ginzberg, "Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvätern," i. 27, 28). Although the anointing was kept secret, its effects became evident in David's remarkable spiritual development, for he received even the gift of prophecy (Josephus, "Ant." vi. 8, § 2; Sanh. 93b). He thereby excited the envy of many, especially of Doeg, who tried to prevent King Saul from calling David to his court (Sanh. *l.c.*; compare Doeg in Rab. Lit.). Saul became acquainted with David while the latter was still a boy, and grew attached to him, especially because of the cleverness he displayed on the following occasion: A woman who had to leave her home, and was unable to take her money with her, hid the gold pieces in barrels of honey, which she left in the care of a friend. The latter discovered the money, took it, and restored to the woman on her return only the honey. The woman brought the case before Saul, but as she could not prove her assertion the case was dismissed. When David, who was then a little boy playing before the king's house, heard the story, he undertook to convict the thief. At his suggestion the king commanded the barrels of honey to be broken, and two coins which the thief had not noticed were then found on the bottom, the theft being in this way proved (Jellinek, "B. H." iv. 150, 151, and in various "ma'aseh" collections).

David Anointed as King.

David could enjoy the peace of court life only for a short time, as Goliath's appearance forced Saul into war. The sick king gladly accepted David's offer to march in his place against the blasphemous heathen (compare Goliath in Rab. Lit.), and when little David put on the great Saul's armor and found it to fit him perfectly, Saul recognized that David was intended for a higher mission. This change in David was due to the "holy oil" with which he was anointed; hence Saul became jealous of him, and David refused for this reason to go to battle in the king's armor (Tan., ed. Buber, iii. 84). Five stones came of themselves to David (Midr. Sam. xxi.), and when he touched them they changed into one stone (Zohar, Deut. 272). With them he intended to slay

Goliath, for they symbolized God, the "three fathers" of Israel, and Aaron, whose descendants Hophni and Phineas had been killed shortly before by Goliath (Midr. Sam. *l.c.*; the Midrash quoted by Ḳimḥi to I Sam. xvii. 40 is somewhat different).

David and Goliath.

As soon as David glanced at the giant the latter was struck with leprosy and rooted to the ground so that he could not move ("Ẓara'at"; Pesiḳ., ed. Buber, p. 175; see also Zohar, Num. p. 206, and parallel passages quoted by Buber). When David called out to Goliath "I shall give your flesh to the birds of heaven," Goliath looked up at the word "birds," the movement displacing his head-dress; and at the same moment the stone flung by David struck the giant's exposed forehead (Midrash quoted by Ḳimḥi *ad loc.*; differently in Midr. Teh. lxxviii.). As Goliath was armed cap-a-pie, David was at a loss how to cut off his head. Uriah offered to help David if the latter would give him a Jewess for wife, and when David consented Uriah showed him how the ends of the bands that held the armor together were joined across the soles of Goliath's feet. David gave Bath-sheba to the Philistine, and she became later a source of much trouble to him, because he had had so little regard for the dignity of a Jewess (Midr. quoted by Alshech to I Sam. xvii. 50, and by Samuel Laniado to II Sam. xii.). David's victory over Goliath increased Saul's jealousy, who closely inquired into David's origin through his general Abner, in order to find out whether he really was a descendant of Pharez, for in that case Saul feared to see in David the future king. David's old enemy Doeg tried to prove that David being a descendant of the Moabitess Ruth, could not be regarded as a legitimate member of the Jewish community; the prophet Samuel, however, decided that the Biblical interdiction (Deut. xxiii. 3, 4) referred only to the men and not to the women of that people (Midr. Sam. xxii.; Ruth R. iv. 4; somewhat differently Yeb. 76b, 77a, and Ephraem Syrus, *l.c.* 379; compare Ginzberg, *l.c.* pp. 32, 33).

David did not remain long with Saul, being obliged to flee from him shortly after Goliath's death. God did not abandon him, however, and not only saved him from his enemies, but also instructed him how to rule the world justly and wisely. Thus, David once had an opportunity to find out that even lunacy, which he thought served no purpose, had its place in the plan of the universe, for he owed it to his fictitious madness that he was not slain by Goliath's brothers, who formed the body-guard of King Achish (see Achish in Rab. Lit.; Midr. Teh. xxxiv. 1; Yalḳ. ii. 131, with variants; Second Alphabet of Ben Sira, ed. Venice, p. 24). He was compelled to change his mean opinion of the spider in his flight before Saul, when he was hiding in a cave, and his pursuers, seeing a spider's web across the front of the cave, thought it useless to enter; for God had commanded the spider at that moment to give a proof of its usefulness (Ben Sira, *l.c.*; partly in Targ. to Ps. lvii. 3; compare Levy, "Chal. Wörterb." i. 48). David had a wonderful, and at the same time instructive, escape when he seized the water-flask of Abner (see I Sam. xxvi. 7), and found himself caught between the legs of this giant as between two pillars; for a wasp stung Abner, who mechanically moved his feet, releasing David, who now recognized that even an apparently noxious insect can sometimes render service to man (Ben Sira, *l.c.*). Other miracles that David experienced in his flight before Saul were: the appearance of the angel informing Saul, who was about to seize David, that the Philistines were coming into the country (I Sam. xxiii. 26), whereupon Saul was obliged to give up the pursuit (Midr. Teh. xviii.); and the heavenly aid sent to David on his expedition against the Amalekites (I Sam. xxx. 17 *et seq.*), when the night was illuminated by lightning, thus enabling David to end the battle speedily (Lev. R. xxx. 3; Midr. Sam. xviii.).

David Fleeing Before Saul.

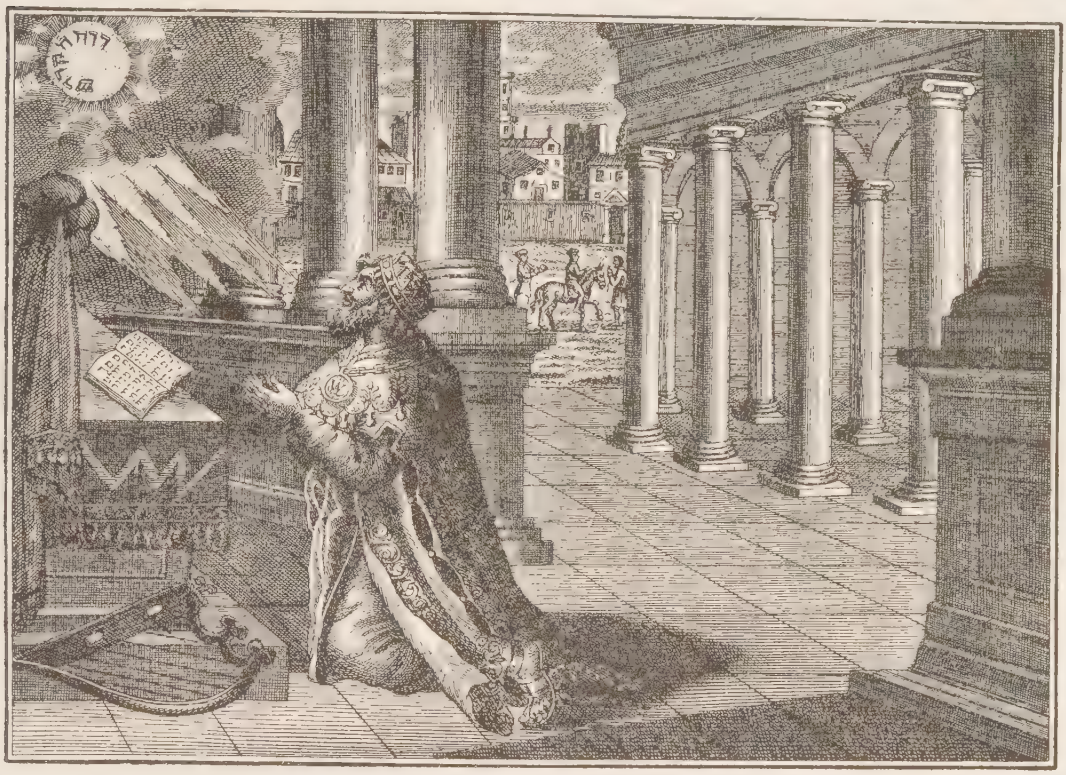
David's first thought on coming to the throne was to capture the ancient holy city of Jerusalem from the Jebusites. He did not fear the power of these heathen, but he did fear the covenant Abraham had made with their ancestors, the words of which were engraved on bronze figures (Firḳe R. El. xxxvi.; compare Jebusites in Rab. Lit.). The city was furthermore surrounded by a high wall, and David could enter only after the wall had miraculously lowered itself (Midr. Teh. xviii.; compare Joab in Rab. Lit.). Although the Jebusites could not appeal to the promise given to them by Abraham, because they had attacked the Jews in the time of Joshua, yet David would not seize the holy city without indemnifying them for it (Pirḳe R. El. *l.c.*). After the capture of Jerusalem David marched against the Philistines in the valley of Rephaim (II Sam. v. 22 *et seq.*), and God commanded him to attack his enemy only after seeing the tree-tops bend, for God would judge the guardian angel of the heathen before giving the latter into the hands of the pious, and David was notified by the movement of the tree-tops (pseudo-Jerome commentary on II Sam. v. 24; compare Ginzberg, *l.c.* p. 125). On this occasion the pious king showed his great confidence in God, for there were only four ells between the two armies, and David had to use his utmost authority to make his followers refrain from battle, declaring that he would rather succumb in obeying God than conquer and be disobedient. He had hardly uttered these words when the tree-tops began to move, and he attacked the Philistines victoriously; whereupon God said to the angels: "Behold the great difference between him and Saul!" (compare I Sam. xiv. 19; Midr. Teh. xxvii.). The Philistines thought that David would not war against them, because they possessed a pledge—namely, the bridle of a charger that Isaac had given to Abimelech, the king of the Philistines, as a covenant (Pirḳe R. El. xxxvi.)—and the Arameans thought the same, as they possessed the "maẓẓebot" which Jacob and Laban had erected as covenants. The Sanhedrin, to whom David applied, decided that he was not obliged to keep the covenants of the fathers with the heathen, because the Philistines of David's time were not the descendants of the ancient inhabitants of the country, but a new people that had come from Caphtor (see Amos ix. 7); and the Arameans had lost all right to the covenant

David's Wars as King.

between Laban and Jacob on account of their attacks on Israel at the time of Moses and Joshua (Midr. Teh. lx.; Pirḳe R. El. *l.c.*).

David as Ruler.

David was not only a warrior, but also a wise and energetic ruler. Shortly after his accession he appointed not less than 90,000 officials, but he made the mistake of omitting the wise Ahithophel, for which both paid dearly later, as it was principally David's curse that brought about Ahithophel's tragic end (Yer. Sanh. x. 29a, end; abbreviated in Suk. 52b, 53a; compare AHITHOPHEL IN RABBINICAL LITERATURE; PSALMS). Although he was king, he yet modestly asked counsel of his teachers Ira of Jair (M. Ḳ. 16b) and Mephiboshet regarding his decisions in ritual questions (Ber. 4a). He devoted so much time to the study of the Torah and to prayer that he was satisfied with "sixty breaths of sleep" (Suk. 26b). As soon as midnight had come the strings of his harp, made from the entrails of the ram that Abraham had sacrificed on Mount Moriah in place of Isaac, vibrated, and at the sound the king awakened and began to study the Torah (Ber. 3b; Yer. *ib.* i. 2d; Pirḳe R. El. xxi.). David also devoted much time to prayer, the one hundred daily benedictions being his work (Yer. Ber., end; on the ancient reading of this passage, see Ratner, "Ahabat Ẓiyyon we-Yerushalayim," *ad loc.*). He also collected psalms from the time of Abraham down to his own day (B. B. 14b), and composed new ones. When he had finished he exclaimed: "O Lord of the world, is there any creature in the world that has praised Thee so much?" Whereupon God sent a frog to inform him that this mean little animal sounded the praise of God uninterruptedly from early dawn till late at night (Yalḳ. ii. 889, end of Ps.). David, however, forgot himself so far as to boast only for a moment; generally he was very modest (Soṭah 10b). His coins showed on one side his shepherd's crook and scrip, and on the other David's tower (Gen. R. xxxix.; *contrà*, B. Ḳ. 97b).



DAVID PRAYING.
(From a Passover Haggadah, Vienna, 1823, in the possession of J. D. Eisenstein.)

David's Piety.

David's piety was so great that his prayers were able to bring things from heaven down to earth (Ḥag. 12b). It was one of his dearest wishes to build the Temple. God said, however, that the Temple would be indestructible if built by David, but that it was His design that it should be destroyed as punishment for Israel's sins; hence David could not build it (Pesiḳ. R. 2; ed. Friedmann, p. 7). David's thoughts were so entirely directed to good that he was among the few pious ones over whom evil inclinations ("yeẓer ha-ra' ") had no power (B. B. 17a), and his sin with Bath-sheba happened only as an example to show the power of repentance ('Ab. Zarah 4b, 5a). Some Talmudic authorities even assert that David did not commit adultery, for at that time all women obtained letters of divorce from their husbands who went to war, to use in case the latter should die on the field. Similarly David must not

be blamed for Uriah's death, since the latter had committed a capital offense in refusing to obey the king's command (II Sam. xl. 8, 9; Shab. 56a; Ḳid. 43a). The episode with Bath-sheba was also a punishment for David's overweening self-confidence, who thought himself equal to the "three fathers," and besought God to subject him to a trial that he might be able to prove the purity of his heart. God thereupon sent to him Satan in the shape of a bird; David threw an arrow at the latter, hitting instead a beehive under which was Bath-sheba, and on beholding her the king was at once violently enamored of her (Sanh. 107a). He spent twenty-two years in repenting this sin (Tanna debe Eliyahu R. ii.); and he also was stricken with leprosy for half a year, during which time he was abandoned not only by his own court, but by the Holy Spirit, in punishment for his sin (Yoma 22b; compare Ginzberg, *l.c.* pp. 43–46).

The most severe punishment, however, was Absalom's revolt; and it is a proof of David's great confidence in God's goodness that he thanked Him for sending his own son against him rather than a stranger, as the former might have been more inclined to be merciful to him if things had come to the worst (Ber. 7a). In his despair, however, David was about to deny God publicly, in order that the people might not call God unjust for so poorly rewarding David for his piety and justice. His friend Hushai the Archite came in time to show him that his punishment was not unmerited, and would not appear as such to the people, for it may be gathered from Scripture (Deut. xxi. 10 *et seq.*) that he who follows his passion and marries a captive of war must expect from this marriage a "stubborn and rebellious son." If David had not married Absalom's mother, who was a captive, he would not have had such a son (Sanh. 107a). David's kindness of heart is clearly shown in his behavior toward this wayward son, for he not only tried to save the latter's life, but the sevenfold repetition of Absalom's name in his dirge had the effect of saving him from the seven fires, or divisions, of hell (Soṭah 10b). Still David's sins were not atoned for by all these sufferings, and God one day gave him the choice between having his race destroyed and being taken prisoner by enemies. David chose the latter.

The Philistines.

Thereupon it happened that David, pursuing a deer (Satan in disguise), was led into the country of the Philistines, where he was seized by Ishbi-benob, Goliath's brother, who flung him into a wine-press. David was confronted by a horrible death, when the bottom of the press began to sink miraculously, so that he was saved from being crushed. Then he was rescued from his perilous position by Abishai, who was apprised, also miraculously, that David's life was in danger (see Abishai in Rab. Lit.); these two pious men conquered the giant Ishbi by pronouncing the name of God (Sanh. 95a; Jellinek, "B. H." iv. 140, 141). Among the trials of David was also the famine of three years (II Sam. xxi. 1 *et seq.*), which he regarded at first as a punishment for the godlessness of the people, and therefore examined the religious and moral conditions of the country for three successive years (Midr. Sam. xxviii. and the parallel passages in Buber *ad loc.*). When he found everything in good order he applied to God to find out the cause of the famine, and was informed that it was a punishment for not allowing the remains of Saul, "the anointed of God," to rest in holy ground. David thereupon brought the remains of Saul and Jonathan to the spot worthy of them, all the people taking part in the ceremony; and this love that Israel showed to its dead king induced God to take pity on them and end the famine (Pirḳe R. El. xvii.). Another debt of the people had still to be paid; namely, Saul's unmerciful behavior toward the Gibeonites, who now insisted on taking vengeance on his descendants. David tried his best to pacify them, conferring with each, and promising them as much money as they might demand. But when he saw that the Gibeonites possessed so little of the characteristic trait of the Israelites—mercy—he ordered them to be excluded from the Jewish community (Midr. Sam. *l.c.*). Although David was responsible neither for the famine nor for the execution of the descendants of Saul who were delivered to the Gibeonites, yet he was wrong in not employing for the relief of the sufferers during the famine the treasure that he had accumulated during many years, especially the gifts of gold presented to him by the women of Israel after his victory over Goliath. It would have been better to use them for that purpose than to save them for the building of the Temple, and God said therefore that he should not build it (Midr. Ruth Zuṭa, ed. Buber, p. 51). David is also censured for undertaking the census of the people, and is punished by a plague (II Sam. xxiv. 15) that, though lasting only a few hours (Ber. 62b; compare Ginzberg, *l.c.* p. 67), demanded many victims, among whom four of his sons, and the elders accompanying him, were slain by the angel; the latter even wiped his bloody sword on David's garments, causing thereby the trembling from which David suffered before his death (Tanna debe Eliyahu R. vii.). This trembling was a punishment for having cut the garment of Saul (I Sam. xxiv. 5); David now found no warmth in the garments that he wore (I Kings i. 1; Ber. 62b; compare Midr. Teh. lvii.).

David's Death.

When David saw his end approaching he tried to escape death by the following means: God had once revealed to him that he would die on a Sabbath, and David therefore spent every Sabbath in studying the Torah, so that the angel of death could not seize him. But the angel outwitted him by causing a noise in the royal palace; whereupon David interrupted his work for a moment, and went to a stairway. The stairs broke down, and David fell dead (Shab. xxx; Ruth R. i. 17). He died on a Sabbath and feast-day—Pentecost—and as no corpse might be moved on Sabbath, and David's body lay in the sun, Solomon called eagles, who guarded the body with their wings (Ruth R. *l.c.*). David reached the age of seventy years, which were presented to him by Adam. David had been destined to die immediately after his birth, but when God was showing the future generations to Adam, the latter offered to give seventy years of his life to David (Pirḳe R. El. xix.; Yalḳ. i. 41). Death did not put an end to

David's greatness and splendor, for he was also among the elect in paradise (Jellinek, "B. H." v. 168; vi. 25, 26), and on the Day of Judgment he will pronounce the blessing over the wine during the great feast (Pes. 119b; compare CUP OF BENEDICTION). On the Day of Judgment David will also recite a psalm; the pious in paradise and the impious in hell will loudly say "Amen"; and then God will send an angel to bring even the impious to paradise (Jellinek, "B. H." v. 45, 46).

L. G.

——**In Mohammedan Literature:** Nearly all the legends relating to David (or Da'ud, as he is known to the Arabs) are elaborations of the Biblical narratives which were in circulation among the Jews at the time of Mohammed, and most of which may be traced back to the Koran or its commentaries. Other works which speak of him are the "Khaṣim" of Ḥusain ibn Mohammed, the "Ḳiṣṣat al-Anbiya'," the "Dhakhirat al-'Ulum wa-Natijat al-Fuhum," and the "Ta'rikh Muntakhab."

To the Arabs these legends are important, as they form for them a real part of the world's history; and it is interesting to see how they are woven together and connected in a natural sequence. The very stones with which David kills Goliath are historical: one is the stone which Abraham threw at the devil when the latter tried to dissuade him from sacrificing Isaac; another is that which Gabriel pushed out of the ground when he created the spring for Ishmael; another again is the stone with which Jacob fought the angel sent against him by his brother Esau. After killing Goliath, David shares the kingdom with Saul, finally conquers his jealousy through his own generosity, and lives happily with him until Saul's death, when David is unanimously elected king. Baiḍawi remarks that the children of Israel were united for the first time under David.

David and Goliath.

In addition to the kingdom, God grants David wisdom—interpreted to mean prophecy and the Psalms—and teaches him all he wishes to know; viz., the language of birds and stones, and how to make coats of mail. According to the Arabs, David was the inventor of chain armor, which he was enabled to make because the iron became soft in his hands. "It became like wax," says Baiḍawi, "so that he could mold it into any form he chose." It is related that David obtained this gift in the following manner: One day he overheard two angels, in the guise of men, comparing opinions about him. "He would be a perfect king," said one, "did he not take money from the public treasury"; whereupon David begged God to provide him with some means of self-support, and he was granted knowledge of the art of making armor.

David's Knowledge.

At another time David overheard two men disputing as to the comparative merits of himself and Abraham; one of them contending that David had never endured such trials as had Abraham. David thereupon begged God to try his faith, and God sent a marvelous bird, which led David to a lake, on the shore of which he saw a beautiful woman bathing. This was none other than Bath-sheba, called "Saya" by the Arabs. After causing the death of her husband and marrying her, as related in the Bible, David is rebuked by two angels disguised as men, who tell him the story of the one ewe lamb, and demand judgment. In the Koran these angels come upon David on a day when the doors are closed; and on this Baiḍawi remarks that David so divided his time as to spend one day for devotion, one for giving judgment, one for preaching, and one for his own affairs. He also fasted every other day, and spent half the night in prayer. David was so filled with remorse that he wandered for three years in the desert, and shed more tears in that time than all humankind before him. During David's absence Absalom had made himself king, and had to be deposed.

After this experience, David never had confidence in his own judgment; and God therefore gave him a miraculous bell, which rang to show the guilty party. As on one occasion he lost confidence in this also, it was taken away from him; and David called the boy Solomon to his aid in matters of justice. Wonderful tales are told showing the sagacity of this lad, then scarcely in his teens.

David as Judge.

As David grew old he had only one more desire; namely, to see his future companion in paradise. This request is also granted; and after long wanderings David finds him on the summit of a mountain, on a verdant spot moist with his tears. This companion dies, and is buried by David, who on returning home finds the angel of death waiting for him also.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Koran*, suras ii. 250–252; iv. 161; v. 82; vi. 84; xvii. 57; xxi. 79; xxvii. 15, 16; xxxiv. 10, 12; xxxviii. 16, 21; commentaries to the Koran by Baiḍawi and Tabari; D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*; Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*; Max Grünbaum, *Sprach- und Sagenkund*, pp. 511 *et seq.*

E. G. H. M. W. M.

——**Critical View:** The salient features of the life and reign of David as outlined from I Sam. xvi. to I Kings ii. have been given above; and the most incisive criticism has been unable to modify any essential point of the narrative, which rests upon a strictly historic foundation. A far different impression of David is given in I Chronicles. Everything doubtful and offensive in regard to David and his house is here passed by, and he himself appears primarily as being preoccupied with the organization of the Temple service. He is said to have gathered together all the material for the building of the Temple, and to have planned every detail, so that Solomon merely had to carry out the work. He also arranged every part of the ritual, and distributed the various offices. The priests he divided into twenty-four families, who performed the service in the sanctuary according to lot. From among the Levites were chosen: (1) the Temple musicians, also divided into twenty-four classes; (2) the functionaries designated for subordinate service in the Temple, as door-keepers and overseers of supplies, chosen by lot according to their families; (3) judges and officials over Israel. The chronicler also mentions ordinances of David pertaining to military matters and to the royal domains.

Subsequently David came to be regarded as the

founder of Israel's religious poetry. For since seventy-three of the Psalms have special superscriptions assigning their authorship to him, it became more and more the custom to ascribe the whole Psalter to him. Modern criticism has raised well-founded objections to this assumption. Indeed, the only generally recognized authentic specimen of the king's poetic activity is the splendid dirge on the deaths of Saul and Jonathan (II Sam. i. 19–27).

David and the Psalter.

David's historic importance can not be rated too high, as even those critics must admit who belittle his personal merits by ascribing his successes to a series of extraordinarily fortunate circumstances. Few men in the world's history have achieved as much as David. The molding of Israel into a nation is exclusively his work, for he was the first to unify what until then had been merely a conglomerate of clans and tribes; and Israel remained one nation even after the division of David's single kingdom. Saul had earnestly endeavored to give political unity to Israel; but he had been unequal to the task, and achieved nothing permanent. With Saul's death everything was lost, and the condition of the people was as hopeless as ever. David, in whom prudence and courage were most happily combined, and who was as careful and circumspect in the preparation of his plans as he was daring and energetic in their execution, followed up his successes with a definite end in view; and while aiming only at the attainable, did not rest until he had reached his goal. In view of the immense difficulties he had to overcome and of the crude and complex conditions which he was called upon to meet, the secret of David's success must be sought in his personality. He made himself the living center of his people and of his kingdom. A born ruler of men, and possessed of a royal nature that attracted and led all that came within his influence, he awakened the national enthusiasm, and thereby overcame every obstacle. For David not only made Israel a nation, but also elevated it at once to the pinnacle of glory. Israel itself has felt this; and therefore the return of a David has become the dream of its future and the object of its most ardent hopes.

His Historic Importance.

David's character has often been criticized unfavorably because his critics have not taken the trouble to consider him in relation to his time. It is undeniable that he was the idol of his contemporaries, and that the power of his magnetic personality was irresistible. He was not a saintly character; and the Biblical accounts, with a nice regard for truth, have neither suppressed nor palliated his faults and weaknesses. Still, only blind prejudice will deny that his nature, in its essence, was noble and that he was animated and guided by true piety and a childlike faith in God. Even in modern times it is easy to understand how his contemporaries saw in him "the king after the heart of God."

E. G. H. K. H. C.

DAVID, CITY OF. See JERUSALEM.

DAVID: Oriental rabbi; lived at Mosul toward the end of the twelfth century. He was a nephew of the exilarch Daniel b. Solomon (S. Jona writes "Daniel b. Samuel"; also called "Daniel ben Ḥasdai"), who died in 1175, leaving no male offspring. David contended for the position of exilarch with his cousin Samuel; but while they were thus contending, Samuel b. 'Ali ha-Levi anticipated both and obtained the office.

Certain authors identify this David with David b. Hodaya, exilarch of Mosul, and think that Al-Ḥarizi mentions him ("Taḥkemoni," ch. 46). Pethahiah ("Sibbub," pp. 9, 17, St. Petersburg, 1881) says that when he went to Mosul (1176) he found there the nasi R. David, together with his cousin R. Samuel, who did not succeed in becoming exilarch after Daniel's death. See DAVID BEN HODAYA.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: S. Jona, in *Vessillo*, 1885, xxxiii. 144; Grätz, *Gesch.* 3d ed., vi. 251; Brüll, *Jahrb.* x. 47, note 5.

G. M. SEL.

DAVID: A family which played an important part in the earlier annals of the Canadian Jews.

Aaron Hart David: Second son of Samuel David; born in Montreal 1812; died there 1882. He became noted as a physician and communal worker. A licentiate of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1834, he graduated at the University of Edinburgh in 1835, taking up the practise of medicine at Montreal. He became dean of the medical faculty and professor of the practise of medicine at the University of Bishop's College, and governor of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Lower Canada. David was a prominent member of the Medico-Chirurgical Society of Montreal and a member of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. He held the degree of D.C.L., and was honorary general secretary of the Canada Medical Association. He was for many years president of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation Shearith Israel of Montreal, in the affairs of which he took a deep and active interest. He was also one of the earliest members of the volunteer military forces of Canada, and served with the Montreal Rifle Corps in the rebellion of 1837–38. He joined the troops sent to the front to repel the Fenian raid in 1866, acting as surgeon to the Hochelaga Light Infantry. David married Catherine Joseph, a daughter of Henry Joseph of Berthier, and had several sons and daughters. Three of his sons were members of regiments which saw service during the Fenian disturbances.

David David: Eldest son of Lazarus David. Born at Montreal Oct. 14, 1764; died there Nov. 30, 1824. He was one of the most prominent citizens of Montreal, and was one of the founders, and a member of the original board of directors, of the Bank of Montreal, the largest financial institution in Canada. He devoted much of his considerable wealth to philanthropic objects, and took a keen interest in the affairs of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation of Montreal, giving it the use of a plot of land for the erection of its first synagogue; this was built in 1777, and was the earliest Jewish place of worship in Canada.

Lazarus David: The first member of the David family to settle in Canada; born in Swansea, Wales, in 1734; died in Montreal Oct. 22, 1776. He went to Canada about the time of the British conquest, and took up his residence in Montreal in 1763. He

was one of the founders of the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation Shearith Israel of Montreal, and was one of the most active organizers of the earliest Canadian-Jewish community. He also took a prominent part in the political affairs of his day, and was an extensive landowner in Montreal. His is the oldest Jewish grave in Canada. He was married in Rhode Island, in 1761, to Phœbe Samuel, who was born in England in 1736 and died at Montreal in 1786. He had three sons, David, Samuel, and Moses, who were all prominent in Canadian communal affairs, and two daughters, Abigail and Fanny (Frances). Abigail married Andrew Hays, one of the early Jewish settlers of Canada, and had issue. Fanny married Myer Michaels, but had no issue.

Moses David: The youngest son of Lazarus David; born 1767; died 1814; married Charlotte, a daughter of Commissary Aaron Hart. He was active in the political life of his times and was a communal worker of note. He had a son, **Moses Eleazar David,** born in 1813, who laid the corner-stone of the second synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation of Montreal in Chenneville street in 1835.

Samuel David: Second son of Lazarus David; born at Montreal Oct. 22, 1766; died there 1824. He married, in 1810, Sarah, daughter of Commissary Aaron Hart of Three Rivers. A prominent Jewish communal worker, he took an active part in the affairs of the Shearith Israel congregation of Montreal. Although engaged in extensive mercantile pursuits, he joined the British forces on the outbreak of the war with the United States in 1812, and had a distinguished military career. His diary, covering the latter part of the eighteenth and the opening years of the nineteenth century, furnishes many pictures of early Jewish colonial life. He had four sons and three daughters. Two of his sons were prominent as cavalry officers in the rebellion of 1837–38, notably at the battles of St. Charles and St. Eustache.

Tucker David: The third son of Aaron Hart David; took up his residence in New York, and was active in the affairs of the Spanish and Portuguese congregation of that city.

Bibliography: (MS.) *Diary of Samuel David*; *Records and Correspondence of David Family*; *Minutes of the Corporation of Spanish and Portuguese Jews, Shearith Israel, Montreal*; *Correspondence of the Corporation of Spanish and Portuguese Jews, Montreal.* (Printed) Clarence I. de Sola, *The Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, Montreal*, in Borthwick's *Historical and Biographical Gazetteer*, Montreal, 1892; Borthwick, *ib.* 1892, s.v. *A. H. David*; Clarence I. de Sola, *The Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue*, in *The Star*, Montreal, Dec. 30, 1893.

A. C. I. de S.

DAVID BEN AARON IBN ḤUSAIN: Moroccan poet; lived in the second half of the eighteenth century. At the end of a collection of dirges of Moroccan poets written in commemoration of the destruction of the Temple, there is one composed by David in 1790, in which he describes in vivid colors the persecutions of the Moroccan Jews in that year in consequence of the death of the sultan Muley Sidi Mohammed. The dirge is interesting for the data it contains regarding these persecutions.

Bibliography: Kaufmann, in *Rev. Et. Juives*, xxxvii. 120.

G. I. Br.

DAVID BEN ABRAHAM (Arabic name, **Abu Sulaiman Da'ud al-Fasi**): Karaite lexicographer of the tenth century. His surname "al-Fasi" shows that he came from Fez. From a reference by Abu al-Faraj Harun ("Rev. Et. Juives," xxx. 252; compare Pinsker, "Likḳute Ḳadmoniyyot," i. 183), and from the fact that Saadia is quoted by him, it is concluded that he flourished in the second half of the tenth century. During that century Fez produced two other authorities on Hebrew philology; namely, Dunash b. Labrat and Judah b. David Ḥayyuj. It was to the congregation of Fez, also, that Judah b. Kuraish, about the beginning of the tenth century, directed his epistle embodying the first systematic application of comparative philology to the elucidation of Biblical Hebrew, a method largely followed by David b. Abraham and the two previously mentioned philologists.

David's lexicon, written in Arabic, of which two manuscript copies are extant, is called "Agron," as Abu al-Faraj Harun and Ali b. Sulaiman attest. One of Saadia's works bears the same title. According to the somewhat defective introduction, the Arabic title, "Kitab Jami' al-Alfaẓ" (Book Containing a Collection of Words), is a translation of the Hebrew title "Agron."

The "Agron."

The copious extracts which Pinsker and Neubauer have furnished from this book afford a definite idea of its nature and contents. The introduction contains general rules on Hebrew word-formation and on the functions of the various letters. The roots are classified according to the number of letters which they contain. The lexicon is divided into twenty-two parts, each part being introduced by a brief essay on the functions of particular letters where their use is functional, and on their importance as single-letter roots where they are so used. Neither his views on grammar nor the grammatical terms given go beyond those found in the works of Saadia and Ibn Ḳuraish (for David's grammatical terminology see the notes to Bacher, "Die Grammatische Terminologie des Jehuda Ḥajjug"). The comparison of the Hebrew and the Arabic is an important part of the lexicon, and agrees generally with the "Risalah" of Ibn Ḳuraish, a work with which David was familiar, although he makes no special reference to its author. A peculiarity of David's work is his view that words explainable by the Arabic are in reality Arabic words which have been taken into the Biblical vocabulary (see Bacher, "Die Hebräisch-Arabische Sprachvergleichung des Abu al-Walid," pp. 71–78).

In his other etymological analyses the interchange of consonants occupies a very important place. He rarely quotes the Aramaic for comparison, but gives the preference to the Neo-Hebraic words of the Mishnah and the Talmud. The Targum he refers to frequently, but in a polemic spirit, mentioning Onkelos the Proselyte as author of the Targum to the Pentateuch, and Jonathan b. Uzziel as author of that to the Prophets. He also refers to the Masorah, and mentions a number of accents. As to the Biblical text, he accepts the traditions of the college of Tiberias as authoritative, and applies to their pure and elegant language the expression "goodly

words," found in the blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 21).

David's Karaite proclivities are evident from the fact that in a number of passages he indulges in polemics against the Rabbis, quoting Saadia simply as the "Fayyumite." He cites no other author, alluding only in a general way to the Biblical exegetes ("mufassirin") and the grammarians ("dikdukiyyin"). On one occasion, in connection with an explanation of a Biblical passage, he makes an attack upon Mohammed and Mohammedanism, which attack, however, is judiciously made in Hebrew. In addition to critical comments on Biblical passages, the lexicon of David contains numerous exegetical discussions not directly bearing upon his etymological analyses. On one occasion he refers to a commentary on the Psalms, and on another to a commentary on the Song of Solomon, neither being elsewhere mentioned by him. In the "Introduction to the Decalogue," falsely ascribed to Solomon b. Yeruḥam, a work on punctuation ("tanḳiṭ") by David b. Abraham is cited.

Karaite Tendencies.

A compendium of David's lexicon is said to have been prepared by Abu Sa'id b. al-Ḥasan al-Baṣri (Levi b. Japheth) at the close of the tenth century. This is the view of Ali b. Sulaiman, who employed this edition for his own lexicon; but according to Abu al-Faraj Harun, David himself prepared a compendium ("Rev. Et. Juives," xxx. 252).

Bibliography: Pinsker, *Likḳute Ḳadmoniyyot*, i. 117–167, 206–216; Neubauer, *Notice sur la Lexicographie Hébraïque* (*Extrait du Journal Asiatique*, 1861), pp. 25–155; Appendix to Neubauer's edition of Abu al-Walid's *Kitab al-Usul*; Steinschneider, *Die Arabische Literatur der Juden*, p. 86.

J. W. B.

DAVID BEN ABRAHAM HA-LABAN: French religious philosopher and cabalist; lived after 1200. His grandfather, Judah, was rabbi of Coucy-le-Château. David was the author of "Masoret ha-Berit" (The Bond of the Covenant), on the existence, the unity, and the attributes of God, and also on creation and its purpose (Paris MSS. Nos. 800, 871). The fact that the work exists in several manuscript copies shows that it was much read.

Bibliography: Benjacob, *Oẓar ha-Sefarim*, p. 344; Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, p. 559; Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael*, p. 239; Neubauer, *Cat. Bodl. Hebr. MSS.* Nos. 1565 (10), 1647 (4), 2240 (13).

K. I. Ber.

DAVID B. ABRAHAM MODENA. See Modena, David b. Abraham.

DAVID B. ABRAHAM PROVENÇAL (PROVENZALE): Italian scholar; born before 1538; eulogized by the greatest of his contemporaries as the most eminent preacher of his century and as a prominent scholar. He and his brothers Moses and Judah were leading members of the congregation in Mantua. A friend of Azariah dei Rossi, and, like him, thoroughly familiar with the humanitarian tendency of his time, David was the first among the Jews to refer to the works and the importance of Philo; thereby strongly influencing the researches of Azariah, who was the founder of historical criticism in Jewish literature.

In a student's prospectus which has been preserved, David recommends the study of Latin and Italian. In his "Dor Haflagah," no longer extant, he endeavored to prove that more than 2,000 foreign words in Greek and Latin are of Hebrew origin; but the few etymologies preserved in Dei Rossi's "Me'or 'Enayim" are somewhat daring.

David was the author of: "'Ir Dawid," a commentary on the Pentateuch; a commentary on Canticles; "Migdal Dawid," a work on grammar; and "Hassagot," a defense of Philo against the "Me'or 'Enayim."

In general, David seems to have been averse to study toward the end of his life; it is true that he is said to have complained in 1564 of those who busied themselves with the theater and the secular sciences, but this was probably only one of the characteristic inconsistencies of the time. In 1565 David was employed as corrector on Arama's "'Aḳedat Yiẓḥaḳ," a work issued in Venice. He was living in 1572, the year in which Azariah dei Rossi composed his "Me'or 'Enayim." None of his works has been preserved.

Bibliography: Azariah dei Rossi, *Me'or 'Enayim*, passim; Zunz, in *Kerem Ḥemed*, v. 157; Nepi-Ghirondi, *Toledot Gedole Yisrael*, p. 80, No. 26; Benjacob, *Oẓar ha-Sefarim*, pp. 61, 109, 290; *Monatsschrift*, 1898, pp. 467, 551.

G. I. E.

DAVID BEN ABRAHAM SHEMARIAH: Cabalistic writer; lived at Salonica toward the end of the sixteenth century. He wrote "Torat Emet" (The True Law), which is an abridgment of the section on Genesis in the Zohar, with a commentary and glossary. Afterward he found a copy of the Zohar Ḥadash (Salonica, 1597), and added the contents of some of the parashiyyot to his work. At the end of the book there is an appendix called "Tokaḥah" (Warning), which Steinschneider supposes to be intended for "Miftaḥot" (Index). This work was printed at Salonica in 1604.

Bibliography: Fürst, *Bibl. Jud.* i. 198; Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* No. 4846; Benjacob, *Oẓar ha-Sefarim*, p. 645, No. 474; Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael*, p. 258; Zedner, *Cat. Hebr. Books Brit. Mus.* p. 197; *Ḳore ha-Dorot*, 50b.

K. M. Sel.

DAVID OF ARLES, MAESTRO: Rabbi of Avignon in the sixteenth century. He figured prominently in a casuistic question which agitated the rabbis of Provence, Italy, and Palestine.

The two brothers Isaac and Jacob Gard, learned rabbis of Lisle (Comtat-Venaissin), led astray by a misprint in the rabbinical code "Eben ha-'Ezer," had sanctioned a marriage which was really forbidden. The rabbis of Avignon, led by David and his son-in-law Boniaquet (or Bonisac) de la Roque, supported by Isaac ben Immanuel de Lattes of Bologna and his friend Abraham, son of Aaron of Rome, strongly protested against the decision. All endeavors proving fruitless, and being weary of disputation, the protestants finally appealed to the supreme authority of Joseph Caro, who, together with his rabbinical college, upheld Maestro David and his friends, and pronounced on two occasions (1560 and 1562) a decree of excommunication against Isaac Gard, his brother Jacob having died in the mean time.

Bibliography: Gross, in *Monatsschrift*, 1880, pp. 525–527; idem, *Gallia Judaica*, pp. 14, 271; compare *Rev. Et. Juives*, x. 80.

L. G. S. K.

DAVID BEN ARYEH LOEB OF LIDA: Lithuanian rabbi of the seventeenth century. On his

mother's side he was a nephew of R. Moses Rivkes, author of "Be'er ha-Golah." At first rabbi of Lida (whence his name), he became successively rabbi of Zwolin, Mayence, Ostrog, etc. In 1682 he went to Amsterdam, and became rabbi of the Ashkenazic community there. A quarrel broke out between him and the rabbis of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, who suspected him of being a follower of Shabbethai Ẓebi. David was obliged to resign his rabbinical office and leave Amsterdam. The Polish rabbis protested and denounced the calumniators.

The storm gradually subsided and David returned to Amsterdam. A few years later he went back to Poland, and died in Lemberg. The inscription on his tombstone bears the date 5450 = 1690, but Polak (see "Ḳol Bat Gallim," p. 3) proves this to be a mistake, as several works are extant which were indorsed by him after the year given in the inscription. Stern (see "Bikkurim," i., Preface, p. xxxvi.) gives Ḥeshwan, 5448, which may, however, be a misprint for 5458 = 1698.

David wrote the following works, some of which were printed after his death: "Be'er 'Eseḳ" (The Well of Dispute), containing his discussions with the rabbis of Amsterdam, together with anathemas of the Polish rabbis (Lublin, 1684); "Dibre Dawid" (The Words of David), a book on morals (Lublin, n.d.; Offenbach, 1723; Zedner gives 1724, but without place of publication); "Ḥalluḳe Abanim" (Smooth Stones), a commentary on Rashi to the Pentateuch (Fürth, 1693); "'Ir Miḳlaṭ" (The City of Refuge), a commentary on the 613 commandments (Dyhernfurth, 1690; this is included also in the "Yad Kol Bo"); "Migdal Dawid" (The Tower of David), a cabalistic commentary on Ruth (Amsterdam, 1680); "Berit Adonai" (The Alliance of God), a treatise in Judæo-German on circumcision (Amsterdam, 1684); "Sod Adonai" (The Secret of God), a treatise in Hebrew on circumcision, with a commentary entitled "Sharbiṭ ha-Zahab" (The Golden Scepter), written at Mayence in 1680, and published at Amsterdam 1694; "'Ir Dawid" (The Town of David), a collection of homilies, edited by his son Pethahiah (Amsterdam, 1719); "Shir Hillulim" (Wedding Song), a poem on the occasion of presenting a scroll of the Pentateuch to the synagogue (Amsterdam, 1680). See Eisenmenger, J. A.

Bibliography: Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael*, p. 240; S. Buber, *Anshe-Shem*, pp. 54–56; *Ha-Karmel*, i. 377–378; *Bikkurim*, i., Preface, p. xxxvi.; Polak, *Kol Bat Gallim*, p. 3; Michael, *Or ha-Ḥayyim*, pp. 318, 319; Fürst, *Bibl. Jud.* i. 247; Wolf, *Bibl. Hebr.* iii. 180; Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* cols. 876–878; Zedner, *Cat. Hebr. Books Brit. Mus.* p. 197.

L. G. M. Sel.

DAVID (TEVELE) B. BENJAMIN: German Talmudic scholar; born at Posen; died at Ottensee, near Hamburg, 1699. He wrote the following works: "Masoret ha-Berit" (The Bond of the Covenant), a homiletic commentary on the Pentateuch and the Five Scrolls, edited by his son Meïr b. David (Hamburg, 1715); "Sha'are Ẓiyyon" (The Gates of Zion), a book of ethics and homiletics divided into thirteen chapters, taken from the "Sefer Ḥasidim" and other works.

Bibliography: Wolf, *Bibl. Hebr.* i. 398; iii. 187, 280; Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 857; idem, *Jewish Literature*, p. 234; Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael*, p. 248; Fürst, *Bibl. Jud.* iii. 418.

L. G. M. Sel.

DAVID, BENJAMIN FERDINAND: French deputy; born at Niort, department of Deux-Sèvres, March 30, 1796; died there Jan. 24, 1879. He studied medicine, and went on several cruises to the Gulf of Mexico as assistant surgeon in the navy in 1813–14. He was deputy from Deux-Sèvres from 1834 to 1837, and again from 1842 to 1846; mayor of Niort in 1840; and representative of Deux-Sèvres at the legislative assembly of 1849, and from 1852 to 1870. David was in favor of the coup d'état of Dec. 2, 1851, and supported the imperial government throughout the Second Empire.

Bibliography: Robert and Cougny, *Dictionnaire des Parlementaires Français.*

J. S.

DAVID BEN BOAZ: Karaite scholar; flourished in the tenth century. He is reported to have been the fifth in the line of descent from Anan, the founder of Karaism (Anan, Saul, Jehoshaphat, and Boaz, father of David). The Karaite chronicler Al-Hiti mentions David under the year 383 of the Hegira (993 C.E.), and gives the titles of the following three works written by him: a commentary on Ecclesiastes; a commentary on the Pentateuch; a treatise on the fundamental principles of the Pentateuch. Of these three only a fragment of the second, comprising Leviticus and the latter half of Deuteronomy, is still extant in manuscript in the St. Petersburg Library. In this commentary, says Harkavy, David frequently attacks Saadia, whom he never calls by name, but by the appellation "hadha al-rajul" (this man).

Bibliography: Pinsker, *Likkute Kadmoniyyot*, p. 53; Harkavy, in Stade's *Zeitschrift*, i. 157; *Al-Hiti*, published by Margoliouth in *Jew. Quart. Rev.* ix. 432.

K. I. Br.

DAVID BONET BONJORN or **BONGORON:** Convert to Christianity; lived in Catalonia in the second half of the fourteenth century. He is believed to have been the son of the astronomer Jacob Poel. In consequence of the persecutions of 1391 he embraced Christianity, assuming the name "Maestre Bonet Bonjorn." He was the intimate friend of Profiat Duran, who had also been compelled to embrace Christianity. Persuaded by David, Profiat consented to accompany him to a foreign country so that they might both return to Judaism. On the eve of departure David changed his mind, and declared himself satisfied with his new religion. Profiat Duran left Spain alone. He subsequently addressed to his friend the well-known epistle "Al Tehi ka-Aboteka," a masterpiece of satirical criticism against converts to Christianity.

Bibliography: Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 2117; Grätz, *Gesch.* viii. 94, 409; Renan-Neubauer, *Les Ecrivains Juifs Français*, p. 746; Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, pp. 358, 471.

G. I. Br.

DAVID, CHRISTIAN GEORG NATHAN: Danish political economist and politician; born at Copenhagen Jan. 16, 1793; died there June 18, 1874. Christian received his education in his native city, graduating from its university in 1811. His first contribution to literature was a reply (in 1813) to Th. Thaarup's translation of Buch

holz's "Moses und Jesus," a work unfriendly to the Jews, under the title "Et Par Ord i Anledning af Forhindringen til Oversaettelsen af Buchholz's Moses und Jesus." He then took the degree of doctor of philosophy at the University of Göttingen, and published "for Statsoekonomisk Archiv," I–II, 1826–29.

In 1830 David deserted Judaism and joined the Protestant Church. In the same year he was appointed professor of political economy at the University of Copenhagen, and about the same time became political correspondent for the "Maanedsskrift for Litteratur" and leader of the Liberals. In 1834 he started a weekly paper, "Fædrelandet," but being accused of publishing articles in advocacy of a constitutional government, he was dismissed from the university, although acquitted by the court. After a trip to England David served as a representative from 1840 to 1846, being also elected (1841) an alderman of Copenhagen. He then associated himself with the government party, and was appointed by the king to the Senate. Soon afterward he was elected representative from Copenhagen to the first Folkething, where he became leader of the "Helstatsparti" (Unionist party).

David was elected chief inspector for the prison department in 1849; was chief of the state statistical department from 1854 to 1875; and became a director of the National Bank in 1858. After the war of 1864, he became secretary of the treasury in the administration of Bluhme, but in the following year he resigned his office. In 1870 he also gave up his seat as member of the Rigsdag, and withdrew entirely from political life.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon.*

S. C. A. T.

DAVID BEN ELIJAH: Hebrew scholar of the eighteenth century. He translated into Hebrew, under the title "Leshon Zahab" (A Tongue of Gold), the second Targum to Esther. The translation was published at Constantinople in 1732.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature*, p. 234; Zedner, *Cat. Hebr. Books Brit. Mus.* p. 146.

L. G. I. Br.

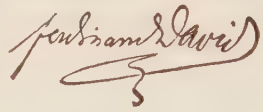
DAVID, ERNEST: French musician; born at Nancy July 4, 1844; died at Paris June 3, 1886. He completed his musical education under Fétis, and was a prolific writer. His principal works are: "La Musique chez les Juifs," 1873; "Etude Historique sur la Poésie et la Musique dans la Cambrie" (with M. Lussy); "Histoire de la Notation Musicale Depuis Ses Origines" (1882); "La Vie et les Œuvres de J. S. Bach, Ses Elèves et Ses Contemporains: Mendelsohn-Bartholdi et Robert Schumann" (1886).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Baker, *Biographical Dict. of Musicians.*

S. J. So.

DAVID, FERDINAND: Violinist and violin-teacher; born at Hamburg Jan. 19, 1810; died suddenly July 19, 1873, near Kloster, Switzerland, while on a mountain tour with his family. His musical talent manifested itself early; and after a course of only two years with Spohr and Hauptmann at Cassel, he made his début in 1825 as a virtuoso in the Gewandhaus, Leipsic. During 1827 and 1828 he was a member of the orchestra of the Königstädtische Theater in Berlin, where he first became acquainted with Felix Mendelssohn. A year later he became first violinist in the private quartet of a wealthy and influential amateur of Dorpat, Baron von Liphardt, whose daughter he subsequently married. He was in Russia from 1829 until 1835, making frequent and successful tours to Riga, St. Petersburg, Moscow, and other important cities.

When, in 1835, Mendelssohn became conductor of the Gewandhaus concerts, he chose David for his concert-master; and here the young violinist found ample scope for the development of his genius, particularly after the establishment of the Conservatory in 1843. In this position he remained until his death; and it was largely due to his influence that Leipsic remained the center of violin-playing in Europe after the death of Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Gade. The relations between Mendelssohn and David were particularly cordial, and upon the death of Mendelssohn, David was one of those to whom the posthumous works of the master were entrusted for publication.



In his playing David combined the qualities of Spohr with the greater technical skill and brilliancy of the modern school. Joachim, Wilhelmi, and other eminent violinists of the present day were among his pupils. It was largely due to his initiative that many old masterpieces of the Italian, French, and German schools were preserved; for he not only took a prominent part in preparing revised editions of the works of Haydn, Beethoven, and others, but actually edited and published, for purposes of study, nearly the whole classical repertoire of the violin. His greatest work in this domain is the celebrated "Die Hohe Schule des Violinspiels: Werke Berühmter Meister des 17ten und 18ten Jahrhunderts," consisting of twenty-three numbers containing selections from Porpora, Tartini, Vivaldi, Leclair, J. S. Bach, and many others. Scarcely less important are the studies, op. 39, 44, 45, and 70. Among his other works are the following: Five concertos, that in D minor (op. 35) being arranged also by A. Wilhelmj; 6 caprices, op. 20; "Concert Polonais," in E; 12 Salonstücke, op. 24; 5 *ib.*, op. 28; 30 Charakterstücke, entitled "Aus der Ferienzeit" (op. 46, 47, 48, and 50); "Bunte Reihe," 24 pieces, op. 30, and its continuation, "Nachklänge," 15 pieces, op. 41; 8 Kammerstücke, op. 36: a comic opera, "Hans Wacht," 1852; and, in addition to these numerous variations on original, operatic, national, and song themes, as well as other minor compositions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grove, *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*; Riemann, *Musik-Lexikon*; Baker, *Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*; J. Eckhardt, *Ferdinand David*, Leipsic, 1888; Alfred Dörfell, *Die Gewandhaus Concerte zu Leipsic*, 1884.

S. J. So.

DAVID OF FEZ. See DAVID B. ABRAHAM.

DAVID GERSON: Rabbi at Reshid, Egypt; flourished in the middle of the seventeenth century. He was a contemporary of Mordecai ben Judah ha-Levi, author of "Darke No'am," in which are given some of Gerson's responsa. He is also mentioned as a great rabbinical authority by Abraham ben Mordecai ha-Levi, author of "Ginnat Weradim" and "Gan ha-Melek," who was his pupil. Moses Ḥagiz, in his "Leḳeṭ ha-Ḳemaḥ" on Oraḥ Ḥayyim, attributes to David Gerson the discontinuance of the practise of lighting a pipe from a tallow candle, which according to some authorities is forbidden, as the use of tallow (= חלב) is prohibited in the Pentateuch. David Gerson gave as a reason a dream which he once had of being punished as though he had eaten fat because he used to light his pipe from tallow candles.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Azulai, *Shem ha-Gedolim*, s.v.; Ḥazan, *Ha-Ma'alot li-Shelomoh*, p. 51b; Michael, *Or ha-Ḥayyim*, p. 322, No. 709.

L. G. I. Br.

DAVID BEN ḤAYYIM HA-KOHEN (known under the abbreviation **RaDaK**): Rabbi at Corfu, and later at Patros, Greece, at the beginning of the sixteenth century. He was a pupil of Judah Minz, and a contemporary of Elijah Mizraḥi and Moses Alashkar, with whom he maintained a correspondence, though chiefly with the latter, with whom he subsequently had some disputes. David became prominent through his attacks upon Benjamin Ze'eb, who had permitted an "'agunah" to marry on the testimony of a Gentile.

The whole of David's works, with the exception of thirty-three responsa, perished in a fire at Adrianople. The responsa were arranged by David's son-in-law, David Vital, and were published under the title "She'elot u-Teshubot MaHaRDaK" (Constantinople, 1537; reprinted several times).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Conforte, *Ḳore ha-Dorot*, p. 32a; Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 785; Michael, *Or ha-Ḥayyim*, p. 326, No. 725.

L. G. I. Br.

DAVID IBN ḤIN: Cabalist; lived at Salonica at the end of the sixteenth and at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Although blind, he devoted himself to cabalistic studies, and published the "Sefer Gerushim" of Moses Cordovero (Venice, 1600) and the "Sodot" of Joseph Gikatilla. David also published a work entitled "Liḳḳuṭe Shoshannim" (Collections of Lilies), containing explanations of Biblical passages from the works of Jacob Berab, Meïr 'Aramah, Obadiah Sforno, Isaac Gershon, and Samuel Almosnino (Venice, 1602).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 863; idem, *Jüd. Lit.* p. 453, note 11; Zedner, *Cat. Hebr. Books Brit. Mus.* p. 204.

K. I. Br.

DAVID BEN HODAYA OF MOSUL: Prince of the Davidic house; lived at Mosul (New Nineveh) about 1150–1220. His genealogy, contained in an excommunication issued by him, reads as follows:

"David, son of Hodaya, son of Azariah, son of Solomon, son of Messias (or Moses), son of Judah, son of Hezekiah, son of Judah, son of Gamaliel the latter, son of Judah, son of Gamaliel the latter, of Tiberias, son of Judah the Saint, etc., son of Shefatiah, son of King David."

The list of names is evidently incomplete and incorrect. After the death of the childless exilarch Daniel ben Ḥasdai (or Solomon; see Grätz, vi. note 10), his two nephews, David b. Hodaya and Samuel, were candidates for the office. The election was still undecided when the traveler R. Pethahiah was at Mosul (about 1175). David was a powerful protector of Samuel ben Ali at Bagdad, the chief opponent of Maimonides in the East.

Samuel had made many enemies by his attacks on Maimonides, and against these the above-mentioned excommunication, dated about 1191, was directed. Al-Ḥarizi, who visited Mosul in 1217, mentions David as the exilarch (ch. 46), and praises him and his nephew Hodaya as the most meritorious in that region. See DAVID.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grätz, *Gesch.* vi. 459; *Orient. Lit.* 1845, pp. 739–742; Lazarus, in Brüll's *Jahrb.* x. 47.

G. A. K.

DAVID BEN ISAAC HA-KOHEN: Prominent rabbinical scholar; lived at Aviguon in the thirteenth century. Aaron b. Jacob ha-Kohen of Narbonne, his grandson, who went to Majorca in 1306, names him in his "Orḥot Ḥayyim" as the teacher of R. Eliezer ben Immanuel of Tarascon, and quotes his ritual work "Hilkot Ṭerefot" (Laws on Forbidden Food; Renan-Neubauer, "Les Rabbins Français," p. 516; compare *idem*, "Ecrivains Juifs Français," p. 468). In the collection of responsa which he exchanged with R. Samuel of Agde, Rabbi Eliezer often mentions David as his teacher, and quotes in his name casuistic decisions of R. Nathan of Trinquetailles (*ib.*). R. Eliezer's son Immanuel was the grandfather of Isaac de Lattes (Isaac of Lattes, "Sha'are," No. 74).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Renan-Neubauer, as above; Michael, *Or ha-Ḥayyim*, No. 740; Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, p. 420.

G. S. K.

DAVID BEN JACOB: Rabbi of Szerczow, government of Grodno, Russia; one of the most influential rabbis of Lithuania at the end of the eighteenth century. He wrote "Ḥomot Yerushalayim" (The Walls of Jerusalem; Frankfort-on-the-Oder, 1807), containing a commentary to a portion of the Shulḥan 'Aruk; *i.e.*, to the Oraḥ Ḥayyim from its beginning to the laws concerning tefillin.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zedner, *Cat. Hebr. Books Brit. Mus.* p. 178; Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael*, p. 258; Benjacob, *Oẓar ha-Sefarim*, p. 171, No. 163.

L. G. M. Sel.

DAVID, JACOB JULIUS: Austrian journalist and author; born at Weisskirchen, Moravia, Feb. 6, 1859. Immediately after his birth his parents removed to Fulnek, Moravia, where his father died of cholera when David was but seven years old. The boy successively attended the gymnasia of Teschen, Troppau, and Kremsir. In 1878 he entered the University of Vienna to study philology. While a student he was subjected to want and privation; and it was not until 1890 that he was able to secure means for passing his examinations for his doctorate. Thereafter he devoted himself

wholly to literature and authorship, his first poems appearing in the "Deutsches Dichterbuch aus Oesterreich," edited by Karl Emil Franzos. Later he published long and short stories, and numerous poems and essays in various publications and periodicals of Austria and other countries; distinguishing himself equally as a lyric poet, essayist, dramatist, and novelist.

The more important of his productions are: "Das Höfe-Recht," a story, Dresden; "Das Blut," "Gedichte," "Probleme," Dresden, 1892; "Die Wiedergeborenen," six tales, Dresden; "Hagar's Sohn," a drama in four acts, which appeared in the "Moderne Rundschau," and was performed in the Landestheater of Vienna on Jan. 20, 1891; and "Am Wege Sterben," Vienna, 1900. All these productions, evincing a rich, vivid imagination, forcible style, and exquisite finish, mark their author as a fine artist of the realistic school. At the beginning of his literary career David was for some time associate editor of Franzos' "Wiener Illustrirte Zeitung." Since 1891 he has collaborated on the "Montags-Revue," writing for it theatrical notices on the performances in the Vienna Burg- und Volkstheater, and later also conducted the art department in the "Oesterreichische Volkszeitung."

Bibliography: Ludwig Eisenberg, *Das Geistige Wien*, p. 77, Vienna, 1893; Ad. Kohut, *Berühmte Israelitsche Männer und Frauen*.

S. B. B.

DAVID BEN JACOB HA-KOHEN: Turkish Talmudist; flourished about 1550 in Salonica. He wrote essays ("shiṭṭot") to the Talmudical orders Mo'ed, Nashim, and Neziḳin, of which there was published after his death the part on Giṭṭin, "Migdal Dawid" (The Tower of David), Salonica, 1597. He is also mentioned in the responsa of Samuel de Medina (No. 198) and Joseph di Trani (No. 25). David is distinguished as Talmudist by his profound knowledge (Ghirondi, "Toledot Gedole Yisrael," p. 80). Azulai supposed that David was a pupil of Solomon b. Jehiel Luria.

Bibliography: Azulai, *Shem ha-Gedolim*, ii. 30; Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 867.

L. G. I. Ber.

DAVID BEN JACOB MEÏR: Italian astrologer of the fifteenth century, and a member of the Kalonymus family. He wrote in 1464 two astrological treatises, the smaller of which is on the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter. He dedicated the latter work to King Ferdinand I. of Naples, and hoped thereby to obtain religious liberty for his coreligionists. In 1466 David translated from Latin into Hebrew an astronomical work of John of Gmünd, which he called "Mar'ot ha-Kokabim" (The Aspects of the Stars). The work is a description of an astronomical instrument which had been invented at Vienna in 1417. He was invested by the king with an office, probably that of astrologer. In 1484 he wrote a philosophical treatise on the "Destructio Destructionis" of Averroes, which he addressed to his son Ḥayyim Kalonymus.

Bibliography: Steinschneider, *Hebr. Uebers.* pp. 636, 637; idem, *Jewish Literature*, p. 191; idem, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 1575.

L. G. M. Sel.

DAVID B. JACOB OF SZCZEBRSZYN: Polish scholar; known only as the author of a commentary on the so-called "Targum Jonathan" and "Targum Yerushalmi" of the Pentateuch (also known as "Targum Yerushalmi I." and "Targum Yerushalmi II."), and on the "Targum Sheni" of the Book of Esther. It was published in Prague in 1609, but there is a record of a former edition printed in the same place in 1537, which would place the author in the first half of the sixteenth century. The commentary, which is really a glossary, was reprinted in Prague in 1781, and again in 1789. Steinschneider ("Cat. Bodl." No. 4816) denies the existence of the edition of 1537.

Bibliography: Fürst, *Bibl. Jud.* i. 199; Benjacob, *Oẓar ha-Sefarim*, p. 483; Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael*, p. 258, Warsaw, 1886.

L. G. P. Wr.

DAVID BEN JOSEPH HA-KOHEN: Dayyan and preacher at Krotoschin, Prussia, in the eighteenth century. He was the author of "Pa'amone Zahab" (Bells of Gold), a homiletic commentary on the first forty chapters of the Psalms, published at Fürth 1769. Nepi ascribes to David a commentary on Moses Isserles' "Torat ha-'Olah," entitled "Minḥat Kohen." However, with the exception of Fürst, who gives the title of this commentary as "Nimmuḳim," no other bibliographer mentions it.

Bibliography: Nepi-Ghirondi, *Toledot Gedole Yisrael*, p. 85; Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael*, p. 255; Zedner, *Cat. Hebr. Books Brit. Mus.* p. 198.

L. G. I. Br.

DAVID BEN JUDAH: Exilarch of Babylonia 820–834; successor to Iskawi II. at a time when this dignity was on the decline. His appointment was contested, by a party which favored Daniel, a Karaite according to Bar Hebræus. The calif Al-Ma'mun, to whom the contest between David and Daniel was submitted, is said to have declined all interference by issuing an edict permitting any community numbering not less than ten persons—be they Christians, Jews, or Zoroastrians—to elect its own chief. Bar Hebræus adds that the followers of David were "Tiberians"; if the reading is correct (which Grätz doubts). This would point to the participation of Palestinian Jews in the election. David was finally recognized as exilarch. About 834 David appointed as gaon in Pumbedita a scholar of the name of Isaac ben Ḥananya.

Bibliography: Sherira's *Epistle*, in *Med. Jew. Chron.* i. 38; Bar Hebræus, *Chron. Eccles.* ed. Abbeloos and Lamy, i. 365, 5; Grätz, *Gesch.* v., notes 12 and 13; F. Lazarus, in Brüll's *Jahrb.* x. 30; Isaac Halévy, *Dorot ha-Rishonim*, iii. 120.

G. A. K.

DAVID BEN JUDAH: German cabalist; flourished in the thirteenth century. He was not the son of Judah ha-Ḥasid (see A. Epstein in "Monatsschrift," 1895, p. 450), but he may have been his grandnephew, the fact of his father's name being "Judah" being responsible for the confusion in the sources quoted by Gross ("Magazin," i. 106 *et seq.*). David was an eminent cabalist, and is highly praised by Eleazar of Worms. He wrote the following works, none of which has been published: "Sodot shel Ma'aseh Bereshit" (The Mysteries of the Beginning), a cabalistic explanation of the Creation;

"Ma'aseh Merkabah" (Description of the Chariot); "Peraḳim be-Siklin ha-Nibdalim," chapters on the individual intellects which, according to David, are between the עולם המרכבה and עולם הספירות; "Sefer ha-Gebul" (Book of the Boundaries), on the names of God (the foregoing treatises are still extant in manuscript in the Bodleian Library: Neubauer, "Cat. Bodl. Hebr. MSS." No. 1911, 5); "Or Zaru'a" (Sown Light), a mystic commentary on the prayers (*ib.* No. 1624); a commentary on the Sefer Yezirah (mentioned in the preceding work); "Libnat ha-Sappir" The (Whiteness of the Sapphire), cabalistic explanations on the Haggadot of the Talmud, quoted by Bezalel Ashkenazi in his "Shiṭṭah Meḳubbeẓet" (B. B. ed. Lemberg, 1809, p. 64); "Mare'ot ha-Ẓobe'ot" (Visions of the Assembled), a mystic commentary on the prayers, after the "Or Zaru'a." I. D. Luzzatto expresses his doubts concerning David's authorship of the "Or Zaru'a," as the work contains passages from the Zohar, which was composed later (see "Yad Yosef," p. 13).

Bibliography: Steinschneider, *Jewish Literature*, p. 304, note 7; Jellinek, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Kabbala*, ii. 47; Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael*, p. 263.

K. I. Br.

DAVID BEN JUDAH. See Leon, Messer David ben Messer.

DAVID BEN KALONYMUS OF MÜNZENBERG: German Tosafist and liturgical poet; flourished at the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth. He was rabbi of Münzenberg, Hesse. His mother was a daughter of Kalonymus the Elder of Speyer, and his teacher was his granduncle Samuel ha-Ḥasid, also of Speyer. He is quoted in the Tosafot and in the Talmudic works of his pupil Simson of Sens (Commentary to Sifra, 34a and 53a), of Mordecai ben Hillel (Ket. ii. 2; 'Ab. Zarah v.), of Isaak b. Moses of Vienna ("Or Zaru'a," No. 720), of Meïr b. Baruch of Rothenberg (Responsa, No. 872), and others. He is also the author of some seliḥot.

Bibliography: Azulai, *Shem ha-Gedolim*, i. 46; Zunz, *Literaturgesch.* p. 328; Epstein, in *Monatsschrift*, 1895, pp. 400, 448, 451; Landshuth, *'Ammude ha-'Abodah*, p. 60.

L. G. I. Ber.

DAVID KALONYMUS OF NAPLES: Italian scholar; lived in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In "Kerem Ḥemed" (iii. 173) there is published a letter written in 1286 by Jesse b. Hezekiah, the Exilarch of Damascus, anathematizing those who calumniated Maimonides. David Kalonymus, intending to give greater publicity to the anathema, transcribed three or four copies of it. He was particularly induced to do so, he said, by the fear that during the persecutions which the Jews suffered at that time in Portugal and western Castile, the original might be lost. At the end of the letter is found: "Written at Naples the first of Ab, 5266" (= July 21, 1506). Steinschneider ("Cat. Bodl." col. 1575) thinks it possible that David was the son of Ḥayyim Kalonymus, and the father of Kalo Kalonymus (see Zunz, "Z. G." 10, 232).

L. G. M. Sel.

DAVID (ABU SULAIMAN) AL-ḲUMISI: Karaite teacher of the tenth century, of whom little is known. As his name indicates, he was a native of the Persian province of Ḳumis. He died in Jerusalem in the year of the Hegira 334 (= 945 C.E.). His Biblical commentaries, written in Arabic, have been lost, and only two passages of his are known. One of them refers to the Passover sacrifice, which according to Karaites did not begin until the twilight of the 15th of Nisan, and which, being a private sacrifice, could not displace the Sabbath. When the 15th of Nisan fell on a Sabbath, the private sacrifice was omitted, only one lamb, according to David, being offered for the whole of Israel. It was not eaten, however, but burnt whole (see Passover). The other passage refers to the prohibition, generally accepted by the Karaites, against eating the fatty tail. David derived the prohibition from Lev. iii. 9, where the fatty tail is called simply "fat." This "proof," though refuted by Saadia, is repeated by all the Karaites.

Bibliography: Harkavy, in *Luaḥ Aḥiasaf*, 1895, ii. 281; Poznanski, in *Jew. Quart. Rev.* viii. 681, and in *Rev. Et. Juives*, xlv. 50, 176.

K. S. P.

DAVID LAḤNI BEN ELIEZER: Rabbi at Karasu-Bazar, in the Crimea, at the end of the seventeenth century. He was a native of Poland, whence his Tatar surname "Laḥni" (from "Liah" = Poland). Abraham Firkowich claimed to have had in his possession a manuscript containing a work by David entitled "Mishkan David" (The Residence of David), which was divided into two parts, the first treating of the Hebrew roots and their significations, the second of Hebrew synonyms. David arranged and published the Crimean "Ḥazanya" ritual.

Bibliography: Fuenn, in *Ha-Karmel*, iii. 117; idem, *Keneset Yisrael*, p. 240.

G. I. Br.

DAVID BEN LEVI: Rabbi of Narbonne, France; flourished at the end of the thirteenth century. From the fact that he speaks of R. Samuel Shekili, who was probably his master, as of one already dead, it is likely that he lived on into the fourteenth century. He wrote an important work called "Miktam" (from the Biblical מכתם לדוד), containing the halakic decisions of the Talmud arranged in the order in which they occur in the latter. This book is often quoted in the "Orḥot Ḥayyim" of Aaron ha-Kohen, in the "Kol Bo" of David Abudarham, and in the "Bet Yosef" of Joseph Caro. In the consultations of R. Solomon b. Adret are found decisions signed "David b. Levi, author of the 'Miktam.'" David corresponded with Isaac b. Isaac of Chinon, who called him his master. A part of the "Miktam" is still extant in manuscript in the collection of Baron Günzburg; the collection of Halberstamm contained a fragment of David's commentary on Alfasi.

Bibliography: Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, pp. 425, 426; Neubauer, in *Rev. Et. Juives*, xii. 82; Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael*, p. 239; Michael, *Or ha-Ḥayyim*, pp. 398, 399; Azulai, *Shem ha-Gedolim*, ii., s.v. מכתם; Benjacob, *Oẓar ha-Sefarim*, p. 329, No. 1225.

L. G. M. Sel.

DAVID HA-LEVI: German Talmudist; lived in the eleventh century. He is mentioned in "Mordecai" (Baba Meẓi'a, 332), where his decision is given in an important law question. He is also mentioned

in 'Anaw, "Shibbole ha-Leḳeṭ," part i., "Hilkot Ḥanukkah." No. 185; and part ii., "Issur," No. 26.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Buber, Introduction to *Shibbole ha-Leḳeṭ*, Wilna, 1887.

L. G. N. T. L.

DAVID BEN MENAHEM COHEN: Dutch scholar; lived at Amsterdam in the first half of the seventeenth century. He was the author of "Mizmor le-Todah" (Song of Thanksgiving), edited by Elijah Aboab, Amsterdam, 1644. It describes in Judæo-German rimes the historical facts contained in the Pentateuch and the Five Scrolls. David also published in Judæo-German the prayers of Rosh Ḥodesh according to the German and Polish rite, Hanau, 1626.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 323, No. 2130; col. 879; Fürst, *Bibl. Jud.* p. 200.

E. C. I. BR.

DAVID (ABU SULAIMAN) IBN MERWAN AL-MUḲAMMAṢ (or **AL-MIḲMAṢ) AL-RAḲḲI** (also known as **David ha-Babli):** Philosopher and controversialist; native of Rakka, Mesopotamia, whence his surname; flourished in the ninth and tenth centuries. Harkavy derives his by-name from the Arabic "ḳammaṣ" (to leap), interpreting it as referring to his asserted change of faith (Grätz, "Gesch." Hebr. transl., iii. 498). This is uncertain. The name is written אלקומסי in Mas'udi's "Al-Tanbih" (ed. De Goeje, p. 113), in a Karaitic commentary to Leviticus, and in a manuscript copy of Jefeth's commentary to the same book ("Jew. Quart. Rev." viii. 681), and is perhaps a derivative from the city of Ḳumis in Taberistan (Yaḳut, iv. 203). Another Karaite bears the name "Daniel al-Ḳumisi," and in Al-Hiti's chronicle this name is also spelled with a ẓade ("Jew. Quart. Rev." ix. 432).

David, the father of Jewish philosophy, was almost unknown until the latter part of the nineteenth century. The publication of Judah Barzilai's commentary to the Sefer Yeẓirah ("Meḳiẓe Nirdamim," 1885), in which is found a poor Hebrew translation of the ninth and tenth chapters of David's philosophical work, first brought the latter into notice. Barzilai says that he does not know whether David was one of the Geonim, but claims to have heard that Saadia had known him and had profited by his lessons. Pinsker and Grätz, confounding him with Daniel ha-Babli of Cairo, make him a Mohammedan convert to Karaism, on the ground that he is quoted by Karaite scholars, and is called by Hadasi "ger ẓedeḳ" (pious proselyte). The discovery by Harkavy of the "Kitab al-Riyaḍ wal-Ḥada'iḳ," by the Karaite Al-Ḳirḳisani, threw further light on David. Al-Ḳirḳisani cites a work by him on the various Jewish sects, and says that David had "embraced Christianity" (tanaṣṣar); that he was for many years the pupil of a renowned Christian physician and philosopher named Ḥana; and that, after acquiring considerable knowledge of philosophy, he wrote two works against Christianity which became famous. But it seems more probable that the word "tanaṣṣar" means simply that David had intercourse with Christians. Ḳirḳisani, indeed, does not mention his return to Judaism, and no Rabbinite mentions his conversion to Christianity. His conversion to Christianity can hardly be reconciled with the fact that he is cited by Baḥya, by Jedaiah Bedersi (in "Iggeret Hitnaẓẓelut"), and by Moses ibn Ezra. Ḳirḳisani mentions two other books by David: "Kitab al-Khaliḳah," a commentary on Genesis extracted from Christian exegetical works; and a commentary on Ecclesiastes He is incorrectly mentioned as a learned Karaite by David al-Hiti in his chronicle of Karaite doctors, published by Margoliouth ("Jew. Quart. Rev." ix. 432).

Polemical Works.

In 1898 Harkavy discovered in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg fifteen of the twenty chapters of David's philosophical work entitled "'Ishrun Maḳalat" (Twenty Chapters). The subject-matter of these fifteen chapters is as follows: (1) the Aristotelian categories; (2) science and the reality of its existence; (3) the creation of the world; (4) the evidence that it is composed of substance and accidents; (5) the properties of substance and accident; (6) a criticism of those who maintain the eternity of matter; (7) arguments in favor of the existence of God and His creation of the world; (8) the unity of God, refuting the Sabeans, the Dualists, and the Christians; (9) the divine attributes; (10) refutation of anthropomorphism and Christian ideas; (11) why God became our Lord; (12) showing that God created us for good and not for evil, and combating absolute pessimism as well as absolute optimism; (13) the utility of prophecy and prophets; (14) signs of true prophecy and true prophets; (15) mandatory and prohibitive commandments. David as well as other Karaites—for instance, Joseph al-Baṣir and Al-Ḳirḳisani—was a follower of the Motazilite kalam, especially in his chapter on the attributes of God, wherein he holds that, though we speak of these attributes as we speak of human attributes, the two can not be compared, since nothing comes to Him through the senses as is the case with man. God's "life" is a part of His "being"; and the assumption of attributes in the Deity can in no way affect His unity. "Quality" can not be posited of the Deity. In his tenth chapter, on "Rewards and Punishments," David holds that these are eternal in the future world. This chapter has many points in common with Saadia, both drawing from the same source (Schreiner, "Der Kalam," p. 25). David is the first Jewish author who mentions Aristotle ("Jew. Quart. Rev." xiii. 450).

Other Works.

David quotes two others of his own works which are no longer in existence: "Kitab fi al-Budud" and "Kitab fi 'Arḍ al-Maḳalat 'ala al-Mantiḳ," on the categories. In one passage David relates that he had a philosophical disputation in Damascus with a Mohammedan scholar, Shabib al-Baṣri. A fragment of another work, "Kitab al-Tauḥid," on the unity of God, has been discovered among genizah fragments, and has been published by E. N. Adler and I. Broydé in "Jew. Quart. Rev." (xiii. 52 *et seq.*). David does not betray his Jewish origin in his philosophical work. Contrary to the practise of Saadia, Baḥya, and other Jewish philosophers, he never quotes the Bible, but cites Greek and Arabic authorities. It is possible that this accounts for the neglect of his work by the Jews.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fürst, in *Literaturblatt des Orients*, viii. 617, 642; Gabriel Polak, *Halikot Kedem*, pp. 69 *et seq.*; Pinsker, *Likkute Kadmoniyyot*, ii. 17 *et seq.*; Grätz, *Gesch.* v. 285; A. Harkavy, *Le-Korot ha-Kittot be-Yisrael*, in Grätz, *Gesch.* iii. 498 *et seq.* (Hebr. transl.); idem, in *Voskhod*, Sept., 1898; Poznanski, in *Jew. Quart. Rev.* xiii. 328; Steinschneider, in *Jew. Quart. Rev.* xi. 606, xiii. 450; idem, *Hebr. Uebers.* p. 378; Kaufmann, *Attributenlehre*, Index, *passim*.

G. I. BR.—G.

DAVID, MEYER MICHEL: Hanoverian court banker and agent of the board of finance; born in Hanover in the middle of the eighteenth century. He was a son of Michel David of Hanover, the friend of Moses Mendelssohn. Michel David made a gift to his native city of the synagogue which he and Solomon Getschlick had purchased. Meyer, his son, left (c. 1798) one hundred thousand thalers to found a school in Hanover in which sons of the Jewish poor might obtain free instruction in the sciences, in Hebrew, and in certain modern languages, and might receive besides a monthly allowance. This school, called the "Meyer Michel Davidsche Freischule," was reorganized in 1835; J. M. Frensdorff was inspector until 1861, and S. Kayserling from Frensdorff's death until 1898. It has produced rabbis, teachers, bankers, mechanics, and merchants, and still continues its beneficent work.

E. C. M. K.

DAVID OF MILHAU: French liturgical poet; lived at L'Isle, France, about 1764. In Hebrew he was called דוד דמיליי"ב (Zunz reads דמילא"ב). MS. No. 148 Montefiore Library (= Halberstamm No. 266) contains a responsum of David of Milhau.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, p. 345, No. 7; Zunz, in *Allg. Zeit. des Jud.* 1839, p. 682; *Jew. Quart. Rev.* xiv. 384.

G. M. SEL.

DAVID (TEVELE) BEN MOSES: Russian rabbi and author; born in Turetz, in the government of Minsk, 1792; died at Minsk April 27, 1861. At the age of fifteen he went to Volozhin, where he studied in the yeshibah under Rabbi Ḥayyim, from which he graduated as rabbi. At the age of twenty-five he became rabbi of Stouptz, where he remained from 1817 to 1849, in which year he was elected chief rabbi of Minsk. He occupied that position till his death. There he wrote "Bet Dawid," in two parts, containing responsa and sermons. After his death the following works written by him were published: "Naḥalat Dawid," the first part containing responsa, and the second part containing novellæ on Baba Ḳamma and Ḥullin (Wilna, 1864); "Dibre Dawid," responsa (Wilna, 1882). Among the pupils of David Tevele were Rabbi Joshua Heller of Telshi and Rabbi Abraham Samuel of Eishishki.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Eisenstadt, *Rabbane Minsk*, pp. 31, 32; Introduction to *Bet Dawid*; Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael*, p. 381; Maggid, *'Ir Wilna*, p. 90.

L. G. N. T. L.

DAVID BEN MOSES OF NOVOGRUDOK: Russian rabbi, commentator, and author; born 1769; died in Novogrudok, government of Minsk, 1836. He was appointed rabbi of that town in 1794, and occupied the position for forty-three years, until his death.

David was considered one of the leading and most learned Talmudists of Russia in his time, and was especially noted for his keenness in that form of discussing knotty rabbinical questions which is known as PILPUL. David is the author of "Galya Massekta," a work still highly valued among old-style Talmudists. It was published at Wilna in 1844 in two volumes: the first containing responsa and novellæ; the second being devoted to sermons, commentaries on the Haggadah, etc.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael*, pp. 243-244.

H. R. P. WI.

DAVID NIETO REDIVIVUS. See DEUTSCH, HEINRICH.

DAVID THE PIOUS: French scholar; lived at Château-Thierry in the second half of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century. Zunz ("Literaturgesch." p. 305; compare Carmoly, "Itinéraires," p. 177) identifies him with R. David ben Joseph, who, with Isaac ben Abraham of Dampierre, Isaac ben David, and Joseph ben Moses, adopted the decisions of the synod of Troyes which had met about 1160 under the auspices of Rabbenu Tam. Samuel of Falaise (Sir Morel) probably referred to David the Pious when he spoke of רבינו דוד as being a contemporary of Sir Léon of Paris ("Rev. Et. Juives," vii. 47). Together with Solomon ben Judah the Saint, of Dreux, the two brothers Simson and Isaac ben Abraham of Dampierre, Samson of Corbeil, Abraham of Touques, and Eliezer ben Aaron of Burgundy, he was among those scholars of the north of France to whom, about 1204 or 1205, Meïr ben Todros ha-Levi ABULAFIA addressed his epistle against the doctrine of resurrection as taught by Maimonides.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, p. 258.

L. G. S. K.

DAVID RAPHAEL BEN ABRAHAM POLIDO: Satirist; flourished in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. His name, and the fact that his work was printed in Leghorn, suggest that he was an Italian; but Somerhausen reads פולניא (Polonya [?]) instead of פולידא; whereas Steinschneider interprets it as "Fulda." David wrote "Zikron Purim" (Remembrance of Purim), a parody on the piyyuṭim for the Feast of Purim, followed by a testament of Haman, a poem full of coarse jokes, but a good imitation of the Sephardic piyyuṭim (Leghorn, 1703). Delitzsch gives 1736 as the date of its publication.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 855; idem, *Jew. Lit.* p. 245; Somerhausen, in *Orient*, xi. col. 181; Fürst, *Bibl. Jud.* iii. 110; Delitzsch, *Gesch. der Jüd. Poesie*, p. 82.

G. M. SEL.

DAVID REUBEN. See MOLKO, SOLOMON.

DAVID DE ROCCO. See ROQUEMARTINE, DAVID.

DAVID B. SAADIA. See DOSA B. SAADIA.

DAVID, SAMUEL: French musician; born in Paris Nov. 12, 1836; died there Oct. 3, 1895. He received his musical education at the Conservatoire, where he was a pupil of Bazin and Halévy. In 1858 he received the "Grand Prix de Rome" for his cantata "Jephtha," and in the following year was the recipient of another prize for the work entitled "Le Génie de la Terre," which was performed by a male

chorus and orchestra, the former numbering 6,000 voices. In 1861 he was appointed professor at the Collège de Saint-Barbe, and in 1872 he became musical director in the synagogues of Paris.

David was the composer of the following operas and operettas, all of which were performed in Paris: "La Peau de l'Ours," operetta, 1858; "Mademoiselle Sylvia," operetta, 1868; "Tu l'as Voulu," operetta, 1869; "Le Bien d'Autrui," 1869; "Un Caprice de Ninon," 1871; "La Fée des Bruyères," 1878. David is also the composer of an "ode-symphonie" entitled "Le Triomphe de la Paix," 1878, which is generally regarded as his most popular composition.

He has written, besides the above-mentioned works, four symphonies, a number of choruses and songs, and the following unperformed operatic works: "Les Chevaliers du Poignard"; "Une Dragonnade"; "La Gageure"; "L'Education d'un Prince"; "Les Changeurs"; "Absalon"; and "I Maccabei" (in Italian). A theoretical work, "L'Art de Jouer en Mesure," Paris, 1862, is also popular.

Bibliography: Baker, *Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*; Riemann, *Musik-Lexikon*.

S. J. So.

DAVID BEN SAMUEL OF ESTELLA (KOKABI): Provençal scholar; flourished in the first half of the thirteenth century. He was a native of Estella, whence his name "Kokabi" (Starlike), the Hebrew equivalent for "Estella." Isaac of Lattes, in his literary history "Ḳiryat Sefer," represents him as a great scholar, and mentions two works of his which are still extant in manuscript: "Migdal Dawid" (Castle of David), divided into two parts, the first treating of speculative and moral theology, and the second of practical theology (Perreau Cat. ii. 40); "Ḳiryat Sefer" (City of the Book), divided into three parts, and dealing with the precepts concerning the love of God, with those which are useful for the conservation of the body and the soul, and with those concerning social relations (MS. No. 113, London Jewish College).

Bibliography: Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibl.* viii. 63; *Rev. Et. Juives*, ix. 218, x. 317; Renan-Neubauer, *Les Ecrivains Juifs Français*, pp. 125 *et seq.*

L. G. I. Br.

DAVID, SAMUEL BEN JUDAH LÖB: Polish rabbi; died in Dzialshitz, Poland, in 1751. He succeeded his father as rabbi of Shidlow, Poland, when the latter became rabbi of Cracow. About 1731 he was called to Cracow to take the position rendered vacant by the death of his father; but there he met with opposition, and, while he was temporarily absent from Cracow, another rabbi was installed in his place. When David returned he resumed the rabbinical office notwithstanding the opposition of his enemies. He finally retired to Dzialshitz, where he died. His signature is found on the excommunication published against Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto.

Bibliography: Friedberg, *Luḥot Zikkaron*, pp. 27, 28; *Kerem Ḥemed*, iii. 157.

L. G. N. T. L.

DAVID B. SAMUEL HA-LEVI (usually called **ṬaZ,** from the initials of his work "Ṭure Zahab"): Polish rabbi; born in Lodmir or Vladimir, Volhynia, about 1586 (see Grätz, "Gesch." x. 57, and "Ḳin'at Soferim," p. 48b, note 809); died in Lemberg Jan. 31, 1667. David's chief instructor was his elder brother, Isaac b. Samuel ha-Levi, and his reputation for Talmudical knowledge spread far and wide; so that R. Joel Särkes (BaḤ) of Brest gave him his daughter in marriage. After residing with his father-in-law for several years — which were spent in diligent study — David and his family removed to Cracow. Thence David was called as rabbi of Potlitsha, near Rava, where he lived in great poverty. Later he went to Posen, where he remained for several years (see Responsa of Joel Särkes [BaḤ], new series, No. 17); and about 1641 he became rabbi of the old community of Ostrog, or Ostroh, in Volhynia. There David had a famous yeshibah, and was soon recognized as one of the great rabbis of his time. In Ostrog David wrote his commentary on Joseph Caro's Shulḥan 'Aruk, Yoreh De'ah, which he published in Lublin, 1646, and which was accepted as one of the highest authorities on ceremonial law.

Two years after the publication of his commentary David and his family had to flee for their lives from the terrible massacres of the Cossack insurrection under Bogdan Chmielnicki in 1648–49. David went to Steinitz near Ostrau, Moravia, where he remained for some time and probably acted as rabbi. This fact gave rise to an erroneous belief that before the persecution David was rabbi of Ostrau and not of Ostrog, Volhynia (see "Neuzeit," 1865, No. 29, and Kohn, "Biographien Hervorragender Rabbinischer Autoritäten," etc., pp. 109 *et seq.*, Brünn, 1890). David did not find Moravia congenial, and returned to Poland as soon as order was restored, settling in Lemberg, where he remained for the rest of his life.

David was made "rosh bet din," and when Meïr Sack, the chief rabbi of Lemberg, died (1653), he succeeded him in the rabbinate. At that time the city usually had two rabbis, one for the town proper and the other for the suburbs; David was at first the suburban rabbi; as one of the delegates to the Council of Four Lands in Lublin in Nisan, 1664, he signs as of "outside the town" (approbation to "'Ammudeha Shib'ah," by R. Bezalel, darshan of Sluzk, Prague, 1674). Under another approbation he signs "of Lemberg and the Province," indicating that other communities were also subject to his spiritual rule.

The last days of David were saddened by the violent death of his two sons, Mordecai and Solomon, who were martyred in the great riots which occurred in Lemberg in the spring of 1664. Their mother, the daughter of Joel Särkes, had died long before this, and David married the widow of her brother, Samuel Hirz b. Joel, rabbi of Pinczow. His third son from the former marriage, Isaiah Segal, and his stepson Aryeh Löb, were the two Polish scholars who were sent — probably by David, or at least with his consent — to Turkey in 1666 to investigate the claims of the pseudo-Messiah Shabbethai Ẓebi. They brought back as a present from the false Messiah a white silk robe for David, and a letter in which Shabbethai Ẓebi promised to avenge the wrongs of the Jews of Poland.

Most of the works of David were published

long after his death. The "Ṭure Zahab" on Shulḥan 'Aruk, Oraḥ Ḥayyim, was published by Shabbethai Bass in Dyhernfurth in 1692, together with the "Magen Abraham" by Abraham Abele Gumbiner; and both commentaries, together with the text, were frequently republished with several other commentaries, and still hold first rank among rabbinical authorities. Two years before the publication of this work, Judel of Kovli, in Volhynia, a cabalist and rabbinical scholar who wrote a commentary to the Oraḥ Ḥayyim, gave money to have it published together with the "ṬaZ," but his wishes were never carried out, and his money was used to publish another work of David's, the "Dibre Dawid" (The Words of David), a supercommentary on Rashi (Dyhernfurth, 1690). Part of the "ṬaZ" on Shulḥan 'Aruk, Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ (to ch. ccxcvi.), appeared separately in Hamburg in the same year, with notes by Ẓebi Hirsch Ashkenazi. The other half, in spite of various attempts and of the general demand for it, did not appear till about seventy years later (Berlin, 1761). The "ṬaZ" on Shulḥan 'Aruk, Eben ha-'Ezer, which was utilized in manuscript by Samuel b. Phoebus, the author of "Bet Shemuel" on the same part of the Shulḥan 'Aruk, was first printed in Zolkiev in 1754. David was the author of responsa which, though sometimes quoted from the manuscripts, were never published. ṬaZ and his opponent, Shabbethai Kohen (ShaK), are the greatest authorities among the Aḥaronim; and their decisions are of greater importance than those of Joseph Caro or of Moses Isserles. In 1683 the rabbis of the Council of Four Lands declared that the authority of the "ṬaZ" should be considered greater than that of the "ShaK," but later the "ShaK" gained more and more in authority. Compare Shabbethai b. Meïr ha-Kohen.

Bibliography: Dembitzer, *Kelilat Yofi*, pp. 95–154, Cracow, 1888; Buber, *Anshe Shem*, pp. 56–59; Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael*, p. 239.

L. G. P. Wi.

DAVID BEN SAUL: French rabbi; lived in the first half of the thirteenth century. He was the pupil of R. Solomon of Montpellier, and was one of the rabbis of Provence who condemned the philosophical works of Maimonides and the study of philosophy. David is also mentioned in an anonymous commentary on Baba Meẓi'a by one of the Provençal rabbis, which is quoted in the Responsa of Joseph ibn Lab (iii. 60) and those of Joseph di Trani on Yoreh De'ah, 39.

Bibliography: Michael, *Or ha-Ḥayyim*, pp. 346, 347.

L. G. N. T. L.

DAVID BEN SOLOMON IBN ABI ZIMRA or **ZAMIRO** (also known as **RaDBaZ**): Spanish Talmudist and cabalist; born in Spain about 1479; died at Safed, Palestine, 1589. He was thirteen years of age when his parents, banished from Spain, settled in Safed, where he studied under the direction of Joseph Saragossa. This statement, which is given by all his biographers, is contested by Frumkin ("Eben Shemuel," p. 48). Later David removed to Cairo, and in 1514 he is found there as a member of the bet din presided over by the "nagid" Isaac Sholal. In 1517, on the abolition of the office of nagid by the Turkish government, David was appointed chief rabbi of Egypt, which position he held for forty years. As he was highly revered alike for his vast knowledge, the integrity of his character, and the extent of his philanthropy, the yeshibah over which he presided attracted many distinguished pupils, among whom may be mentioned Bezalel Ashkenazi, and Isaac Luria, the father of the new cabalistic school.

In the introduction to his commentary on the Song of Songs, Isaac Akrish paints in vivid colors the character of David, in whose house he lived for ten years. According to this writer, David was very prominent in both the social and the political life of Egypt, thanks to his high intelligence and to an ample fortune. During his rabbinate he introduced many reforms in the every-day life of the Egyptian Jews, as well as in their religion. It was he who abolished the use of the Seleucidan era among them.

On attaining the age of ninety David resigned the chief rabbinate, and divided the greater part of his fortune among the poor, making special provision for scholars. He then removed to Jerusalem, but did not stay there long, on account of the burdensome taxes that the Turkish government had imposed upon him. He settled in Safed, where he became an active member of the bet din presided over by Joseph Caro, who held him in great esteem. David died, as shown above, at the age of one hundred and ten years.

He was the author of the following works: "Dibre Dawid" (Words of David), containing decisions and novellæ on Maimonides' "Yad," published by Joseph Zamiro together with his own work "Hon Yosef," Leghorn, 1828; "Yeḳar Tif'eret" (Honor of Excellency), containing answers to the criticisms of Abraham ben David (RABaD) on Maimonides' "Yad," and commentaries on those passages in that work which the "Maggid Mishneh" of Vidal de Toloza overlooks: of these commentaries the portions on Hafla'ah and Zera'im were published in Smyrna 1757, and the remaining portions in the Wilna edition of the "Yad," 1890; "Kelale ha-Gemara" (Rules of the Gemara), a methodology of the Talmud, published in the collection "Me-Harere Nemarim" of Abraham ben Solomon Akra, Venice, 1599; "Or Ḳadmon" (Pristine Light), a cabalistic work, edited by Moses Ḥagis, Venice, 1713; "Magen Dawid" (Shield of David), a mystical explanation of the alphabet opposing Recanati and R. Judah Ḥayyaṭ, edited by M. Ḥagis, Amsterdam, 1713; "Meẓudat Dawid" (The Bulwark of David), giving reasons for the commandments according to the four methods of explanation known as "pardes" (Zolkiev, 1862); "Miktam le-Dawid" (David's Poem), cabalistic homilies on the Song of Songs, still extant in manuscript; "Keter Malkut" (Crown of Royalty), prayers for the Day of Atonement, first published with the above-mentioned "Or Ḳadmon," reprinted in the "Shebeṭ Musar" of Elijah ben Abraham Solomon ha-Kohen of Smyrna, and finally inserted by Heidenheim in the ritual for the eve of the Day of Atonement; "Gillui le-Idrot," a commentary on the "Idrot," with notes by Ḥayyim Vital, still extant in manuscript in the Abarbanel Library at Jerusalem; "Dine Rabba we-Zuṭa" (The Great and Small Decisions), a commentary on the Shulḥan 'Aruk; "Shib'im Pa-

nim la-Torah" (Seventy Methods of the Explanations of the Torah). The last two works are mentioned in the preface of "Magen Dawid." David ben Solomon's responsa are his greatest contribution to Jewish literature; parts of it were published in Leghorn, 1651 (Nos. 1–300); Venice, 1799 (Nos. 1–318); Fürth, 1781 (Nos. 400–649); Leghorn, 1818 (Nos. 2051–2341). A complete edition of the responsa was published in Sudzilkow 1836.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Conforte, *Ḳore ha-Dorot*, p. 36b; Azulai, *Shem ha-Gedolim*, i. 44; Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 888; Wunderbar, in *Orient, Lit.* ix. 498; Michael, *Or ha-Ḥayyim*, p. 347, No. 779; Fuenn, *Ḳeneset Yisrael*, p. 234; Frumkin, *Eben Shemuel*, pp. 47–51.

L. G. I. BR.

DAVID IBN YAḤYA. See IBN YAḤYA, DAVID.

DAVID BEN ZAKKAI: Exilarch; known in Jewish history especially for his controversy with Saadia; died in 940. He was a relative of the prince of the Exile, 'Uḳba, who had been deposed from office and banished, and was his successor in the exilarchate. The office was at this time confronted by a dangerous adversary in the person of the passionate and ambitious gaon Mar Kohen-Ẓedeḳ (in office 917–936), who attempted to make the Academy of Pumbedita the only center of the Babylonian Jews, thereby threatening the existence of the sister academy at Sura. He, as well as the Academy of Pumbedita, refused to recognize David as exilarch, whereupon the latter, who was equally resolute and ambitious, deposed Kohen-Ẓedeḳ and appointed another gaon. This dispute lasted for two years, until Nissim Naharwani, highly respected for his piety, intervened and reconciled the adversaries, peace being concluded at Sarsar (half a day's journey south of Bagdad). Kohen-Ẓedeḳ and his college accompanied the exilarch as far as Bagdad (in the fall of 921); David ben Zakkai, in turn, recognizing the former as gaon of Pumbedita. But the reputation of the Academy of Sura continued to dwindle. A weaver filled the office of gaon for two years (926–928), and the ancient and famous academy was on the point of being dissolved, when Saadia, called from Egypt by the exilarch, was appointed gaon. This was against the advice of Naharwani, who favored Ẓemaḥ ibn Shahin ("Medieval Jew. Chron." ii. 80); but the wisdom of the choice was shown when Saadia made the fame of Sura surpass even that of Pumbedita.

The friendly relations between David b. Zakkai and Saadia were soon disturbed. David shrank from nothing which might strengthen his position, and misused his influence in order to extort large contributions from the community. A case of inheritance which David had decided illegally for reasons of self-interest, led to a rupture between the two. The exilarch asked the two geonim to sign the document in question. Kohen-Ẓedeḳ dared not refuse, but Saadia did. David deposed Saadia from office and banished him, appointing in his place the insignificant Joseph b. Jacob b. Satia. Saadia, however, took up the gauntlet; he, in turn, deposed David, and, together with his followers, appointed David's brother, Josiah Ḥasan, as exilarch.

The Babylonian Jews were now divided into two parties, each of which appealed to the calif Al-Muḳtadir. His successor, Al-Ḳahir, finally decided the case. The opposing exilarch was banished to Khorasan, where later on he died; and Saadia was deprived of his gaonate (beginning of 933). Saadia went to Bagdad, devoting the four years of his involuntary leisure to research. He was reinstated in consequence of a law case in which one of the parties concerned chose the exilarch as judge, while the other chose Saadia, whereupon David had the man maltreated who appealed to his adversary. This caused general excitement, and restoration of peace between the two became imperative. A reconciliation took place on Feb. 27, 937. The opposing gaon was removed from office, and Saadia forgot his injuries. After the exilarch's death Saadia even voted for his son Judah as his successor. David took part in the controversy with BEN MEÏR in regard to the fixing of the calendar; and he was one of those who excommunicated the agitator (see "Rev. Et. Juives," xl. 261, xlii. 182).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sherira's *Letter*, in *Med. Jew. Chron.* i. 33, 39; Abraham ibn David, *Sefer ha-Ḳabbalah*, in *Med. Jew. Chron.* i. 65 (compare ii. 79, 224); Mas'udi, in De Sacy's *Chrestomathie Arabe*, i. 350; Grätz, *Gesch.* v. passim; *Jew. Quart. Rev.* xiv. 39; Felix Lazarus, *Die Häupter der Vertriebenen*, in Brüll's *Jahrbücher*, x. 179; Harkavy, *Studien und Mittheilungen*, v. 209, 221, 222 *et seq.*

G. E. N.

DAVID-GORODOK: Town in the government of Minsk, Russia. In 1895 it had a population of 10,086, including 4,902 Jews. The latter are mostly engaged in business and in industrial vocations. There are 672 artisans, 564 of whom conduct their own business. Trade in bricks, timber, boats, fish, meat, fire-wood, hoops, iron brackets, etc., engages the activities of the inhabitants. The greater part to these products goes by boat to Minsk and Kiev. About 20 families are engaged in agriculture; 20 persons are occupied in gardening; 6 are teamsters; 13 are employed in shop or factory, mill or brick-yard, etc.; and 140 hire out as day-laborers. There are no charitable institutions. There is a public school enrolling 300 male pupils, of whom 11 are Jewish; and it has a girls' department containing 75 pupils, 10 of whom are Jewish. There are 23 ḥadarim, with 150 pupils, and 7 independent teachers of the Russian language, with 50 pupils.

H. R. S. J.

DAVIDOV (or **DAVYDOV**), **JULIUS:** Russian physician; born at Goldingen, Courland, 1803; died at Moscow 1870. He graduated from the University of Dorpat in 1833, and practised medicine in his native town until 1838, when he removed to Moscow. At the time of his death he held the position of chief physician of the Nicholas Orphan Asylum. Prior to his removal to Moscow he had embraced Christianity.

Two of his sons became distinguished: **August Davidov,** mathematician; author of many popular school-books on mathematics; born at Goldingen in 1823; died at Moscow in 1885. **Carl Davidov,** violoncellist; born at Goldingen in 1838; died at Moscow in 1889.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brennsohn, *Die Aerzte Kurlands*, Mitau, 1902, s.v.; Vengerov, *Biograficheski Slovar*, s.v.

H. R. M. R.

DAVIDOVICH, JUDAH LÖB: Russian Hebraist; born at Wilna 1855; died at Odessa Jan. 1, 1898. He spent several years of his youth working

and studying in Western countries. Returning to his native land, he served his term in the Russian army; later he studied surgery, but had no success as a practising "Feldscher," or assistant surgeon; and after a futile attempt to make a career as a singer, he settled in Odessa about 1885 as a private teacher, remaining there until his death.

Davidovich was a frequent contributor to Russian newspapers on topics of general interest, and in Odessa he was influenced by Asher Ginzberg to turn his attention to Hebrew literature. His most notable effort in that line is his translation into Hebrew of Herbert Spencer's essay on education, with preface and explanatory notes, published, under the name "Ha-Ḥinnuk," by the Aḥiasaf Company (Warsaw, 1894). He also wrote two valuable articles on educational subjects in "Ha-Shiloaḥ" (vols. i., ii.).

Bibliography: *Ha-Shiloaḥ*, iii. 187.

H. R. P. Wi.

DAVIDS, ARTHUR LUMLEY: English Orientalist; born in London 1811; died from a sudden attack of cholera July 19, 1832. At an early age he applied himself more particularly to the study of mechanics, music, and experimental philosophy. At the age of fifteen he began the preparation of a "Bible Encyclopedia," at the same time making himself proficient in Turkish and in other foreign languages. Wishing to follow the legal profession, he entered the office of a solicitor, but found himself prevented as a Jew from proceeding to the bar. This prompted his devotion to the cause of the civil emancipation of the Jews, which he advocated in several articles addressed to the London "Times."

Davids' reputation as a scholar rests on his "Grammar of the Turkish Language," dedicated to the Sultan of Turkey, Maḥmud II., which, being the product of so youthful a scholar, evoked high appreciation and commendation.

Bibliography: *Asiatic Journal*, Dec., 1832; *Der Jude*, Jan., 1833; *The Hebrew Review*, i.; Morais, *Eminent Israelites*, s.v.

J. G. L.

DAVIDSOHN, BOGUMIL. See Dawison, Bogumil.

DAVIDSOHN, GEORG: German journalist; born at Danzig, Prussia, Dec. 19, 1835; died in Berlin Feb. 6, 1897. He was originally destined for a merchant's career, but in 1856 went to Berlin, and acted for various newspapers as reporter of events in the economic and business world. He joined the editorial staff of the "Berliner Börsen-Zeitung" in 1860, devoting himself mainly to the commercial department; but soon found opportunity for also exercising his literary gifts as a feuilletonist in the weekly supplement to this paper, which he founded under the title "Die Börse des Lebens." He made the review of musical events and the criticism of operas his specialty. In 1868 Davidsohn established the "Berliner Börsen-Courier," which he conducted till his death, retaining the position as its chief editor even after 1884, when it became the property of a joint-stock company.

Personally intimate with Richard Wagner, Davidsohn was the first advocate of his productions in the Berlin press. He was one of the founders of the first Berlin Wagnerverein, and subsequently became an enthusiastic advocate of the Wagnerian theatrical arrangements in Bayreuth, thus championing the composer's cause at a time when it met with general animosity and opposition.

Bibliography: Anton Bettelheim, *Biographisches Jahrbuch und Deutscher Nekrolog*, pp. 36–37, Berlin, 1898; Richard Wrede and Hans von Reinfels, *Das Geistige Berlin*, pp. 64–65, Berlin, 1897; Ad. Kohut, *Berühmte Israelitische Männer und Frauen*, No. 12, p. 144, Leipsic, 1901.

S. B. B.

DAVIDSOHN, LEON: Russian publicist and translator; born at Kopil, government of Minsk, 1855. He was educated at an early age in the Talmud and the Hebrew language. His father confided him to a teacher who explained the Bible according to Mendelssohn's commentary. When Davidsohn was a boy of nine years he could write Hebrew verse. At the age of twelve he was sent to the yeshibah of Mir; two years later he went to Karelitz, where he studied the Talmud under his uncle Isaac Jehiel, rabbi of that town. At the age of fifteen, having been graduated as rabbi, he went to Minsk and began the study of Russian and of other secular subjects.

One of Davidsohn's articles about that time in the Hebrew paper "Ha-Ḳol," in which he exhorted the rich Russian Jews to found a school of Jewish science, made a great impression on the progressionists. In the same year he wrote for the same paper articles on the development of handicraft and agriculture among the Jews. From Minsk he went to Warsaw, where he graduated as doctor of medicine in 1888. He there made the acquaintance of the Polish writer Clemens Junosza, who asked him to translate into Russian Abramovich's "Die Kliatche" and "Masse'ot Binyamin ha-Shelishi." The latter work he translated also into Polish under the title of "Don Kiszot Zydowski." He practises medicine at Pruzhany, and continues to write articles for various Hebrew papers.

Bibliography: Eisenstadt, *Dor Rabbanaw we-Soferaw*, i. 15, Warsaw, 1895.

H. R. B. Ei.

DAVIDSOHN, ROBERT: German journalist; younger brother of Georg Davidsohn; born at Danzig April 26, 1853. He joined his brother on the editorial staff of the "Berliner Börsen-Courier," writing satirical critiques of actors, actresses, and singers. Worsted in an attack on Lilli Lehman, he soon after left Berlin. He then went to Italy to gather historical material, and soon made an enviable reputation in this new line of endeavor.

Davidsohn is the author of "Vom Nordkap bis Tunis," 1884; "Philipp II. August von Frankreich und Ingeborg," 1888; "Geschichte der Stadt Florenz," 1896; and an edition of the last-named work covering the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, published in 1900.

Bibliography: Kürschner, *Deutscher Literatur-Kalender*, 1901, pp. 239–240; Kohut, *Berühmte Israelitische Männer und Frauen*, xii. 144.

S. E. Ms.

DAVIDSON, ANDREW B.: Professor of Hebrew and Oriental languages in New College, Edinburgh; born at Kirkhill, in the parish of Ellon, Aberdeenshire, Scotland, in 1831; died in Edin-

burgh Jan. 26, 1902. He was educated at the University of Aberdeen, graduating in 1849. He entered New College, Edinburgh, in 1852, to study for the ministry, and was licensed in 1857.

In 1858 Davidson became Hebrew tutor in New College. Here he produced an "Elementary Hebrew Grammar" (2d ed., 1896) and his "Hebrew Syntax" (1894).

In 1862 his first book on Job (ch. 1–14) was published by Williams & Norgate. When, in the following year, the chair of Hebrew fell vacant, Davidson was appointed professor by the unanimous vote of the Free Church Assembly. In 1871 he was chosen to be one of the Old Testament revision committee. Davidson was the author of a book on Job, published in 1884 as one of the "Cambridge Bible Series." For the same series he wrote the commentaries on Ezekiel, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah. He wrote also in the series of handbooks published by T. & T. Clark a commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews (1882); and he furnished many important articles for the "Bible Dictionary" edited by Dr. Hastings, among them "Covenant," "Eschatology of the Old Testament," "God," and "Prophecy."

T. F. H. V.

DAVIDSON, BENJAMIN: English Orientalist of Jewish birth; died 1871. He was a worker for the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Among the Jews, and when that institution founded in London (1847) a college for the training of its missionaries, he was appointed principal. He is the author of an "Analytical Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon," "Syriac Reading Lessons, with Analysis," and "Chaldee Reading Lessons." He assisted in the editing of the "Englishman's Hebrew and Chaldee Concordance." His chief work, however, was posthumous—a "Concordance of the Hebrew and Chaldee Scriptures," London, 1876.

Bibliography: McClintock and Strong, *Cyc.* xii., *s.v.*

J. V. E.

DAVIDSON, ELLIS A.: English author and technologist; born at Hull 1828; died at London March 9, 1878. Going early to London, he attended the School of Design and the School of Art at South Kensington, and was one of the first art-teachers sent into the provinces by the Science and Art Department. For several years he was connected with the college at Chester. In 1866 Davidson was appointed principal art-master of the City Middle Class School, a position which he subsequently resigned in order to devote himself more completely to the production of a series of educational works especially devoted to technical training, in which he may be regarded as a pioneer. He was well known as a successful art-lecturer, having acquired great facility in speech and considerable skill with his pencil.

Davidson took an active interest in several communal movements, especially those intended to promote the intellectual development of the adult members of the Jewish industrial classes. He also delivered lectures under the auspices of the Teachers' Training Association, the Horological Society, and the Horse Guards. He produced a series of models for class-teaching of drawing, which were used in government and other schools.

Davidson was the author of a number of elementary works on drawing and popular hygiene, among which may be mentioned the following, all published in London: "Orthographics and Isometrical Projection," 1868; "Houses and What They Are Made Of," 1869; "Our Food: a Useful Book for Boys and Girls," 1870; "Drawing for Carpenters and Joiners"; "Gothic Stonework: History and Principles of Church Architecture," 1874; "The Amateur House-Carpenter."

Bibliography: *Jewish Chronicle* and *Jewish World*, London, March 15, 1878; Allibone, *Dict. of Authors*, s.v.

J. G. L.

DAVIDSON, THOMAS: Philosopher and lecturer; born of Presbyterian parents at Deer, near Aberdeen, Scotland, Oct. 25, 1840; died at Montreal, Quebec, Sept. 14, 1900. After graduating from Aberdeen University (1860) he successively held the positions of rector of the Grammar School of Old Aberdeen, teacher and professor in various places in England, Scotland, and America. He traveled extensively, and became a proficient linguist, acquiring a knowledge of French, German, Italian, Spanish, Greek, Latin, and Arabic. His ideal was to popularize knowledge among the masses, and with this end in view he founded the London Fabian Society, but lost interest in it when it drifted into socialism. His interest in St. Thomas Aquinas secured for him an invitation from the pope to proceed to Italy and assist in the preface to a new Vatican edition of the saint's works. He organized the Collegiate Institute of Canada and the Glenmore School for Culture Sciences at Keene in the Adirondack Mountains. Davidson's most successful work was in connection with the Educational Alliance in New York, where he attained wide popularity by a series of lectures on sociology. A special class was formed for Jewish young men and women, whom he introduced to the great writers on sociology and their problems. He aimed at founding among them what he called a "Breadwinners' College," but his work was cut short by his untimely death. His pupils have continued the classes, and annually honor his memory.

Among Davidson's many works are: "Fragments of Parmenides" (1869), and "The Parthenon Frieze and Other Essays" (1882). He introduced to English readers the philosophical system of Antonio Rosmini-Serbati, most of whose works he translated.

Bibliography: Appleton's *Annual Cyclopedia*, 1900, p. 57; *International Journal of Ethics*, xi. 440; *Who's Who in America*, 1900; *American Hebrew*, lxvii. 514, 585.

J. J. S.

DAVILA, DIEGO ARIAS: Minister and confidant of King Henry IV. of Castile; born of Jewish parents in Segovia; died in 1466. He, together with his family, embraced the Christian faith when Vincent Ferrer was preaching special sermons with a view to making converts. Drawn to the court of Juan II. of Castile by Alvaro de Luna, Davila, in conjunction with his former coreligionist Juan Pacheco, became both the farmer and the administrator of the royal taxes. In time he gained the confidence of the prodigal young king Henry to such a degree that the latter appointed him head of the

royal audit office or minister of finance ("contador mayor").

To win popular favor both he and his wife showed themselves very generous toward the Church; nevertheless he was always considered a Jew. The author of the "Coplas del Provincial" addressed to Davila the following malignant couplet:

"A ti Diego Arias p . . .
Que eres é fuiste Judio,
É tienes gran señorio
Contigo non me disputo."

[TRANSLATION.]

"Diego Arias, thou wretched hypocrite,
A Jew thou wert and a Jew thou art.
Great is the power that is thine;
Hence to no dealings with thee I incline."

Toward his corcligionists Davila's attitude was for a long time cold and forbidding; only later, when it became his duty to appoint supervisors of the revenues in most of the cities, did he have recourse to Maranos. Furthermore, despite repeated decrees of the Cortes to the contrary, he appointed Jews as tax-farmers. The chief administrator of the ducal tax-revenues at the time was D. Moses Ẓarfati; Rabbi Abraham and Joseph Castellano were the farmers of the revenues in the bishopric of Roa from 1460 to 1462, and D. Moses of Briviesca the farmer of the revenues of S. Salvador de Oña in 1455. While the Jewish tax-farmers were very lenient, the Marano officials appointed by Davila showed themselves merciless, which drew upon them the enmity of the people to such an extent that D. Gomez Manrique, who possessed great influence, preferred charges against the minister, and in the "Advice" which he addressed to him ("Consejos à Diego Arias") he predicted for him a fate similar to that of Alvaro de Luna. With a king so frivolous and prodigal as Henry, Davila's situation was indeed very difficult and precarious; and he often found himself on the verge of being deposed. On one occasion, when he represented to the king that the conditions urgently demanded a curtailment of expenditure, the king replied in an imperious tone: "You speak as Diego Arias; I act as king."

The castle Puñorostro, together with the villages and hamlets connected with it, which, after its acquisition by him, he turned into an entailed estate, Davila transferred to his oldest son, **Pedro Davila,** whom he married to D. Maria de Mendoza, niece of the first Duke del Infantado and a grandchild of Marquis de Santillana. Pedro filled the same position as his father had at the court of Henry IV., until he was overthrown through the intrigues of Alonso de Fonseca.

Davila's second son, **Juan Arias Davila** (not "de Avila"), was Bishop of Segovia. Full of hatred against the Jews, he caused sixteen of them who had been accused of a ritual murder to be burned at the stake.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Enriquez del Castillo, *Cronica de D. Enrique IV.* xx.; Amador de los Rios, *Hist.* iii. 128 *et seq.*, 168 *et seq.*; Grätz, *Gesch.* viii. 327.

G. M. K.

DAVIN, SOLOMON BEN DAVID, OF RODEZ: Astronomer; lived in the second half of the fourteenth century. He was a disciple of Immanuel of Tarascon (France). He translated from the Latin into Hebrew, under the title "Sefer Mishpeṭe ha-Kokabim," the astronomical and astrological work of Abu al-Ḥasan Ali ibn Abi Rijal, entitled "Al-Bari'" (The Excellent). This work was translated into Spanish, at the request of Alfonso X., by the physician Judah ben Moses Cohen in 1256, and from the Spanish back into Latin by Gilles de Thebaldis of Parma.

Davin's translation, still extant in manuscript (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. No. 1067), is accompanied by glosses, which begin with the abbreviated form of his name—אשדת המעתיק (= אמר שלמה דוין תלמיד), "And said Solomon Davin, the disciple, the translator." Davin also translated the astronomical tables of Paris, to which he added notes. This translation is still extant in manuscript (Munich MS. No. 343).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Renan-Neubauer, *Les Ecrivains Juifs Français*, pp. 417 *et seq.*; Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, pp. 389, 626; Steinschneider, *Hebr. Uebers.* pp. 578 *et seq.*

G. I. Br.

DAVIS, ALFRED: Philanthropist; born in London 1811; died Jan. 6, 1870. Starting life as a general dealer, he soon commenced business on his own account; and his firm subsequently became one of the largest concerns in England as importers of foreign goods in the Birmingham and Sheffield trade.

Davis was an ardent worker in the cause of the advancement of the community, and was early associated with the Jews' Free School, of which he was treasurer for twenty-five years, and to which he contributed some munificent donations. He undertook the expense of the educational equipment of the teaching staff, and at his death bequeathed the sum of £30,000 ($150,000) to the institution. He was also a liberal supporter of Jews' College.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Jewish Chronicle* and *Jewish Record*, London, Jan. 14, 1870.

J. G. L.

DAVIS, FREDERICK: Archeologist; born at Cheltenham 1843; died in London July 14, 1900. He was the eldest son of John Davis of Derby, and was educated at the Derby and Belper schools. Entering the engineering profession, he for some years was a partner in the Phœnix Foundry and Engineering Works at Derby. He devoted himself to archeological pursuits, and was elected a member of the council of the Society of Antiquaries and of the Silchester Excavation Committee. Davis wrote a history of the discoveries of the "Roman British City of Silchester," and also a work entitled "The Etymology of Some Derbyshire Race Names," and at the time of his death was preparing a work on "Misnomers."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Jewish Chronicle*, London, July 20, 1900.

J. G. L.

DAVIS, JAMES (OWEN HALL): English playwright and journalist; born about 1848. He was educated at University College, London, and took the degree of bachelor of laws in 1869. After devoting some years to the practise of law as a solicitor (1874–86), he abandoned it in favor of journalism. He was editor and proprietor of a society paper, "The Bat" (1885–87), and assistant editor of Galignani's "Messenger" in Paris (1888–90). For a

time Davis interested himself in politics, contesting Dundalk in the Conservative interest at the election of 1890. He is the author of several comic operas which have had an enormous success, among them being "A Gaiety Girl," "An Artist's Model," "The Geisha," "A Greek Slave," and "Florodora." Since 1899 he has edited a weekly paper, "The Phœnix."

J. V. E.

DAVIS, MAURICE: English physician and philanthropist; born Oct. 8, 1821; died in London Sept. 29, 1898. Davis was one of the earliest English Jews trained for the medical profession. He was educated at King's College, London, where he had a distinguished medical career, gaining the first prize in medicine and clinical surgery, and filling several residential positions in the King's College Hospital. In 1887 he was placed on the commission of the peace for the county of Middlesex, and became justice of the peace for the new county of London. Davis served on the committee of the metropolitan branch of the British Medical Association and on the board of directors of the Society for the Relief of Widows and Orphans of Medical Men; he was a member of the Jewish Board of Guardians of the council of the Anglo-Jewish Association, and was an honorary medical officer of the Jewish Convalescent Home.

He produced some literary work, contributed to various specialist periodicals, and wrote some extravaganzas for the benefit of different charities.

Bibliography: *Jewish Chronicle*, Sept. 30, 1898.

J. G. L.

DAVIS, MIRIAM ISABEL: English painter; born in London, where, after making a tour of the galleries of Venice, Florence, and Rome, she began a systematic course of artistic study at the Bloomsbury School of Art. Her artistic career commenced in 1882, in which year she exhibited at the Society of Lady Artists. In 1887 a picture by her entitled "New Music" was hung at the Royal Academy; in 1889 she contributed to the Paris Salon; and since then has exhibited in every gallery of importance. Among her works are: "Winter Harmonies," 1887; "A Shady Seat," 1888; "The Last of the Season," 1889; "White and Gold," 1890 (exhibited at the New Gallery); "Pure Emblems of Pleasure," 1891 (Royal Academy); "Simplicité," 1892 (Paris Salon). From 1895 Miss Davis has been engaged in portrait painting, exhibiting often at the Society of Women Painters, of which she was one of the founders.

Bibliography: *Jewish World*, Nov. 24, 1899; *Jewish Year Book*, 5661.

J. G. L.

DAVIS, MYER DAVID: English educationist and writer; born in London 1830. He was educated at Jews' Free School, in which he ultimately became Talmud Torah master. Subsequently he was headmaster of the Gates of Hope School of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews. For two years (1873–1875) he was editor of the "Jewish World." After this, earning his living by private tuition, he devoted his leisure to research among the unpublished records of the preexpulsion history of the Jews of England. He has made an unrivaled collection of excerpts from the Latin and Hebrew records prior to 1290, which was published by the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition of 1887 under the title "Shetaroth: Hebrew Deeds of English Jews" (London, 1888).

Bibliography: *Jewish Year Book*, 1902.

J.

DAVIS, NATHAN: Traveler and archeologist; born 1812; died at Florence Jan. 6, 1882. He spent many years of his life in northern Africa, and for some years lived in an old Moorish palace about ten miles from Tunis. Early in life he became converted to Christianity, and in 1852 he edited the "Hebrew Christian Magazine," becoming afterward a non-conformist minister. From 1856 to 1858 he was engaged on behalf of the British Museum in excavations at Carthage and Utica. He discovered numerous antiquities, including Roman mosaic pavements and Phenician inscriptions.

His publications are: "Tunis, or Selections from a Journal During a Residence in That Regency," Malta, 1841; "A Voice from North Africa," 1844; "Evenings in My Tent," 1854; "Ruined Cities Within Numidian and Carthaginian Territories"; "Carthage and Her Remains," 1861. He also published "Israel's True Emancipator," 1852, and "Arabic Reading Lessons," 1854.

Bibliography: *The Times*, London, Jan. 14, 1882; *Athenæum*, London, Jan., 1882; Martin, *Handbook of Contemporary Biography*.

J. G. L.

DAWISON (DAVIDSOHN), BOGUMIL: Actor; born at Warsaw May 15, 1818; died at Dresden Feb. 1, 1872. In his boyhood he earned a precarious living as itinerant correspondent for various firms, alternating this occupation with that of sign-writer; and then he obtained employment in the editorial office of the "Gazeta Warszawska," where his intelligence attracted the attention of the editor, Dr. Krugski, and where he rose to be dramatic critic. But the stage itself had such attractions for the youth that he began studying at the Warsaw Theatrical School (1835). On Nov. 30, 1837, Dawison appeared at the Polish Theater as *Gustav* in "Zwei Galeerensträflinge," and he obtained engagements in 1839 at Warsaw and Wilna. On Aug. 9, 1841, he made his German début as *Baron Sternhelm* in "Das Letzte Abenteuer," following with *Ferdinand* in Schiller's "Kabale und Liebe" and *Masham* in "Un Verre d'Eau." Dawison remained in Lemberg for five years, going thence in 1846 to Breslau, Brieg, and Stettin.

Bogumil Dawison.

His next appearance was on Feb. 13, 1847, at Hamburg, where a year later he married Wanda von Ostaja-Starzewska. In 1849 he starred in Vienna,

and on Nov. 6 signed a six-year contract with Heinrich Laube. The latter developed Dawison's latent powers and made him the greatest character-actor on the German stage.

Two years before his contract with Laube had expired, Dawison went to the Hof-Theater in Dresden, where he became the rival of the local favorite, Emil Devrient. Numerous bickerings ensued, and Dawison departed for Munich, whence he went to Berlin (1855–56). He appeared in Paris at the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of Schiller's birth (1859), and on reciting the entire third act of "Don Carlos" was acclaimed by the French as the greatest exponent of classic declamation.

In 1864 Dawison starred Germany, and in 1866 he went to the United States. He played seventy-six times while there, earning for himself $50,000. On his return his memory gave way, and a few months later he became a raving maniac. He died while in a paroxysm.

His best rôles were *Mephisto*, *Franz Moor*, *Marc Antony*, *Hamlet*, *Alba*, *Don Carlos*, *Charles V.*, *Riccaut de la Marlinière*, *Hurleigh*, *Stephan*, *Foster*, *Molière*, *Morinelli*, *Richard III.*, *Lear*, and *Othello*. For the Polish stage Dawison wrote some dramas and comedies, among them "Nasz Antos," Warsaw, 1835, and "Noc i Poranek" (after Bulwer's novel "Night"), Warsaw, 1844.

Bibliography: A. von Wurzbach, *Lexikon*, xi., Vienna, 1871; Ludwig Hartmann, in the *Deutscher Bühnen-Almanach*, pp. 128–139, Berlin, 1873; *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, iv. 787–789; *Encyklopedja Powszechna*, iv., *s.v.*, Warsaw, 1899.

H. R. E. Ms.

DAX: Town in the department of Landes, France, with a population of 11,000. The number of Jews residing there is not sufficient to form a congregation. The Conseil d'Etat, Nov. 20, 1684, decreed the expulsion of the Jews from Dax, the list accompanying the decree mentioning three Portuguese families: Fernandes, Flores, and Léon.

Bibliography: Cardozo de Bethencourt, *Trésor des Sephardim*, in *Rev. Et. Juives*, xxv. 241; H. Léon, *Histoire des Juifs de Bayonne*, p. 206, *passim*.

G. C. de B.

DAY (Hebrew, "yom"): In the Bible, the season of light (Gen. i. 5), lasting "from dawn [lit. "the rising of the morning"] to the coming forth of the stars" (Neh. iv. 15, 17). The term "day" is used also to denote a period of twenty-four hours (Ex. xxi. 21). In Jewish communal life part of a day is at times reckoned as one day; *e.g.*, the day of the funeral, even when the latter takes place late in the afternoon, is counted as the first of the seven days of mourning; a short time in the morning of the seventh day is counted as the seventh day; circumcision takes place on the eighth day, even though of the first day only a few minutes remained after the birth of the child, these being counted as one day. Again, a man who hears of a vow made by his wife or his daughter, and desires to cancel the vow, must do so on the same day on which he hears of it, as otherwise the protest has no effect; even if the hearing takes place a little time before night, the annulment must be done within that little time. The day is reckoned from evening to evening—*i.e.*, night and day—except in reference to sacrifices, where daytime and the night following constitute one day (Lev. vii. 15; see Calendar). "The day" denotes: (*a*) Day of the Lord; (*b*) the Day of Atonement; (*c*) the treatise of the Mishnah that contains the laws concerning the Day of Atonement (see Yoma and Sabbath).

E. G. H. M. F.

DAY OF JUDGMENT (יום הדין): Name given to the first of Tishri, as being the New-Year's Day. In the Bible the Day of the Blowing of the Trumpet is the first day of the seventh—Sabbatical—month (Lev. xxiii. 24), and no mention is made of the Day of Judgment. The "day of God," in the sense of a time of divine judgment of the wicked, is the one that will appear at the end of days (see Day of the Lord; Eschatology); and a description of the divine judgment in heaven is found in Dan. vii. 9, 10, 22, where the "Ancient of days" is depicted as sitting upon the throne while the books are opened before Him. This description is also found in the apocryphal books. Of a specific day in the year on which God holds judgment over the world, no trace is found in pre-Talmudic literature. Philo, in his treatise on the festivals, calls New-Year's Day the festival of the sacred moon and feast of the trumpets, and explains the blowing of the trumpets as being a memorial of the giving of the Law and a reminder of God's benefits to mankind in general ("De Septennario," § 22). The Mishnah R. H. i. 2 contains the first known reference to the Day of Judgment. It says: "Four times in the year the world is judged: On Passover a decree is passed on the produce of the soil; on the Pentecost, on the fruits of the trees; on New-Year's Day all men pass before Him [the Lord] כבני מרון [an expression rendered by the Amoraim "like young lambs" (see "'Aruk," *s.v.* בני מרון and אמר)]; and on the Feast of Tabernacles a decree is passed on the rain of the year."

This Mishnaic dictum is amplified in the Tosef. R. H. i. 11–13. Besides the Psalm (xxxiii. 15) quoted in regard to New-Year's Day, Ps. lxxxi. 4–5 is quoted, and then follows R. Akiba's dictum:

> "On the [second] Passover day the barley-offering is an invocation to God for the blessing of the soil's produce; the firstlings brought on Pentecost are an invocation for the blessing of the fruits of the trees; and the libation of water on the Feast of Tabernacles is an invocation for blessing through rain. On New-Year's Day the threefold prayer should be recited, the first extolling God as King, 'Malkiot'; the second imploring God's remembrance for the good of man, 'Zikronot'; and the third referring to the trumpet's blasts, 'Shofarot.' For on New-Year's Day all men are judged; and the decree is sealed on the Day of Atonement."

R. Jose says, with reference to Job vii. 18, "Man is judged every day"; while R. Nathan explains it as "God judges man every moment" (R. H. 16a; Yer. R. H. i. 57a).

While the views of both R. Jose and R. Nathan seem to contradict that held by their master Akiba, the latter's has been universally received, and has found expression in the New-Year's liturgy which, while called "Teḳi'ata de-Rab" (Yer. R. H. i. 57a; Pes. xxiii. 150a) is by no means a composition of Rab's, but is "the Teḳi'ah liturgy fixed in Rab's school-house," and is of Essene origin (R. H. 32b, ותיקים; see Joel, "Notizen," p. 30, Breslau, 1873;

Liturgy; Essenes). As is shown from the Mishnah quoted, the first of Tishri was known only by the name of "New-Year" (see also Atonement, Day of; New-Year).

K. F. R.—K.

DAY OF THE LORD (יום ה'): An essential factor in the prophetic doctrine of divine judgment at the end of time (see Eschatology), generally, though not always, involving both punishment and blessing. It is identical with "that day" (היום ההוא: Isa. xvii. 7, xxx. 23, xxxviii. 5; Hos. ii. 18; Micah ii. 4, v. 10; Zech. ix. 16; xiv. 4, 6, 9), "those days" (Joel iii.1), "that time" (העת ההיא: Jer. xxxi. 1, R. V.; xxx. 25, Hebr.; Zeph. iii. 19, 20), or simply "the day" (Ezek. vii. 10), or "the time." On the supposition that Genesis reflects the nation's earliest hopes—denied by the critical schools—the promises given to the Patriarchs of ultimate blessings upon Israel and, through Israel, upon mankind (Gen. xii. 2, 3; xvii. 2, 4, 5, 6; xxvi. 3, 4; xxvii. 29; xxxii. 12), may be taken for the primitive germ of the idea. The original conception was probably that of the day on which Yhwh manifests Himself as the wielder of thunder and lightning, as the devastator who shatters the powers opposing Him; and this was in historical times transformed into the day when He would smite Israel's foes (compare Isa. xiii. 6; Ezek. xxx. 3). But in the eighth century B.C. Amos is found sounding a decided warning against his people's expectation that simply because they are Yhwh's people the "day of Yhwh" will bring requitement on Israel's enemies alone. It will be an occasion of visiting wrong-doing both within and without Israel. "I will cause the sun to go down at noon, and I will darken the earth in the clear day" (Amos v. 18; viii. 9).

In Amos the punitive aspect of "the day" is dominant; ix. 8–15 is held to be exilic by most modern commentators; but see Driver, "Joel and Amos," pp. 119–123 (Amos iii. 2, v. 18, viii. 9). The day is "darkness and not light" (v. 18). Amos' contemporary Hosea does not use the phrase, but he expresses the idea of a judgment to come along lines identical with those found in Amos (Hosea x. 8, xiii. 16). Isaiah, too, strikes in the main the note of gloom. Israel and Judah both feel the weight of divine wrath provoked by their unrighteousness (Isa. i. 10–17, 21–26; ii. 19–21; iii. 1–15; v. 8–24). But this will show Yhwh's power. He will be exalted (ii. 11–17). The judgment cometh suddenly with earthquakes and thunder and tempest and whirlwind and the flame of a devouring fire (xxix. 6). Still through this terrible process, like the purifying of silver, the nation will be restored on a basis of righteousness (i. 24–26). Isaiah's horizon is national. The foreign nations, too, will be judged, but only in relation to Israel. The kingdom is Israel's alone (this is on the theory that the Messianic passages, except Isa. i. 24–26, are of a later age; see Cheyne, Duhm, Hackmann, G. A. Smith, and others; Hastings, "Dict. Bible," ii. 488). Micah, too, emphasizes the doom of Jerusalem as *the* feature of the end-time (iii. 12).

In the latter half of the seventh century B.C. (Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah) the idea that "that day" will see the punishment of wicked Assyria in behalf of righteous Israel finds expression. This view thus contains a new ethical element; it is not, as formerly in the popular conception (see above), the *natural* relation of Israel and Yhwh that brings wrath upon Israel's enemies, but it is because Israel is righteous (צדיק), and Assyria, or non-Israel, is wicked (רשע; Hab. i. 4, 13). Judgment and consequent destruction fall on the "Gentiles," not on Israel. There is here the first intimation of a world-judgment in connection with "the day," an aspect that becomes thenceforth more and more prominently emphasized. Zephaniah, indeed, puts it strongly, but with the significant addition that a righteous remnant of Israel will survive the day ("judgment" on Jerusalem—i. 8–13; on Philistia, Ethiopia, Assyria—ii. 1–6; "on the nations"—iii. 8; on the earth's inhabitants—i. 2, 3). The day of Yhwh is a day of trouble, distress, and desolation; of supernatural terrors and of darkness and thick darkness (i. 14–18). The assembled nations are destroyed by Yhwh's anger (iii. 8). The enemies of Israel who are to be punished are, in Zephaniah's conception, no longer definite peoples, as they were for Isaiah (see above); they are the גויים generally, and the instruments of God's punitive power are a mysterious if not mythical people—the "invited guests" of Yhwh (קראיו, i. 7).

During the Exile.

In the Exile the conception underwent further amplifications. Judgment is held to deal with individuals. As a result a righteous congregation (not nation) was to emerge to form the nucleus of the Messianic kingdom. This kingdom was to have its prelude in the day of Yhwh, meting out individual retribution (Jer. i. 11–16; xxiii. 7, 8; xxiv. 5, 6; xxv. 15–24, 27–33; xxxvi. 6–10), which will lead to change of heart (xxiv. 7; compare xxxii. 39); a new heart and a new covenant (xxxi. 33, 34). The blessings of the new conditions will be participated in by the nations (iii. 17; xii. 14, 15; xvi. 19). Only the impenitent will be destroyed (xii. 16, 17).

Ezekiel's vision enlarges on details. A universal uprising of the nations under Gog is one of the incidents (compare Ezek. xxxviii., xxxix.; Zeph. i. 7). With this the climax in the development of the idea of the day of Yhwh seems to have been reached. Henceforth the thought of judgment (= day of Yhwh) disappears almost entirely, and is succeeded by a universal Messianic kingdom, preceded not by a day of wrath, but by the missionary zeal of righteous Israel and the spontaneous conversion of the nations (see Messiah).

After the Exile.

Of the post-exilic prophets only Malachi lays great stress on the element of judgment. The Temple is central to his religious construction. To it Yhwh will come suddenly, but a messenger will prepare for His coming for judgment. Before that "great and dreadful day" Elijah will "turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers" (Mal. iv. 23, 24 [A. V. 5, 6]). This judgment (in Hag. ii. 21–23, it is destructive for the nations) is only on Israel (*ib.* ii. 17; Mal. iii. 3, 5, 13 *et seq.*). The day "burns as a furnace"; it destroys "all the proud and the workers of iniquity."

In apocalyptic writings, however, the day of

YHWH reappears. Joel (400 B.C.) reverts to it. The valley of Jehoshaphat is the place of judgment. The nations are gathered, judged, and annihilated (Joel iii. 1, 2, 12). YHWH is Israel's defender (iii. 2). Israel is justified, but it is Israel purified (ii. 25–27, 28, 29; iii. 16, 17). Before "the day" all Israel is filled with the spirit of God (ii. 28, 29). Nature announces its approach (ii. 30, 31). As in Joel, so in all apocalyptic visions the idea is prominent that the day of YHWH (= of judgment) marks evil's culmination, but that Israel and the righteous will be supernaturally helped in their greatest need. Faintly foreshadowed in Ezekiel, this thought is reproduced in various ways, until in Daniel (vii. 9, 11, 12, 21, 22; xii. 1) it finds typical expression, and is a dominant factor in Jewish apocalyptic writings and Talmudic eschatology (see APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, *s.v.* BOOK OF ENOCH; DANIEL; DAY OF JUDGMENT; ESCHATOLOGY).

Regarding the name "Day of the Lord" given by Christianity to Sunday, see DIDASCALIA; RESURRECTION FROM THE DEAD; SUNDAY. Regarding the Talmudic day of God in the sense of "millennium," see MILLENNIUM.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The commentaries to the prophetical passages quoted; R. H. Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, London, 1899; Smith, *The Day of the Lord*, in *American Journal of Theology*, 1900.

E. G. H.

DAYS, LUCKY AND UNLUCKY. See SUPERSTITION.

DAYYAN, ABRAHAM BEN ISAIAH: Turkish rabbi; lived at Aleppo, Asiatic Turkey, in the first half of the nineteenth century. He wrote "Shir Ḥadash" (A New Song), an Arabic glossary on the Psalms (Leghorn, 1841); "Zikron ha-Nefesh" (Remembrance for the Soul), ethical discourses arranged in alphabetical order (*ib.* 1842); and a work in two parts: the first, "Holek Tamim" (He Who Walks in Uprightness), similar in character and arrangement to the preceding; the second, "Po'el Ẓedeḳ" (He Who Acts Justly), responsa (*ib.* 1850). At the end of the last-named work the author gives a history of Aleppo, or, as he calls it, Aram Ẓobah, from its conquest by David to the present time.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zedner, *Cat. Hebr. Books Brit. Mus.* pp. 132, 206.

L. G. M. SEL.

DAYYENA. See DIENA.

DEAD BODY. See CARCASS.

DEAD, DUTY TO THE: The dead, free from all obligation (Shab. 30a), have many claims upon the living. "Their wish must be respected and fulfilled" (Giṭ. 14b; Maimonides, "Yad," Zekiyah, viii. 2, xiii. 1; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 125, 8). "It is unlawful to speak evil of the dead" (Ber. 19a; Mordecai Yoma, ii. 1196; Hagahot Asheri Ta'anit, iii. 64; compare Diogenes Laertius, "Chilon," i. 3, 70, whence the Latin proverb "De mortuis nil nisi bonum"). It is a transgression of the Law (Deut. xxi. 23) not only to leave the dead unburied (see BURIAL), but also to do anything which may disfigure or desecrate the dead (נוול המת) (Yer. Sanh. vii. 3; Yer. Soṭah iii. 19b; see CRUELTY). For this reason a post-mortem examination was forbidden by R. Akiba (B. B. 154a, b; compare Ḥul. 11b), although anatomical knowledge was obtained by occasional post-mortem examinations such as are mentioned in Ber. 45a (compare Nid. 30b). In fact disrespectful treatment of a dead human body, as, for instance, placing the bones in a sack and loading them upon a beast, instead of carrying them reverently to their last resting-place, is regarded as inhuman (Ber. 18a). See also BURIAL SOCIETIES; CEMETERY; FUNERAL RITES.

"Every act of kindness done to the dead is called 'ḥesed shel emet' [= "true unselfish love"] because the hope of compensation is excluded" (Gen. R. xcvi.).

In case the dead was offended in his lifetime, his pardon is to be solicited at the grave by the offender in the presence of ten persons (Yoma 87a; Yer. Yoma viii. 45c); this is called asking "meḥilah." Particularly should the memory of the righteous be held in honor, and his name when mentioned be blessed (Ps. cxii. 6; Prov. x. 7; Yoma iii. 11; Pesik. R. 12; Midr. Teh. to Ps. cxviii. 1; Gen. R. xlix.; Midr. Shemuel i.). For this reason the names of good men, and especially of parents, were preserved by being given to children (Haggadah Shab. i. 17; see Zunz, "Z. G." p. 318). When mentioned, the name of the dead, especially of parent or teacher, is to be accompanied by some formula of blessing upon his memory (Ḳid. 31b; see INVOCATION; Zunz, *l.c.* pp 320–348). See also JAHRZEIT; ḲADDISH; LEVIRATE.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Zunz, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, 1845, pp. 317–458; Landshuth, *Seder Bikḳur Ḥolim, Ma'abar Yabboḳ*, Introduction, Berlin, 1857.

K.

DEAD SEA: Lake in southeast Palestine, and one of the curious natural phenomena of the earth. It occupies the lowest part of the great depression which extends from northern Palestine to the Gulf of Akabah. At its most northerly point 150 meters above the level of the Mediterranean, the depression south of the Dead Sea rises to a height of 240 meters. The surface of the Dead Sea is 394 meters, and its greatest depth not less than 793 meters, below the level of the Mediterranean. Therefore the present formation of the basin prohibits any outflow, and geological investigations have shown that there never was one. The Jordan pours daily 6,000,000 tons of water into the Dead Sea; but since about an equal amount is daily evaporated, the level remains nearly the same, varying only from 4 to 6 meters with the change of seasons. Owing to this evaporation, to the mineral character of its own basin, and to the constant addition of saline elements from the Jordan, the water of the Dead Sea contains a large proportion of mineral matter, chiefly salt, chlorids of magnesium and calcium. It is consequently bitter to the taste and has an oily consistency. It is likewise extremely buoyant. The human body floats well out of the water, and diving is almost impossible. With the exception of some microscopic protophytes—namely, fresh-water diatoms and pathogenic microbes—nothing can live in the waters of the Dead Sea. Even salt-water fish die in it, and the bodies of fresh-water fish carried down by the Jordan float on the surface in great numbers. It is not true, however, that birds

Composition of the Water.

flying over the sea die. Another peculiarity is the amount of asphalt that floats in large quantities on the surface. This is probably due to the great prevalence of sulfur on the shores.

The Dead Sea is enclosed east and west by mountain ridges, which, forming to the northwest the headland Ras Feshkhah, descend abruptly into the water. Elsewhere on the west the ridges are separated from the sea by a barren strip of land, of which the only cultivable part lies below the spring Engedi. On the east the mountains descend precipitously to the water's edge, except where a fertile little plain marks the mouths of a wadi. In the southern part, at the mouth of the Wadi beni Hammad, there is an extensive level stretch, forming the large peninsula Al-Lisan. This peninsula—which in its southern extremity is rich in salt—divides the sea into two unequal parts; the smaller and shallower in the south, and the larger in the north, where the sea is deeper. On the southern shore of the sea is an open barren plain, Al-Sabkhah, the brown soil of which is flecked with salt. Toward the west rises a high ridge, Jabal Usdum, which is composed almost entirely of salt.

Description of Vicinity.

The Dead Sea, known at present as "Baḥr Luṭ" (Lot's Sea), is called in the Old Testament "Sea of Arabah" (R. V. Deut. iii. 17; Josh. xii. 8), "East" or "Eastern Sea" (Ezek. xlvii. 18; Joel ii. 20; Zech. xiv. 8) and "Salt Sea" (Gen. xiv. 3). The Talmud refers to it as "Salt Sea," or the "Sea of Sodom"; and Josephus and Pliny call it "Lake Asphaltites." The name "Dead Sea" is used by Pausanias, Justin, and the Church Fathers. Josephus ("B. J." iv. 8, § 4) mentions the salty taste of its water, the impossibility of diving in it, its change of color, and the great floating blocks of asphalt, which were used for calking ships and for medicinal purposes. Similar descriptions are given by Tacitus ("Hist." v. 6) and Pliny ("Hist. Naturalis," v. 15). The Talmud (Shab. 108b) mentions the density of the water, and says that a bath in the Dead Sea is considered good for certain ills, especially diseases of the eye, although the salt extracted from the sea was considered noxious to the eyes (Ḥul. 105b). Because of the poisonous air about the sea no ship sailed on it (Hirschensohn, "Sefer Sheba' Ḥokmot," 1888, p. 173).

Names Given to It.

View of the Dead Sea.
(From a photograph by Bonfils.)

The destruction of the five cities of Sodom, which, according to the Old Testament, were near the Dead Sea (Gen. xiv. 3), is intimately connected with the geological history of the region. After the great depression of the Jordan valley, with its southern continuation, had been formed, it became the basin of a mighty sea during the heavy rains of the diluvian epoch. The surface of this sea—which stretched from the watershed of the Araba valley, south of the Dead Sea, to the Sea of Galilee—was 426 meters above the present level of the Dead Sea, and about 30 meters above that of the

References to It in Old Testament.

Mediterranean. Traces of fresh-water vegetation show that the water did not then contain nearly so much salt as at present. It became salty as it sank, leaving that great deposit of salt to the south, of which the Jabal Usdum is a remnant. A second rising of the water produced the high terraces lying south of the sea and extending along both sides of the Jordan; and a third gave rise to the lower terraces lying in front of the others. Blanckenhorn conjectured that an earthquake depressed the bottom of the valley south of the sea, where the five cities were situated, causing the salt sea to flood it. He sees a connection between the asphalt pits of the valley of Siddim and the large amount of asphalt in the southern part of the sea, and thinks that an earthquake might have freed the gases of petroleum and asphalt confined in the earth. These could easily have become ignited, thus causing the catastrophe. The event would naturally have been preserved by tradition; and it does actually figure in extra-Biblical accounts. Justin attributes to it the separation and emigration of the Canaanitish tribes.

History of Its Formation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Reland, *Palästina*, pp. 238 *et seq.*; Robinson, *Palestine*, ii. 448 *et seq.*; idem, *Physical Geography of the Holy Land*, pp. 204 *et seq.*; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ii. 1, 553 *et seq.*; De Saulcy, *Voyage Autour de la Mer Morte*, 1853; Fraas, *Das Todte Meer*, 1867; Tuch, *Ueber den Ursprung des Todten Meeres*, 1863; Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'Exploration à la Mer Morte*, in Lartet's *Geologie*, iii.; Blanckenhorn, *Entstehung und Gesch. des Todten Meeres*, in *Zeit. Deutsch. Palästi. Ver.* xix. 1 *et seq.*; idem, *Noch Einmal Sodom und Gomorra*, xxi. 65 *et seq.* (against the view here expressed see *Die Katastrophe in Sodom und Gomorra*, in *Mittheilungen der K. K. Geographischen Gesellschaft*, i., ii., Vienna, 1897); Krätzschmar, *Der Mythus von Sodoms Ende*, in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästi. Vereins*, xvii. 81 *et seq.*

E. G. H. F. Bu.

DEAF AND DUMB IN JEWISH LAW: In Jewish legislation deaf and dumb persons are frequently classed with minors and idiots, and are considered unable to enter into transactions requiring responsibility and independence of will. They are regarded as irresponsible persons in the eye of the law, and in many cases their claims upon others, or the claims of others upon them, have no validity. Still, to preserve peace and order, the Rabbis made special provisions for this class in civil, criminal, and ritual cases.

The deaf-mute, as well as the deaf or the mute, was not competent to be a witness to any transaction; for all testimony was given by word of mouth, and the witnesses had to be able to hear the exhortation of the court. There was only one exception to this rule, and that was in the case of an 'AGUNAH, where the testimony of deaf-mutes was sufficient to warrant her remarriage. No oath could be administered to deaf-mutes, nor could an oath be administered through charges brought by them (Maimonides, "Yad," To'en, v. 12; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 96, 5). To a dumb person, however, an oath could be administered, either by his writing out the formula of the oath above his signature, or by his assenting to the oath read before him by nodding his head in approval (Eisenstadt, "Pithe Teshubah," Shulḥan 'Aruk, *ad loc.*).

As Witnesses.

A deaf-mute who caused bodily injury to another person, or whose ox gored a man, could not be punished by the court, although an injury to him or to his possessions was punishable. The court, however, had to appoint a trustee for the ox that proved itself to be mischievous; and this trustee was then held responsible (B. Ḳ. 39a, 87a; "Yad," Nizḳe Mamon, vi. 3; *ib.* Ḥobel, iv. 20; Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 406, 5, and 424, 8).

The uninterrupted possession of real estate for three years, which, according to Jewish law, established one's claim to the land, was of no avail when the property belonged to a deaf-mute, or when the deaf-mute was the holder (To'en, xiii. 2; Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 149, 18).

The deaf-mute or the deaf, after he had satisfied the court as to his full understanding of the transaction under consideration, could buy and sell movable goods, but not real estate. The dumb, however, who was not deaf, might transact business and make gifts, even in real estate (Giṭ. 59a, 71a; "Yad," Mekirah, xxix. 2; Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 235, 17–19).

Since the deaf-mute had no legal power of acquiring property, if he found anything he was not entitled to the possession of it, and any one might take it away from him. The Rabbis, however, considered this an act of robbery; and in order to preserve the peace of the community, they decided that such property must be returned to him (Giṭ. 59b; "Yad," Gezelah, xvii. 12; Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 270, 1)

According to Biblical law as interpreted by the Rabbis, the marriage of a deaf-mute was not valid; yet the Rabbis sanctioned such a marriage when contracted by signs. Since this was merely a rabbinical provision, it had not the same validity as a perfect marriage; and many complications often arose therefrom (Yeb. 112b; "Yad," Ishut, iv. 9; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Eben ha-'Ezer, 44, 1). A male deaf-mute was not permitted to perform the levirate ceremony ("ḥalizah"); nor could this ceremony be performed in the case of a deaf-mute woman (Eben ha-'Ezer, 172, 11).

Marriage.

Just as the male deaf-mute could marry by signs, so also could he divorce his wife by signs. The questions put to him in order to determine his full knowledge of the transaction, were at least three in number, two of which required a negative and one a positive answer, or vice versa. The deaf-mute and the mute were examined in the same manner, and a divorce was then granted by the court. But if at the time of marriage the husband had been perfectly sound, and he had become deaf and dumb after his marriage to the woman, the law did not permit him to divorce his wife (Yeb. 112b; "Yad," Gerushin, ii. 16, 17; Eben ha-'Ezer, 121, 5, 6).

In the case of a deaf-mute who was permitted to divorce his wife by signs, the court gave to the divorced woman, in addition to the regular bill of divorce ("geṭ"), a note which read as follows:

"On the day . . .—we, the undersigned, members of the court, sitting in a court of three, being of one mind—there came before us . . ., who made us understand by signs that he wished to divorce . . ., who was married to him by signs; and when he thus explained to us his intention by signs, we wrote this bill of divorce by which she becomes entirely divorced and free to be married to any man that she may desire, and none shall hinder her from that day forever. And this shall be unto her a

bill of dismissal, a document of release, and a letter of freedom according to the institutions of the Rabbis, and she shall be permitted to marry any man" (Eisenstadt, "Pithe Teshubah," *ad loc.* quoted from the code of R. Terveham).

In ritual matters, similar restrictions were placed upon deaf-mutes. The deaf-mute and the deaf could not discharge the religious obligation of an Israelite to hear the blowing of the shofar on New-Year's Day, by blowing it before him, while the mute might do so (R. H. 29a; "Yad," Shofar, ii. 2; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Oraḥ Ḥayyim, 589, 2). The same law prevailed in reference to the reading of the Book of Esther ("Megillah") on Purim (Meg. 19b; "Yad," Megillah, i. 2; Oraḥ Ḥayyim, 689, 2).

The deaf-mute was not permitted to slaughter an animal; but if he did slaughter one, and others saw that it was done in accordance with the prescribed rules, its flesh could be eaten. Neither was the deaf allowed to slaughter; but if he did slaughter an animal, although no one saw him do it, its flesh could also be eaten. The mute might slaughter, if some one pronounced the blessing for him (Ḥul. 2a; "Yad," Sheḥiṭah, iv. 5, 9; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Yoreh De'ah, i. 5 and 7).

Bibliography: Bloch, *Der Vertrag*, ch. ii., Budapest, 1893; Mielziner, *Jewish Law of Marriage and Divorce*, p. 70, Cincinnati, 1884.

L. G. J. H. G.

DEAF-MUTISM: Disease of the ear, generally beginning in infancy, causing deafness and consequent dumbness. As with blindness, Jews, at any rate in modern times, have shown a marked tendency toward deaf-mutism—in the general proportion, as compared with non-Jews, of two to one. The following table indicates this:

Place.	Time.	Christians per 10,000.	Jews per 10,000.	Authority.
Prussia...	1881	8.85	14.38	"Zeit. Stat. Bureaus für Preussen," 1882, p. 190.
Berlin....	1880	4.52	6.66	Leibrecht, quoted by Hartmann, "Taubstummheit und Taubstummbildung," 1880, p. 48.
Bavaria..	1879	9.0	18.16	Hartmann, *l.c.*
Holland..	1870	3.36	7.67	Eulenberg, "Realencyc." *s.v.* "Blutverwandschaft."
Baden....	1870	...	12.12	*Ibid.*

There appears to be no distinction between the liability of Jews and of Jewesses in this regard, though the proportion of females so afflicted is slightly less among both Jews and non-Jews. There is some evidence to show that the liability is racial, or at any rate congenital. A. Guttstadt ("Verbreitung der Blinden und Taubstummen im Preussischen Staate," p. 139) points out that the proportion of those who became deaf and dumb after birth is practically the same among Jews and Christians—3.2 as against 2.7; whereas there were 6.5 per 10,000 congenitally deaf among Jews as against only 3.4 among Christians.

The reasons for this inferiority among Jews are probably their continued residence in towns and cities, their general tendency to nervous diseases, possibly the result of continued persecution, and their tendency to consanguineous marriages. Thus, in 1882, of the twenty-eight families represented among the inmates of the Jews' Deaf and Dumb Home, London, the three families resulting from first-cousin marriages had an average of three deaf-mutes among them, whereas among the rest only an average of 1.2 was found (Twelfth Report, p. 16).

As the Jews have suffered most from this disease, it is perhaps only natural that they should have done much to alleviate it. Jacob Rodriguez Pereire was the first to invent a means of training deaf-mutes to utter articulate sounds, and thus prevent their depending upon signs. His method has been the foundation for all modern improvement, and has been reintroduced during the present generation, the chief exponent of the method in England being also a Jew, Mr. J. Van Praagh.

Bibliography: Hartmann, *Taubstummheit und Taubstummbildung*, p. 48, Stuttgart, 1880.

J.

DEATH, ANGEL OF.—Biblical Data: In the Bible death is viewed under form of an angel sent from God, a being deprived of all voluntary power. The "angel of the Lord" smites 185,000 men in the Assyrian camp (II Kings xix. 35). "The destroyer" ("ha-mashḥit") kills the first-born of the Egyptians (Ex. xii. 23), and the "destroying angel" ("mal'ak ha-mashḥit") rages among the people in Jerusalem (II Sam. xxiv. 15). In I Chron. xxi. 15 the "angel of the Lord" is seen by David standing "between the earth and the heaven, having a drawn sword in his hand stretched out over Jerusalem." Job (xxxiii. 22) uses the general term "destroyer" ("memitim"), which tradition has identified with "destroying angels" ("mal'ake ḥabbalah") (Bacher, "Ag. Pal. Amor." iii. 279, note 9), and Prov. xvi. 14 uses the term the "angels of death" ("mal'ake ha-mawet"). See Demonology.

The Rabbis found the angel of death mentioned in Ps. lxxxix. 45 (A. V. 48), where the Targum translates: "There is no man who lives and, seeing the angel of death, can deliver his soul from his hand" (compare also Targ. to Job xviii. 13; Ps. xci. 5; Hab. iii. 5). Eccl. viii. 4 is thus explained in Midr. R. to the passage: "One may not escape the angel of death, nor say to him, 'Wait until I put my affairs in order,' or 'There is my son, my slave: take him in my stead.'"

——In Rabbinical Literature: The angel of death occurs very frequently in rabbinical literature.

Where the angel of death appears there is no remedy (Ned. 49a; Ḥul. 7b). If one who has sinned has confessed his fault, the angel of death may not touch him (Tan., Balaḳ, ed. Buber, 139). God protects from the angel of death (Gen. R. lxviii.). By acts of benevolence the anger of the angel of death is overcome; when one fails to perform such acts the angel of death will make his appearance (Derek Ereẓ Zuṭa, viii.). The angel of death receives his order from God (Ber. 62b). As soon as he has received permission to destroy, however, he makes no distinction between good and bad (B. Ḳ. 60a). In the city of Luz the angel of death has no power, and when the aged inhabitants are ready to die they go outside the city (Soṭah 46b; compare Sanh. 97a). A legend to the same effect existed in Ireland in the Middle Ages ("Jew. Quart. Rev." vi. 336).

The angel of death was created by God on the

first day (Tan. on Gen. xxxix. 1). His dwelling is in heaven, whence he reaches earth in eight flights, whereas pestilence reaches it in one (Ber. 4b). He has twelve wings (Pirḳe R. El. xiii.). "Over all people have I surrendered thee the power," said God to the angel of death, "only not over this one which has received freedom from death through the Law" (Tan. to Ex. xxxi. 18; ed. Stettin, p. 315). It is said of the angel of death that he is full of eyes. In the hour of death he stands at the head of the departing one with a drawn sword, to which clings a drop of gall. As soon as the dying man sees the angel, he is seized with a convulsion and opens his mouth, whereupon the angel throws the drop into it. This drop causes his death; he turns putrid, and his face becomes yellow ('Ab. Zarah 20b; in detail, Jellinek, "B. H." i. 150; on putrefaction see also Pesiḳ. 54b; for the eyes compare Ezek. i. 18 and Rev. iv. 6). The expression "to taste of death" originated in the idea that death was caused by a drop of gall ("Jew. Quart. Rev." vi. 327; see DEATH, VIEWS OF).

Form and Functions.

The soul escapes through the mouth, or, as is stated in another place, through the throat; therefore the angel of death stands at the head of the patient (Jellinek, *l.c.* ii. 94, Midr. Teh. to Ps. xi.). When the soul forsakes the body its voice goes from one end of the world to the other, but is not heard (Gen. R. vi. 7; Ex. R. v. 9; Pirḳe R. El. xxxiv.). The drawn sword of the angel of death, mentioned by the Chronicler (I. Chron. xxi. 15; comp. Job xv. 22; Enoch lxii. 11), indicates that the angel of death was figured as a warrior who kills off the children of men. "Man, on the day of his death, falls down before the angel of death like a beast before the slaughterer" (Grünhut, "Liḳḳuṭim," v. 102a). R. Samuel's father (*c.* 200) said: "The angel of death said to me, 'Only for the sake of the honor of mankind do I not tear off their necks as is done to slaughtered beasts'" ('Ab. Zarah 20b). In later representations the knife sometimes replaces the sword, and reference is also made to the cord of the angel of death, which indicates death by throttling. Moses says to God: "I fear the cord of the angel of death" (Grünhut, *l.c.* v. 103a *et seq.*). Of the four Jewish methods of execution three are named in connection with the angel of death: burning (by pouring hot lead = the drop of gall), slaughtering (by beheading), and throttling. The angel of death administers the particular punishment which God has ordained for the commission of sin.

A peculiar mantle ("idra"—according to Levy, "Neuhebr. Wörterb." i. 32, a sword) belongs to the equipment of the angel of death (Eccl. R. iv. 7). The angel of death takes on the particular form which will best serve his purpose; *e.g.*, he appears to a scholar in the form of a beggar imploring pity (M. Ḳ. 28a). "When pestilence rages in the town, walk not in the middle of the street, because the angel of death [*i.e.*, pestilence] strides there; if peace reigns in the town, walk not on the edges of the road. When pestilence rages in the town, go not alone to the synagogue, because there the angel of death stores his tools. If the dogs howl, the angel of death has entered the city; if they make sport, the prophet Elijah has come" (B. Ḳ. 60b). The "destroyer" ("saṭan ha-mashḥit") in the daily prayer is the angel of death (Ber. 16b). Midr. Ma'ase Torah (compare Jellinek, "B. H." ii. 98) says: "There are six angels of death: Gabriel over kings; Ḳapziel over youths; Mashbir over animals; Mashḥit over children; Af and Ḥemah over man and beast."

When the Messiah comes all the dead will arise, and there will be an end to death; for the angel of death himself will be destroyed by the Messiah (Pesiḳ. R., ed. Friedmann, p. 161b). Satan, as the angel of death, is identified here with Antichrist. "The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death" (I Cor. xv. 26; compare Heb. ii. 14). The same idea seems to be expressed in the Book of Jubilees xxiii. 29: "And they shall fulfil all their days in peace and joy, and shall live on, since there will be no Satan and no evil to destroy them."

Identical with Antichrist.

The angel of death, who is identified with Satan, immediately after his creation had a dispute with God as to the light of the Messiah (Pesiḳ. R. 161b). When Eve touched the tree of knowledge, she perceived the angel of death, and thought: "Now I shall die, and God will create another wife for Adam" (Pirḳe R. El. xiii., end; compare Targum Yer. to Gen. iii. 6, and Yalḳ. i. § 25). Adam also had a conversation with the angel of death (Böklen, "Die Verwandtschaft der Jüdisch-Christlichen mit der Parsischen Eschatologie," p. 12). The angel of death sits before the face of the dead (Jellinek, *l.c.* ii. 94). While Abraham was mourning for Sarah the angel appeared to him, which explains why "Abraham stood up from before his dead" (Gen. xxiii. 3; Gen. R. lviii. 5, misunderstood by the commentators). Samuel told Sarah that Abraham had sacrificed Isaac in spite of his wailing, and Sarah died of horror and grief (Pirḳe R. El. xxxii.). It was Moses who most often had dealings with the angel. At the rebellion of Korah, Moses saw him (Num. R. v. 7; Bacher, *l.c.* iii. 333; compare Sanh. 82a). It was the angel of death in the form of pestilence which snatched away 15,000 every year during the wandering in the wilderness (*ib.* 70). When Moses reached heaven, the angel told him something (Jellinek, *l.c.* i. 61).

When the angel of death came to Moses and said, "Give me thy soul," Moses called to him: "Where I sit thou hast no right to stand." And the angel retired ashamed, and reported the occurrence to God. Again, God commanded him to bring the soul of Moses. The angel went, and, not finding him, inquired of the sea, of the mountains, and of the valleys; but they knew nothing of him (Sifre, Deut. 305). Really, Moses did not die through the angel of death, but through God's kiss ("bi-neshiḳah"); *i.e.*, God drew his soul out of his body (B. B. 17a; compare ABRAHAM IN APOCRYPHAL AND RABBINICAL LITERATURE, and parallel references in Böklen, *l.c.* p. 11). Legend seizes upon the story of Moses' struggle with the angel of death, and expands it at length (Tan., ed. Stettin, pp. 624 *et seq.*; Deut. R. ix., xi.; Grünhut, *l.c.* v. 102b, 169a). As Benaiah bound Ashmedai (JEW. ENCYC. ii. 218a), so Moses binds the angel of death that he may bless Israel (Pesiḳ. 199, where "lifne moto" [Deut. xxxiii. 1] is explained as meaning "before the angel of death").

Solomon once noticed that the angel of death was

grieved. When questioned as to the cause of his sorrow he answered: "I am requested to take your two beautiful scribes." Solomon at once charged the demons to convey his scribes to Luz, where the angel of death could not enter. When they were near the city, however, they both died. The angel laughed on the next day, whereupon Solomon asked the cause of his mirth. "Because," answered the angel, "thou didst send the youths thither, whence I was ordered to fetch them" (Suk. 53a). In the next world God will let the angel of death fight against Pharaoh, Sisera, and Sennacherib (Yalḳ., Isa. 428).

The teaching of God shields one from the power of the angel of death. The children of Israel have accepted the Torah only in order that the angel may have no power over them ('Ab. Zarah 5a). Since death results only from sin, it can not, of course, come to those who live in accordance with the Torah. Although the sentence of mortality once pronounced could never be recalled ('Ab. Zarah 5a), yet the angel of death may not visit teachers of the Law; he is rather their friend (*ib.* 35b), and even imparts learning to them (Ber. 51a).

Talmud teachers of the fourth century associate quite familiarly with him. When he appeared to one on the street, the teacher reproached him with rushing upon him as upon a beast; whereupon the angel called upon him at his house. To another he granted a respite of thirty days, that he might put his knowledge in order before entering the next world. To a third he had no access, because he could not interrupt the study of the Talmud. To a fourth he showed a rod of fire, whereby he is recognized as the angel of death (M. Ḳ. 28a). He often entered the house of Bibi and conversed with him (Ḥag. 4b). Often he resorts to strategy in order to interrupt and seize his victim (B. M. 86a; Mak. 10a).

Scholars and the Angel of Death.

The death of Joshua ben Levi in particular is surrounded with a web of fable. When the time came for him to die and the angel of death appeared to him, he demanded to be shown his place in paradise. When the angel had consented to this, he demanded the angel's knife, that the angel might not frighten him by the way. This request also was granted him, and Joshua sprang with the knife over the wall of paradise; the angel, who is not allowed to enter paradise, catching hold of the end of his garment. Joshua swore that he would not come out, and God declared that he should not leave paradise unless he was absolved from his oath; if not absolved, he was to remain. The angel of death then demanded back his knife, but Joshua refused. At this point a heavenly voice ("bat ḳol") rang out: "Give him back the knife, because the children of men have need of it" (Ket. 77b; Jellinek, *l.c.* ii. 48–51; Bacher, *l.c.* i. 192 *et seq.*).

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K. L. B.

——**In Arabic Literature:** The angel of death is spoken of in the Koran (suras xxxii. 11, lxxix. 1), and is called by the Mohammedans Azrael—probably identical with עזריאל, the angel of Gehinnom, according to "'Emeḳ ha-Melek" ("Tiḳḳune Teshubah"; quoted by Eisenmenger, "Entdecktes Judenthum," ii. 333). "When Death was created by God, he, on account of his terrible power, had to be put in 70,000 chains of a thousand years' journey's length each, and behind millions of barriers. When Azrael was placed in charge of him and saw him, he called the angels to look at him, and when he, at God's command, spread his wings over him and opened all his eyes, the angels fainted away and remained unconscious for a thousand years. Azrael was given all the powers of the heavens to enable him to master Death."

Azrael reaches from one end of the world to the other (Jellinek, "B. H." v. 49), and has 70,000 feet and 4,000 wings. His whole body is covered with eyes (see 'Ab. Zarah 20b) and with tongues as numerous as the living creatures on earth. When any of these latter die, the corresponding eye bulges forth. At the end of the world all these eyes excepting eight are plucked out by God—those of Israfil (Sarafel), Michael, Gabriel, Azrael, and the four "ḥayyot" of the Heavenly Chariot alone remaining. The times of the death of persons is made known to the angel of death through the roll-book in his possession showing a white stripe around the name of the person doomed. Forty days before death, however, a leaf falls from the tree of life, under the throne of God, into the lap of Azrael, who is seated in the seventh heaven, thus announcing the death (compare Yer. Ber. ii. 8, 5c, and the picture of the fig-tree).

"When people lament and weep too much over the death of a person, the angel of death shall stand at the door and say: 'What cause have you for such violent complaint? I am only the messenger of God and have done His bidding, and if you rebel against Him, I shall return often to take one of your house'" (compare Midr. Yalḳ. to Deut. xiv. 1, 2; 'Er. 19b; and Böklen, *l.c.*).

"When a righteous person dies, the angel of death comes with a host of good angels, carrying sweet odors of paradise, and makes the soul leave the body like a drop taken out of a bucket of water. When a wicked person dies, the angel of death comes in the company of demons, who pull the soul out as with iron spits" (compare Midr. Teh. to Ps. xi. and "Nishmat Ḥayyim," ii. 20).

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K.

DEATH, VIEWS AND CUSTOMS CONCERNING.—In Biblical and Apocryphal Literature: The ancient Hebrews expected to "be gathered to [or sleep with] their fathers" when death befell them (Gen. xxv. 8, xlvii. 30), and feared only the idea of going down to Sheol mourning (*ib.* xxxvii. 35). To sleep and be at rest was the desire of the distressed (Job iii. 13–22). To die "in a good old age"

was regarded as a blessing (Gen. xv. 15, xxv. 8); to be cut off from the land of the living in the noontide of life was dreaded and looked upon as a misfortune (Isa. xxxviii. 10). Only occasionally the stings of death and the stroke of Sheol became terrors, from which the Lord was petitioned to redeem man (Hosea xiii. 14; Ps. xvi. 10, xlix. 16 [15], lxxxvi. 13). Nowhere, however, in the Bible is death regarded as a real evil, except from the point of view that man, being of divine origin, should have had, like any other heavenly being, access to the tree of life and have lived forever (Gen. iii. 22). Accordingly, the eschatological view found expression in such phrases as that "death will be swallowed up forever" and "the dead shall rise again" (compare Isa. xxv. 8, xxvi. 19).

Still the popular view in the days of Kohelet (Eccl. vii. 1, ix. 4–6) and of Ben Sira (Ecclus. [Sirach] xli. 1–4) was that there was no other prospect for man but that of the dreary life of the shades in Sheol, and this made life on earth all the more precious. Nor did this view in any way prevent Ben Sira from seeing in the yielding of the first woman to the tempter the cause of men's death (*ib.* xxv. 24). More pronounced on the latter point is the Book of Wisdom: "God created man to be immortal; . . . nevertheless through envy of the devil came death into the world" (Wisdom ii. 23, 24). "For God made not death; through righteousness immortality is obtained" (*ib.* i. 13, 16; vi. 18; xv. 3). This view (expressed also in Ethiopic Enoch, xcviii. 4 and Slavonic Enoch, xxx. 16–18) was made the basic idea of Paul's system of salvation (Rom. v. 12; I Cor. xv. 21; Heb. ii. 14), after the apocalyptic literature of the Jews had made the problem of sin and death the object of most serious reflection, which culminated in the hope of the final annihilation of death in the world to come (IV. Esd. iii. 7; vii. 32, 119; viii. 53). Satan is called in the New Testament "a murderer from the beginning" (John viii. 44) and "the destroyer" (I Cor. x. 10). See Death, Angel of, in Rabbinical Literature.

Death is conceived of as a person who has charge of the shades in the nether world (Ps. xlix. 15; see also Demonology). He is their general (Gen. R. xxvi.).

The following is the description of Death as one of God's messengers:

"When Abraham had refused to let the archangel Michael take his soul, God said to the latter: 'Call Me hither Death of the shameless countenance and the pitiless look, [this seems to allude to the name of Azazel—עזאזל—and the deadly look (עין הרע)]. Death shivered and trembled at being called to come before the Lord, when God said to him: 'Come hither, thou bitter and fierce name of the world [an allusion to both Azazel and מר המות, I Sam. xv. 32], hide thy fierceness, cover thy corruption, and cast away thy bitterness from thee, and put on thy beauty and all thy glory, and go down to Abraham My friend and bring him to Me.' Death put on a robe of great brightness and made his appearance like the sun, and became fair and beautiful above the sons of men, assuming the form of an archangel, his cheeks flaming with fire, and went to Abraham, a sweet odor and a flash of light announcing his coming to the patriarch, who took him to be an archangel, the chief captain of God, and welcomed him as the bringer of light and a most glorious helper. But Death rejoined: 'Most righteous Abraham, I am the bitter drop of Death' [סם המות, whence the name סמאל]; and when asked for his errand, he said: 'For thy holy soul am I come.' Abraham again refused to give up his soul. Death followed him into his chamber, and when Abraham lay down upon his couch, he sat by his feet and would not depart, notwithstanding all the entreaties of the patriarch to let him live.

"On inquiry of the patriarch, he told him that only because of his great righteousness, his hospitality to men, and his love toward God, which became a crown of glory upon his head, did he approach him in such beauty and glory; to sinners he came in fierceness, corruption, and bitterness. 'Show me these,' asked Abraham; but Death replied, 'Thou canst not stand these looks.' Thereto Abraham answered: 'By means of the name of the living God—שם המפורש—I shall be able to look.' So Death put off his sunlike glory and put on his tyrant-like robe and made his appearance fiercer than all wild beasts, and filthier than all filth, and he showed Abraham seven fiery serpents' heads and fourteen faces: (1) of flaming fire, (2) of darkness, (3) of a viper, (4) of a precipice, (5) of a fierce asp, (6) of a terrible lion, (7) of a cerastes, (8) of a basilisk, (9) of a fiery simitar, (10) of terrible lightning and thunder, (11) of a stormy sea, (12) of a rushing river, (13) of a three-headed serpent, and (14) of a cup filled with poison; and then he showed him every mortal disease emanating from the odor of Death. Seven thousand man- and maid-servants of Abraham died from the effect of this odor and sight, so that Abraham implored Death to hide his fierceness and to put on his former garb of beauty. Death complied with his request, and joined Abraham in a prayer to God to restore to life those who had died so suddenly by his fierceness; and the prayer was granted.

"Abraham, however, would not consent to surrender his soul until Death had explained to him the different forms and faces he had shown him in all their fierceness; whereupon Death replied that the seven heads of serpents indicated the seven ages during which he is to destroy all men, rich and poor, and to bring them to the bottom of Hades. Because people die by fire, by falling from precipices, by the sword, by rushing rivers, on the raging sea, and in storms of lightning, by wild beasts or cups of poison, he assumed all those aspects. Finally, he spoke of the seventy-two kinds of death [see Abraham, Testament of, and footnote, Jew. Encyc. i. 95b] and of the death of the righteous. Then Death took the right hand of Abraham, and his soul clung to him."

Death appears here as the personification of psychical evil, with numerous traits borrowed from Ahriman in the Zend Avesta, but not of moral evil (see Test. Abraham, A, xvi.–xx.; "Texts and Studies," ii. 2, Cambridge, 1892; "Anti-Nicene Fathers," Eng. transl., pp. 183 *et seq.*, New York, 1897; see also Dumah).

E. C. K.

Cause of Death.

——**In Rabbinical Literature:** There are different views among Jews concerning the cause of death. Some assign it to Adam's first sin in partaking of the forbidden fruit (Tanna debe Eliyahu R. v.). This view is somewhat modified by the Rabbis, who regard death as the fruit of personal sin; maintaining that, like Adam, each person dies on account of his own sin (Shab. 55a, b), as "there is not a righteous man upon earth that doeth good and sinneth not" (Eccl. vii. 20). Still, the Rabbis speak of a number of "saintly men who died without sin and only in consequence of the poison of the serpent" (בעטיו של נחש); *e.g.*, Benjamin; Amram; Jesse, the father of David; and Chileab, David's son (Shab. 55b; B. B. 17a; compare Derek Ereẓ Zuṭa, where thirteen persons are named). Another view is that death was ordained at creation, and that Adam by his sin merely hastened death (Ex. R. ii.; Tan. [Yelamdenu], Wayesheb, ed. Vienna, 44b). According to others, Adam was destined to live forever and not to taste death, but, owing to the fact that men like Hiram of Tyre and Nebuchadnezzar wanted to be worshiped as gods, God decreed death for man (Ex. R. ix.). The opinion is also expressed that God would have annihilated the power of the angel of death over Israel after its acceptance of the Law,

but for the fact that the divine decree could not be reversed ('Ab. Zarah 5a). From the point of view that sin precedes and causes death in each person, the Talmud designates special reasons for the death of innocent children (Shab. 32b).

Modes of Death.

There are 903 (תוצאות, Ps. lxviii. 21) distinct deaths. The hardest is by asthma; and the easiest is called מיתת נישיקה ("death by the kiss"), which is "like drawing a hair out of milk": that is the interpretation of על פי יי ("by the mouth of the Lord," Deut. xxxiv. 5, Hebr.). Six persons are known to have died in that way; namely, the three patriarchs, and Moses, Aaron, and Miriam (B. B. 17a).

Death coming after five days' illness is considered ordinary; after four days, a reprimand of Heaven; after three days, a severe rebuke; after two days, a hastened death; after one day, a sudden one, or, according to some, an apoplectic one (M. Ḳ. 28a). To die before reaching the age of fifty is כרת ("to be cut off," Lev. xviii. 29). Sixty years is a ripe age; seventy is old age; and eighty, advanced age (M. Ḳ. 28a).

Communication with the Living.

Many allegorical tales are related in rabbinical literature about the communication of the dead with the living. A pious man, being rebuked by his wife for giving away a dinar (denarius) to a beggar in time of famine, went to sleep in the cemetery. It was New-Year's eve, and he overheard the spirits of two women gossiping. One of them proposed to fly and listen behind the curtain in the judgment chamber to the promulgation of the future visitations in the world. The other spirit excused herself, saying, "I can not accompany thee because I am buried in reed matting; go thyself, and come back and tell me what thou hearest." Presently her companion returned and reported: "I heard that the hail will kill whatever is planted in the first rainy season." The pious man planted in the second season. The following year he again went to sleep in the cemetery on New-Year's eve, and overheard a similar conversation, gaining the information that whatever was planted in the second season would be consumed by blight. The pious man planted during the first season. His wife was curious to know how he managed to evade the calamitous visitations, and he, being pressed, related his story. A few days later the woman had a quarrel with the mother of the second spirit, and abused her for having given her daughter an indecent burial. The third year the pious husband again sought to obtain information regarding future crops; the second spirit said, "Hush, companion! our former conversation was overheard by mortal men" (Ber. 18a).

R. Ze'ira left his money with the mistress of a boarding-house. Returning, he found that she had died. He repaired to the cemetery and inquired of her: "Where is my money?" Said she: "Go, take it from the socket under the door-pivot. At the same time tell my mother to send me my comb and the eye-dye flask by a certain woman who will arrive here to-morrow" (*ib.* 18b).

A similar story is told of Samuel, who was absent when his father Abba died, and wished to find out where he treasured the money entrusted to him by orphans. Samuel went to the cemetery and inquired after "Abba," but was told, "There are many 'Abbas' here." Said he, "I want Abba, the son of Abba." "There are many by this name." "But I want Abba b. Abba, the father of Samuel [Samuel being more famous than his father]; where is he?" He was informed that his father was studying at the high yeshibah in heaven. On reaching it Samuel observed Levi standing outside, as a punishment for not attending R. Aphes' yeshibah below. Meanwhile Abba appeared. Samuel saw him crying and laughing, and asked him: "Why cryest thou?" "Because thou wilt soon join us." "Why laughest thou?" "Because thou art very much respected here." "If so," said Samuel, "let Levi enter!" And Levi was allowed to enter. Then the father informed Samuel where to find the money (*ib.*).

Continued Consciousness of the Dead.

The dead are supposed to take an active interest in worldly affairs. The assertion of Koheleth that "The dead know not anything" (Eccl. ix, 5) is interpreted, "The wicked who are considered dead while yet alive." R. Isaac said, "The sting of a worm to the dead is like the pricking of a pin in the flesh of the living" (Shab. 13b). The dead are very sensitive. One must not tell tales around the death-bed of a scholar (Ber. 19a). Inasmuch, however, as the dead are exempt from performing the precepts, they feel slighted if such performance should take place in their presence by the living, as it would be like "mocking the poor" (Prov. xvii. 5). R. Ḥiyya, on his way to the cemetery with R. Jonathan, noticed the ẓiẓit of the latter's garment untied, and admonished him to pick them up, else the dead would remark, "To-morrow they will join us, and now they scoff us" (Ber. 18a; compare Yer. Ber. 4c, d; Eccl. R. ix. 5; see Bacher, "Ag. Tan." ii. 526). From this it is inferred that where the custom prevails to wrap the dead with a ṭallit over the shroud, the fringe must be removed or made unfit for purposes of prayer (Shulḥan 'Aruk, Yoreh De'ah, 351). Also, in burying a scholar it is customary to deposit in his coffin a scroll that is unfit for reading (*ib.* 351; Maimonides, "Yad," Sefer Torah, x. 36).

The Zohar obviously disapproves this practise of making use of the cemetery as a genizah for defective scrolls, and tells the following story of R. Hezekiah and R. Jose, who were passing the ruins of Aleppo in Syria, the latter carrying along a fragment of a scroll. While resting they heard a rumbling noise arising from a grave, and a cry: "Wo, wo, the world must be in trouble, for the Torah has appeared here. Or perhaps they come again to laugh at us and disgrace us?" The rabbis were frightened and asked, "Who art thou?" "I am a dead man. Once upon a time, when the world was in trouble, R. Ḥiyya came here with a scroll to pray. I and my comrades went out to meet him, and introduced him to the patriarchs in paradise; but on examination the scroll was found to be defective, having a superfluous letter 'waw' in the word פרסת [Lev. xi. 3], and because we admitted him we were expelled from the high yeshibah" (Zohar, ed. Cracow, אחרי מות 127).

DEATH-BED SCENES.

1. Visiting the Sick. 2. Making the Confession. 3. Lighting the Candles. 4. Mourning.

(From Bodenschatz, "Kirchliche Verfassung," 1748.)

Prayers to and of the Dead.

The practise of praying for the intercession of the dead is of early origin. Caleb on reaching Hebron visited the cave of Machpelah, and prayed to the patriarch to be saved from cooperating in the conspiracy of the scouts sent by Moses to make a report of the conditions existing in the Holy Land (Soṭah 34b). The Talmud mentions the custom of visiting the cemetery to request the dead to pray for the living (Ta'an. 16a; compare *ib.* 23b).

The Soul of the Dying.

The noise of the soul's departure from the body reverberates through the world from one end to the other, and yet the sound is unheard (Yoma 20b). Prior to the soul's exit it sees the Shekinah (Pirḳe R. El. xxxiv.). The soul after death is in the same condition as it is in life when one dreams (*ib.*). Until the body is entirely consumed the soul hovers over the grave (Shab. 152b).

R. Judah ha-Nasi in his last will commanded his sons that on every Sabbath eve after his demise they should continue to light the candles, set the table, and prepare the couch in their customary places, as on every Sabbath eve he would visit his home. Once a neighbor knocked at the door for entrance, and Rabbi's servant answered: "Hush! Rabbi is at home." After this, Rabbi ceased his visits, so as not to reflect on the righteous men who died before him (Ket. 103a). Samuel said: "If one wants to have a taste of death, let him sleep with his shoes on" (Yoma 78b). "And God saw everything he had made, and behold, it was very good" (Gen. i. 31). "This includes death," wrote R. Meïr on the margin of his Bible, playing on the similarity of מאוד and מות (Gen. R. ix.). "The day of death [is better] than the day of one's birth" (Eccl. vii. 1) is explained in Eccl. R. *ad loc.* and Ex. R. xlviii. to mean that "death tells of the meritorious life of the departed; it is like the vessel entering port laden with goods." The great ones of each generation must die to make room for the greatness of successors; "the righteous themselves ask for death as a favor" (Midr. Teh. to Ps. cxvi. 15). The Zohar calls death a festal day (יומא דהילולא; Zohar, Shemini, in referring to the death of Nadab and Abihu; compare also Heilprin, "'Er Ḳe ha-Kinnuyim," fol. 20c.) The day when Adam died was made a holiday (Tanna debe Eliyahu R. xvi.).

Superstitions.

The windows of the death-chamber should be opened to allow the spirits to enter and to depart (מעבר יבק, *s.v.* שפתי כהן, vi.; see Birds as Souls).

The angel of death is supposed to wipe his bloody knife in water near the dead; hence all water of the adjacent houses must be emptied on the ground (Yoreh De'ah, 339). As the "shedim" are supposed to follow the dead or to hover around the graves, those who follow a funeral cortége must wash their hands on their return, before entering a house (*ib.* 376, 4); but should not dip them in the river. A special lavatory for this purpose is usually provided at the cemetery. On returning from the funeral one should sit down and rest on the way several times, so as to drive away the spirits that follow him (Ṭur Yoreh De'ah, 375). The board upon which the dead is cleansed must not be turned over. One should not visit the same grave twice during one day (Will of R. Judah the Pious); nor sleep in the cemetery (Nid. 17a); nor look closely on the face of a dead person; nor kiss the dead, not even when a near relative ("Sefer Ḥasidim," § 236).

Omens of Death.

A common superstition is current that if the shadow of one's head is invisible against the wall in a house where a light is burning on Hosha'na Rabbah eve, it is a sign that the person is destined to die within the year; if visible, he will live (see Naḥmani, commentary on Num. xiv. 9). R. Ammi says: "If one wishes to know whether he will live during the following year, let him during the ten Penitential Days burn a candle in his house where no wind can blow it out. If it does not become extinguished he will live; otherwise, not" (Hor. 12a). To discover whether the husband or the wife will die first, calculate the numerical value of the letters in the names of both. If the amount is even, the man will die first; if odd, the woman (נפלאים מעשיך, letter Mem, § 6).

Superstitions concerning death in connection with dreams are numerous. One of them, the vision of a scroll in the Ark, foretells death, as the death of Aaron follows the description of the tablets placed in the Ark ("Sefer Ḥasidim," § 533). See Dreams.

A dying child may be released from death's grasp if nominally sold by the parents to a friend for a shekel ("Sefer Ḥasidim," § 245). A change of name may save from death (R. H. 16b). Removal of a feather pillow from beneath the head of a dying person helps the soul to depart more easily. But some rabbis objected to this treatment, on the ground that it disturbs the sinking person and hastens his death (כנה"נ to Ṭur Yoreh De'ah, 339; "Sefer Ḥasidim," §§ 245–246). The iron keys of the synagogue, if placed under the pillow, have the same effect (*ib.*). In accordance with Prov. x. 18: "He that uttereth slander [דבה = "evil news"] is a fool." Announcement of death should be made indirectly (Pes. 3b); it was for this reason that the shofar was blown in Talmudical times when death occurred in a town (M. Ḳ. 27b). The beadle who summons the congregation to early morning prayer by three knocks at their doors or windows, announces a death in the town by reducing the number of knocks to two. It is a good omen to die with a smile on the face, or to die on one's birthday. Rain on the day of a funeral is a sign of compassion and forgiveness toward the dead (Ṭur Yoreh De'ah, 353).

It is customary to bend the thumb of the corpse so that the whole hand resembles the word "Shaddai" (Almighty), and to bind it in this position with the ẓiẓit. A shard is placed on the eyes, a little stick in the hands, a piece of metal on the body, a little bag with earth from the Holy Land under the head, and a three-toothed wooden fork in the hands, to enable the dead to excavate a subterranean way to the Holy Land on the day of resurrection, when all the Jewish dead will arise in Palestine. A towel is hung up and a glass of water placed beside it, so that the soul might bathe when it returns to the body.

K. J. D. E.

DEATH (Statistics). See MORTALITY.

DEBARIM. See DEUTERONOMY.

DEBARIM RABBAH: A Midrash or homiletic commentary on the Book of Deuteronomy. Unlike Bereshit Rabbah, the Midrash to Deuteronomy which has been included in the collection of the Rabbot in the ordinary editions does not contain running commentaries on the text of the Bible, but twenty-five complete, independent homilies, together with two fragmentary ones, on as many sections of Deuteronomy, which for the larger part are recognized as "sedarim," the Sabbatical lessons for public worship according to the Palestinian three-year cycle. The index to the rabbinical Bible (Venice, 1525) gives twenty-seven sedarim in Deuteronomy; on nineteen of these there are homilies in the present Midrash, as well as a fragment, which, according to the editions, belongs to another seder (Deut. xxix. 9). It may be due to differences of time and place in the division of the cycle of sedarim that in the Debarim Rabbah there are no homilies on seven or eight of the sedarim mentioned in that index—namely, Deut. xi. 10, xiv. 1, xv. 7, xxiii. 10, xxiii. 22, xxiv. 19, xxvi. 1, and occasionally and conditionally xxix. 9—and that, besides a homily on a section mentioned in other sources as a seder (Deut. iv. 25), there are five additional homilies on the sections Deut. i. 10, iv. 7, xi. 26, xxiv. 9, and xxix. 1, which were not otherwise known as sedarim. In some of these homilies, moreover, the halakic exordiums (see below) close with the words מנין . . . ממה שקרינו בענין, which clearly show that the Scriptural sections on which the homilies were pronounced were used for public lessons. The editor of this Midrash, however, has probably included only the homilies on the Sabbatical lessons of the cycle of sedarim; for Debarim Rabbah contains no homilies on the lessons of the PESIḲTA cycle belonging to Deuteronomy, Deut. xiv. 22 and xxv. 17 (Deut. xxxiii. 1 is a seder as well as a Pesiḳta section).

Sections of the Midrash.

The economy of this Midrash containing sedarim homilies on Deuteronomy, as well as the character of the individual homilies, could easily have been misconstrued and forgotten after the division of the Torah into pericopes according to the one-year cycle had come into general use. In present editions Debarim Rabbah is divided only according to these latter pericopes; it was not noticed that the homilies on כי תצא and כי תבא did not correspond with the beginnings of the pericopes Deut. xxi. 10 and xxvi. 1. The sidrot Niẓẓabim and Wayelek formed *one* pericope in the oldest Midrash editions (Constantinople, 1512, and Venice, 1545); hence in these editions Debarim Rabbah contains only ten sections, corresponding with the pericopes. The further designation of these sections as "parashiyyot" and their enumeration from 1 to 11, dividing Niẓẓabim and Wayelek, are addenda of the later editions.

According to its original composition, this Midrash includes the following homilies (the passages marked with an asterisk are sedarim):

Analysis of Contents.

(1) Parashah i. Nos. 1–9 (according to the Wilna ed.), on *Deut. i. 1; (2) *ib.* Nos. 10–14, on Deut i. 10; (3) *ib.* Nos. 15–20, on *Deut. ii. 2; (4) *ib.* Nos. 21–25, on *Deut. ii. 31; (5) par. ii. Nos. 1–9, on *Deut. iii. 23; (6) *ib.* Nos. 10–17, on Deut. iv. 7; (7) *ib.* Nos. 18–24, on *Deut. iv. 25; (8) *ib.* Nos. 25–30, on *Deut. iv. 41; (9) *ib.* Nos. 31–37, on *Deut. vi. 4; (10) par. iii. Nos. 1–7, on *Deut. vii. 12; (11) *ib.* Nos. 8–11, on *Deut. ix. 1; (12) *ib.* Nos. 12–17, on *Deut. x. 1; (13) par. iv. Nos. 1–5, on Deut. xi. 26; (14) *ib.* Nos. 6–11, on *Deut. xii. 20; (15) par. v. Nos. 1–7, on *Deut. xvi. 18; (16) *ib.* Nos. 8–11, on *Deut. xvii. 14; (17) *ib.* Nos. 12–15, on *Deut. xx. 10; (18) par. vi. Nos. 1–7, on *Deut. xxii. 6; (19) *ib.* Nos. 8–14, on Deut. xxiv. 9; (20) par. vii. Nos. 1–7, on *Deut. xxviii. 1; (21) *ib.* Nos. 8–12, on Deut. xxix. 1; (par. viii. No. 1, merely a halakic exordium, doubtful if belonging to *Deut. xxix. 9); (22) par. viii. Nos. 2–7, on *Deut. xxx. 11; (23) par. ix. Nos. 1–9, on *Deut. xxxi. 14; (24) par. x. Nos. 1–4, on *Deut. xxxii. 1; (25) par. xi. Nos. 1–5, and probably 7–8, on Deut. xxxiii. 1 (*ib.* No. 6 is an interpolated second halakic exordium; No. 8 probably closes the homily and the Midrash, the remaining pieces being additions borrowed from the "Midrash on the death of Moses").

These homilies, which in a new edition of the Midrash should be marked as its proper components, evince a great regularity of workmanship in their composition and execution. Each homily begins with a halakic exordium, has one or more proems, followed by the commentary—in which, however, only the first verse, or a few verses from the beginning of the section read, are treated—and ends with an easily recognizable peroration containing a promise of the Messianic future or some other consolatory thought, all concluding with a verse of the Bible. The comments referring only to the first verses of the lesson characterize Debarim Rabbah as a Midrash of homilies in which even the proems are rather independent homilies than introductions to the comment on the Scriptural section; and the exordiums show, further, that Debarim Rabbah is very similar to the Tanḥuma Midrashim. In the halakic exordium (an essential of the haggadic discourse which is found neither in Pesiḳta and Wayiḳra Rabbah nor in Bereshit Rabbah) an apparently irrelevant legal question is put, and answered with a passage from the Mishnah (about twenty times) or Tosefta, etc. Such answers are generally introduced in Debarim Rabbah by the formula כך שנו חכמים; though the formula usual in Tanḥuma, כך שנו רבותינו, occurs twice (in parashah i. Nos. 10 and 15). Then follow other halakic explanations (compare parashah v. No. 8; par. vii. Nos. 1 and 8; par. ix. No. 1; par. xi. No. 1) and haggadic interpretations, the last of which are deduced from the Scriptural section of the Sabbath lesson. Thus, a connection between the halakic question and the text or the first verse of the lesson is found, and the speaker can proceed to the further discussion of the homily, the exordiums closing generally with the formula מנין ממה שקרינו בענין, followed by the first words of the Scriptural section. The formula occurs 18 times as cited; twice as מנין שכתוב בענין; once as מנין שכך כתוב; twice as מנין שנאמר; it is lacking altogether in only a few of the homilies.

The stylistic manner of opening the discourse with a halakic question is so closely connected with the original Midrash Tanḥuma, however, that in consequence of the introductory formula ילמדנו רבינו ("May our teacher instruct us?"), with which the exordiums and hence the homilies began, the name "Yelamdenu" was given to this Midrash. Even in early times some scholars concluded from the halakic exordiums in De-

Resemblance of Yelamdenu.

barim Rabbah that this Midrash was derived in large part from the Yelamdenu; as did ABRAHAM BEN SOLOMON AKRA in his "Kelale Midrash Rabbah," Venice, 1601.

It is curious that while in Debarim Rabbah every homily has a halakic exordium, in the extant Tanḥuma Midrashim the part on Deuteronomy is without any (the Tanḥuma edited by Buber lacks the exordiums to Exodus also). It would be erroneous to conclude from this, however, that the present Debarim Rabbah must be identified with Tanḥuma, and Tanḥuma to Deuteronomy with Debarim Rabbah, or that Debarim Rabbah as well as the Tanḥuma Mirdash in the editions to Deuteronomy, and several other Midrashim to Deuteronomy of which fragments have been published in modern times, or from which quotations are found in old authors, have all borrowed from the original Yelamdenu. If the designation "Tanḥuma homilies" be given to the homilies described above, consisting of halakic introductions, proems, comments on various verses, etc., modeled on the form of the Yelamdenu Tanḥuma, and if the latter was also the model for the haggadic discourses in the centuries immediately following Tanḥuma, it may be said that Debarim Rabbah contains these homilies in a much more primitive form and also in a more complete collection than the Midrash Tanḥuma to Deuteronomy in Buber's and the earlier editions; for these editions (as Theodor has shown in his "Die Midraschim zum Pentateuch," in "Monatsschrift," 1886, pp. 559 *et seq.*) are extant in a very defective form, treat much fewer sedarim than Debarim Rabbah, and, are with few exceptions, only shorter or longer fragments of sedarim homilies.

Debarim Rabbah Older than Tanḥuma.

In view of the form of the homilies and the composition of the whole work, which lend to Debarim Rabbah the appearance of a Tanḥuma Midrash, it is not strange that passages from this Midrash are quoted, in some citations of earlier authors (in the thirteenth century and later), as belonging to Tanḥuma. Textually, Debarim Rabbah has little in common with the Tanḥuma Midrashim on Deuteronomy, either in the editions or in the extracts from Tanḥuma in Yalḳuṭ or from Yelamdenu in Yalḳuṭ and 'Aruk. Some halakic questions found also in Tanḥuma in homilies on Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus are quite differently applied and developed in the exordiums of Debarim Rabbah. This Midrash, in its use of the old sources, such as Yerushalmi, Bereshit Rabbah, and Wayiḳra Rabbah, often shows a freer treatment, and endeavors to translate Aramaic passages into Hebrew and to modernize them.

As regards the time of writing or editing the Debarim Rabbah, "the epoch of the year 900" comes, according to Zunz, "perhaps" nearest the mark. The Midrash was not known either to R. Nathan, the author of the 'Aruk, or to Rashi (the passage in a citation quoted by the latter is not found in Debarim Rabbah). A large number of extracts are found in Yalḳuṭ, generally with the designation of the Midrash אלה הדברים רבה, as it is commonly cited by the older authors. The same name is given to the Midrash on Deuteronomy in Cod. Munich, No. 229; this contains for the first pericope, דברים, four entirely different homilies which have but a few points of similarity with those in present editions, but which are likewise composed according to the Tanḥuma form, and are on the same Scriptural sections as the homilies in Debarim Rabbah; namely, on Deut. i. 1, i. 10, ii. 2, ii. 31. The second and third pericopes have also halakic exordiums closing with the words, . . . מנין ממה שקרינו בענין, in which, however, the question is put without any formula. The Munich manuscript agrees with Debarim Rabbah in the pericopes עקב to נצבים, but has additions to the latter; the remaining pericopes are lacking. Another manuscript Midrash, in the possession of A. Epstein, Vienna, contains not only the same homilies as Cod. Munich for the pericope דברים, but for the pericope ואתחנן has similar homilies, that are entirely different from Debarim Rabbah and are on the sedarim Deut. iii. 23 (not iv. 7), iv. 25, iv. 41, vi. 4; all these four homilies have halakic exordiums. The manuscript also has a different exordium for the beginning עקב. From this point to the pericope כי תבא, it agrees with the editions (the exordiums, however, are preceded only by the word הלכה, without אדם מישראל); in pericope נצבים and its additions it agrees with the Cod. Munich. For וילך (also on Deut. xxxi. 14) it has a different text; and in the last two pericopes, האזינו and וזאת הברכה, it agrees with the Midrash Tanḥuma in present editions. It may be assumed with certainty that the first one or two pericopes of this manuscript—in which several passages can be pointed out that R. Baḥya (end of the thirteenth century) quotes from the Midrash Rabbah or from אלה הדברים רבה—belong to a Midrash that originally included the whole of Deuteronomy. What remained of that Midrash was combined in those codices with pericopes from Debarim Rabbah and Midrash Tanḥuma. Among the numerous Midrashim to Deuteronomy there are known to be a number of fragments of a Debarim Zuṭa, the preservation of which is due to the author of Yalḳuṭ.

Probable Date.

The Munich Codex.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: See Bibliography to BERESHIT RABBAH; on Debarim Rabbah especially, compare Zunz, *G. V.* pp. 251–253; Weiss, *Dor*, iii. 268, iv. 210 *et seq.*; Buber, *Einleitung zum Tan.* pp. 20b *et seq.*, 40a, and ילקוטים, Vienna, 1885; Theodor, in *Monatsschrift*, 1886, p. 559; 1887, pp. 35, 321 *et seq.*; Epstein, *Beiträge zur Jüdische Alterthumskunde*, pp. 57, 76 *et seq.*; *idem*, in *Bet Talmud*, year V.; Winter and Wünsche, *Die Jüdische Litteratur*, i.; Bacher, *Ag. Pal. Amor.* iii. 504 *et seq.*; Maybaum, *Die Aeltesten Phasen in der Entwickelung der Jüd. Predigt*, pp. 2, 42 *et seq.*, Berlin, 1901.

L. G. J. T.

DEBASH, ISAIAH BEN SAMUEL: Provençal poet of the second half of the thirteenth century. Renan supposes that the surname "Debash" (honey) is the Hebrew translation of the Provençal name "Miles," a surname frequently borne by the Jews of Provence. Debash is known by two poems addressed to the poet Gorni in defense of Shiloni, also a poet, who had been criticized by Gorni. These two poems are still extant in manuscript (Munich MS. No. 128).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Monatsschrift*, 1882, pp. 517, 519; Renan-Neubauer, *Les Rabbins Français*, p. 724; Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, p. 148.

G. I. BR.

DEBE RABBI ISHMAEL. See Ishmael ben Elisha.

DEBIR: 1. A king of Eglon referred to in Josh. x. 3 *et seq.* The Septuagint reads Δαβίν. Debir was one of the five kings who joined Adonizedek, King of Jerusalem, against the city of Gibeon. In the battle which ensued, according to the Book of Jashar, Joshua, who had come to the support of Gibeon, caused the sun and the moon to stop in their courses while he took revenge on his enemies. The outcome was a crushing defeat for Debir and the allied kings, who fled, but were caught and ignominiously put to death.

J. JR. I. Hu.

2. City in the south of Judah. According to Josh. xv. 15 and Judges i. 12, it was originally called "Kirjath-sepher" (קרית ספר); according to Josh. xv. 49, "Kirjath-sannah" (קרית סנה). In Josh. x. 39, xi. 21, xii. 13, it is said to have been conquered by Joshua, while in *ib.* xv. 15 *et seq.*; Judges i. 12 *et seq.*, Othniel is named as its captor. It was the seat of a tribal chief, and therefore a place of some importance. It is mentioned among the Levitical cities in Josh. xxi. 15. Its situation is not certainly known. Probably it is identical with Al-Ḍahariyyah, a large village on the top of a hill southwest of Hebron. Some consider the "Debir" mentioned in Josh. xv. 7 to be another place; but no city of this name is elsewhere mentioned as being in the vicinity indicated in the passage, and the text seems to be corrupt.

E. G. H. F. Bu.

DEBIR, THE. See Holy of Holies.

DEBORAH: 1. Rebekah's nurse, who accompanied Jacob, and died on the road to Beth-el. She was buried under a terebinth ("oak" in A.V. and R.V.), on this account named "Allon-bakut" (terebinth of weeping; Gen. xxxv. 8). This tree appears later on in Jewish history in connection with another Deborah. In Judges iv. 5 it is called "the palm-tree of Deborah," as though named in honor of the prophetess, who sat under it and judged Israel; but it is more likely that "Deborah" in this connection is a reminiscence of the nurse.

How Deborah came to be in the camp of Jacob is explained by Moses ha-Darshan as follows: "Rebekah had said to Jacob, 'I shall send thee hence, and I shall bring thee back' (see Gen. xxvii. 45); and in fulfilment of the second part of her promise she sent Deborah to bring him back." The nurse is also mentioned in Gen. xxiv. 59, but her name is not given.

E. G. H. G. B. L.

2.——Biblical Data: A prophetess who judged Israel. The story of Deborah is given in Judges iv. and v., and, although these chapters agree in some details, the differences between the two are so great as to make it necessary to treat them separately. Ch. iv. is a prose narrative from which it is learned that for twenty years Jabin, King of Canaan—whose royal city was Hazor, and whose general, Sisera, also had a special city, Harosheth of the Gentiles—oppressed Israel. During this time, or for a part of it, there was a prophetess named Deborah, wife of Lapidoth; she also acted as judge. Her residence was between Ramah and Beth-el in the Mount of Ephraim. Stirred by the wretched condition of Israel she incites a rebellion, and sends for Barak, the son of Abinoam, to Kedesh of Naphtali, and orders him to muster ten thousand troops of Naphtali and Zebulun and concentrate them upon Mount Tabor, the mountain at the northern angle of the great plain of Esdraelon. At the same time she states that she will draw Sisera to the River Kishon. Barak declines to go without the prophetess. Deborah consents, but declares that the glory of the victory will therefore belong to a woman, for a woman will capture Sisera. Barak gathers ten thousand troops and comes to Mount Tabor. As soon as the news of the rebellion reaches Sisera he collects nine hundred chariots of iron and a host of people. A battle is fought, and Sisera is completely defeated. He himself escapes on foot, while his army is pursued as far as Harosheth of the Gentiles and destroyed, not a man being left. Sisera passes the tent of Jael, who calls him; and he lies down to rest. He asks for a drink; she gives him milk; and while he is asleep she hammers a tent-pin through his temple. When Barak, in hot pursuit, passes the tent, she shows him the dead general. The narrative closes with the statement that thenceforth the power of Jabin waned until he was finally destroyed. For Judges v., see Deborah, Song of.

E. G. H. G. B. L.

——**In Rabbinical Literature:** Deborah was one of the seven prophetesses God raised in Israel: Sarah, Miriam, Deborah, Hannah, Abigail, Huldah, and Esther (Meg. 14a). The epithet אשת לפידות ("wife of Lapidoth") is interpreted by the Rabbis (*l.c.*) as referring to the woman who furnished wicks for the "lamps" of the sanctuary. The story is told more elaborately in Tanna debe Eliyahu R. ix.: Deborah, being married to an "am ha-arez," induced him to furnish wicks for the Shiloh sanctuary, and he made them so big as to turn the lights into blazing torches (לפידות). His real name was "Barak," given to him because his face "shone like lightning" (ברק); he was also called "Michael," because he was modest before God (מכיך את עצמו); but his name "Lapidoth" (furnisher of lights) indicates the merit of his wife Deborah, which caused her to become a great light in Israel. The fact that she was appointed by God to be judge and prophetess while Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, was living, was to evidence that the spirit of God rests alike upon Jew and Gentile, man and woman, bondman and bondwoman. The name "Deborah" is made an object-lesson: Two women were prophetesses, yet at the same time conceited and overbearing; all the more ugly were their names: that of the one being "Deborah" (bee), that of the other, "Huldah" (weasel). Of Deborah it is said: "And she sent and called Barak" (Judges iv. 6) instead of going to him; while Huldah sent a message to King Josiah: "Tell the man that sent you to me," etc. (II Kings xxii. 15), omitting to address him as king (Meg. 14b; compare marginal glosses).

Deborah's dwelling under the palm-tree (Judges iv. 5) is explained in several ways. According to one view, she would not, being a woman, teach or

judge in privacy, but in the open air, where all could assemble; according to another opinion the palm-tree symbolized the unity of hearts of all Israel, all being turned, like the leaves of the palm, to God their Father in heaven (Tanna debe Eliyahu ix.; compare Yalḳ. ii. 42). Deborah's prophecy consisted in her revealing the fact that God aids Israel by means of men who consecrate their lives to the worship of God and the study of His Law, praising Him in the bet ha-keneset and bet ha-midrash (Tanna debe Eliyahu ix. and x., derived from המתנדבים בעם ברכו, Judges v. 2, 9; compare Targum to I Macc. ii. 42, and "Apost. Const." lxiii.). "Barak, because he heeded her prophecy, was made participant of her song" (Judges v. 1).

Deborah's song, which is taken by Grätz ("Gesch." i. 115) to be a poem not composed by her—the form שקמתי (Judges v. 7) being the second person feminine; *i.e.* "Until thou didst arise, O Deborah," not "I arose" (A. V.)—is referred by the Haggadah to such Ḥasidean heroes as aided the Maccabean warriors in their battle against the Syrians (Tanna debe Eliyahu x.; 'Er. 54b, Targ. to Judges ii. 2–9, 11). The words "I arose a mother in Israel" show her conceit, and her punishment for such pride was that she lost her powers of prophecy (Pes. 66b).

S. S. K.

DEBORAH, THE SONG OF: Name of the triumphal ode found in Judges v. 2–31 and ascribed in the title (Judges v. 1) to Deborah; it celebrates the victory in the plain of Megiddo over Sisera and his army. The song belongs to the earlier poetry of the Hebrews, but shows such a remarkable power of expression and such a spontaneity that it takes a high place among the masterpieces of the world's poetic literature. The Masoretic text, while exhibiting corruptions and obscurities, may be said on the whole to be fairly faithful to the original. It has, however, been in the way of all attempts to reduce the poem to meter and divide it into regular strophes. The principal pauses occur after v. 11 and v. 22, and the prevailing rhythm has four beats to the line.

The poem opens, after the summons to praise YHWH, in which the kings of the surrounding nations are asked to join, with the description of YHWH's marching forth from Seir (verses 2–5). Then the song enlarges on the disorganized state of affairs before the war "until thou didst arise, O Deborah" (verse 7) (the ending of the verb שקמתי, which may be taken to be the first person, is rather the archaic form of the second person feminine); this apostrophe to Deborah (or declaration by Deborah) is followed by continued portrayal of the critical situation in Israel, which was completely unmanned because disloyal—though the phrase ("they chose new gods," v. 8) is of obscure meaning—to the ancestral God. The text of verses 9–11 shows some misplacements, and verse 9 may be a marginal note by some later hand, or a eulogy added, of the class so numerously found in the Old Testament. Verses 12–22 describe the march into battle, the victory, and the flight of the Canaanites; verse 12a is the appeal to Deborah to strike up the battle-song, followed by that to Barak to open the fight. Praise is bestowed on the tribes of Ephraim, Benjamin, Machir (Manasseh), Zebulun, Issachar (Deborah's tribe), and Naphtali (Barak's tribe), while censure is dealt out to Reuben (Gilead), Dan, and Asher for lack of patriotism. Verses 19–22 detail the battle, in which "from heaven fought the stars" (YHWH's aid), and the rout of the enemy. The third division, verses 23–31, narrates the flight and death of Sisera (verses 23–27), and graphically describes a scene in his palace where his mother and her women await his return with anticipations of rich booty (verses 28–30). "Meroz"—an unknown place—is cursed for its unwillingness to help YHWH, and by contrast Jael is blessed for her bravery (verses 23–27). The whole poem concludes (verse 31) with a fervent wish that Sisera's fate befall all of YHWH's enemies, while His friends shall be invincible. The poem may have been included in the "book of the wars of YHWH" (Num. xxi. 14; see Ber. 58a). Modern critics for the most part concede that the song was written very near the time at which the battle therein described took place.

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E. G. H.

DEBORAH: A Jewish weekly in the German language, founded in 1855 by Isaac M. Wise and Max Lilienthal in Cincinnati, Ohio, for German immigrants who had not mastered English. It was planned as a German supplement to the AMERICAN ISRAELITE, and with the increase of the English-speaking Jewish population it lost ground continually. It was kept up until Wise's death (March 26, 1900), he being assisted at various times by S. H. Sonneschein, Henry Zirndorf, and G. Deutsch. The last weekly issue appeared April 6, 1900. In Jan., 1901, G. Deutsch, assisted by S. H. Sonneschein, resumed the publication of "Deborah" as a monthly; but this was discontinued in Dec., 1902.

G. D.

DEBTOR AND CREDITOR: The law-books treat under this head the incidents of payment: the kind of money that the creditor must accept; the place at which the debtor must pay; the means of sending or bringing the money; good and bad tenders; the creditor's duty to give a receipt; etc.

The Jewish codes treat some of these questions on Talmudic authority. They speak of debtor and creditor as "malweh we-loweh" (literally, "lender and borrower"), looking upon a liquidated debt, even when it arises from the sale of land or goods, as a loan.

The question, What is a good tender—so as to stop interest and costs—is of no consequence in Jewish law, as the latter awards neither interest nor costs. Though debts were not paid with checks or notes in Talmudic times, yet cases quite analogous are discussed.

A debt is payable wherever the creditor demands it, even if he meets the debtor in the wilderness

(provided the payment leaves to the debtor the means for getting home); but should the debtor offer to the creditor in the wilderness money which he has borrowed in a settled country, the creditor may refuse to take it (B. Ḳ. x. 6, also applicable to liabilities arising from torts or bailment; Maimonides, "Yad," Malweh, xiii. 8; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 74, 1).

Time of Payment.

The custom arose in the days of the Geonim for the creditor, at or after the time of a contract made before witnesses, to request the debtor to pay only before witnesses; and, according to rules drawn by the Geonim from Shebu'ot vi., such a request must be complied with. That is to say, the debtor will in such a case be unable to set up payment except by the testimony of witnesses (Maimonides, *ib.* xv. 1, and see gloss for disputed points). So if the creditor stipulates that the witnesses must be scholars or physicians, or that he, the creditor, shall be trusted without oath against the plea of payment, the stipulation was enforced (*ib.* xv. 2, 3). Similar stipulations may be made by the debtor; with what effect see *ib.* xv. 5; compare generally Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 69.

The debtor is responsible for the sum due till he pays it over to the creditor or to his agent. Should the creditor say to him, "Throw me my money and be quit," and he does so, but the money is lost or stolen before it reaches the creditor, he is quit (Giṭ. 78b; see Maimonides, *ib.* xv. 1). What is said about throwing the money applies, of course, to any mode of transmission chosen by the creditor (Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 120, 1, 2).

In the absence of special terms, a loan or a sale on credit (unless there be a local custom to the contrary) is presumed to fall due in thirty days (Tosef., B. M. x. 1; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 73, 1). Where a time of payment has been set, either in an oral "loan" or by bond, whether the debtor be dead or alive, the creditor may make no demand before the day set (see Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 73, 2, 3, 4, for the settlement of disputes as to the time of maturity).

At maturity the debtor may wish to pay at once, so as no longer to hold the money at his own risk—for example, if it be feared that the government will levy an arbitrary tax or change the money standard—and the creditor is bound to accept. If he refuses, the debtor may deposit the money with the court or with some trustworthy party; but not when the debt is not yet due and some untoward act, as above, seems imminent. If no such risk is apparent, however, the creditor must accept; for the setting of a time is intended only for the debtor's benefit.

Acceptance.

After maturity the debtor may wish to pay in driblets. Here the better opinion is that the creditor may not refuse such payments. Still, if there is a pledge or mortgage for the debt, the debtor can not compel the creditor to release part of the property, even though it may be easily divisible (Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 74, 4, based on B. M. 77b).

When the coin in which a contract was made has been demonetized by the government, it must still be accepted so long as it remains current in some other country to which the creditor has access; if not current in such a country, the debtor must pay in the coin current at the time; and such is also the rule for the wife's jointure (*ib.* 74, 7).

It has been shown under Alienation how a demand is transferred in a "meeting of three." Thus, the promise of a third person may be transferred in payment of a debt. As Maimonides says, if A owes a mina to B, and B says to A in a meeting of three, "Give to C the mina which you owe me," and C assumes it, but it turns out that A is insolvent, C may back out; for B has misled him. But if C knew of A's insolvency, or if A was well off at the time and became insolvent afterward, C may not repudiate his assumption. Again, suppose A has no demand on B, but owes a mina to C, and he refers the latter for payment to B, although he refers him thus in a "meeting of three," there is no transfer. B need not give the money to C; but if he does, he can recover it from A. Also, if C says, "I do not wish to collect from B," he may hold A liable, even after collecting part of the demand from B ("Yad," Malweh, xvi. 3, 4). The inference from the cases in which the old debt is not barred by reason of fraud or mistake is that where the debtor in a meeting of three furnishes to the creditor a new obligor with a full understanding of the facts all round, the old debt is extinguished.

Cancelation.

The formal acquittance by which a bond is canceled is known as "shober" (literally, "breaker"), and is in form a "sheṭar"; that is, attested by two witnesses. Where the debt is by bond, the bond is delivered upon payment in full. Upon partial payment, the creditor may insist on receiving a new bond for the remnant, or he may give an acquittance for the part paid. For a debt otherwise than by bond, the debtor may have his shober, provided he pays the scrivener's fees. But if the creditor claims to have lost or mislaid the bond, the debtor is entitled to a shober at the creditor's cost, and may, moreover, compel him to take an oath that the bond is not in his possession (Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 54, and authorities there quoted).

L. G. L. N. D.

DEBTS OF DECEDENTS: Under the old law as it is recognized in many passages of the Talmud (*e.g.*, Ket. 81b) and implied in the Mishnah (Ket. ix. 2; B. Ḳ. x. 1), the goods and chattels of a decedent, or the moneys due to his estate, can not be seized by his creditors or by his widow, who is a bond creditor for her jointure ("ketubah"), though R. Meïr distinctly said, and the Mishnah in one place intimates, that all of a man's estate is bound by the latter instrument. The very name given to lands and slaves, "estate which has responsibility" ("aḥarayot"), as shown in the article on Alienation, indicates that land was deemed by the old sages the primary fund for securing creditors (see also Deed). It may hence be inferred that in Palestine, even after the destruction of the Temple, and in Babylonia, the Jews were, down to the completion of the Talmud, in the main land-owning farmers, not landless traders or artisans.

In later times, when the bulk of the Jews had become landless, this rule became impracticable, and

the Geonim instituted another rule, subjecting the goods and demands of decedents, as well as their lands, to their debts (see Shulḥan 'Aruk, Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 107, 1). Maimonides shows that even without this new institution the orphan heirs of A, who have as such obtained the land of his debtor, must give them up to A's creditors: for the lands would be considered as coming to them from their father (Ket. 92a); and morally orphans were always bound to pay their father's debts to the extent of both lands and chattels received ("Yad," Malweh, viii. 9, based on Ket. 91b). As to priorities of bond creditors on descended lands, see DEED. Regarding personal property, all creditors are on an equality, except in so far as one gains a priority by making the first seizure. The codes say little or nothing about the distribution of an estate that is not sufficient to satisfy all creditors.

Bond creditors take lands sold by the heirs out of the hands of the purchasers (unless the heirs will pay the debt), in like manner as they prevail against purchasers from the debtor himself.

The manner of appraising the lands of infant heirs, and of advertising and selling the same for the payment of debts, is described in the article on APPRAISEMENT (see also Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 109). A sort of judicial conveyance, known as "adrakta," is drawn up after the selling of the lands, which must contain the declaration that the lands sold belong to the deceased debtor, naming him (*ib.*).

A debt arising by word of mouth, or by written contract not sealed (see DEED), can be set up against the debtor's heirs in three cases only: (1) if the debtor had in his last sickness acknowledged the debt; (2) if the debt was not due at the debtor's death; (3) if the debtor had been excommunicated for failing to satisfy a judgment, and had died while under the ban; for in other cases the debt might have been paid in the debtor's lifetime without the knowledge of the heirs.

And, except in these three cases, even a debt by bond can not be enforced against the heirs during their infancy (boys under thirteen), though the bond contain a clause that the debtor trusts the honesty of the creditor; for these heirs, if of full age, might find proof to overcome the bond or to show its having been paid. Nor can the debt be enforced during the infancy of the heirs if the testimony of witnesses is needed to bring it within one of these three cases; for witnesses can not be adduced against an infant. Hence it was usual to make a judicial minute of the debtor's death-bed acknowledgment. So decides Caro (Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ); but Maimonides (Malweh, xii. 1, 2) holds that during the infancy of the heirs no proceedings can be taken in any cases but the following two: (1) where the demand belongs to a Gentile, and bears interest which it is for the benefit of the infants to stop; (2) the case of a widow's jointure, provided she has not married again. In these two cases the court should appoint a guardian for the infant heirs, who will guard their interests; and if there is no defense, the descended estate will be sold, and the debt paid off (see also B. B. 5b, 22a, 174a).

Whether the heirs be under or over age, the creditor can not proceed against them without taking the oath, unless there be a clause in his bond in which the debtor declares faith in his truthfulness. Should the creditor die, and his heirs set up a claim against that of the debtor, they must take a solemn oath framed for the circumstances (see Sheb. 45a), unless a clause in the bond avows faith in the creditor and in his heirs. Where the creditor does not know of assets descended, and calls upon the debtor's heirs for payment, and they, while admitting the debt, deny the receipt of assets, they may clear themselves by the rabbinical oath.

A fine, such as was often imposed by the rabbinical courts ("ḳenas"), falls to the ground with the wrong-doer's death, and can not be collected from his heirs (Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 108, 2).

The rule of enforcing all demands against the obligor's heirs is of late date. Rab and Samuel, the first of the Babylonian "pairs" (*c.* 230–250), still agreed in the proposition: "He who lends by word of mouth can not collect either from heirs or from purchasers" (B. B. 175a; but see ROBBERY as to liability of descended lands for things taken forcibly).

This feature of the older Talmudic law falls in with the common-law rule that the heir (*i.e.*, the successor to the decedent's lands) is bound only for the bonds or sealed instruments of his ancestor. Later on, in both systems of law natural equity prevailed over narrow distinctions.

L. G. L. N. D.

DECALOGUE: A word, derived from the Greek, corresponding to the Biblical עשרת הדברים; LXX. *οἱ δέκα λόγοι*[a] (Ex. xxxiv. 28; Deut. x. 4; compare Josephus, "Ant." iii. 5, § 3) and *τὰ δέκα ῥήματα* (Deut. xiv. 13); also *τὰ δέκα λόγια*, in the title of Philo's dissertation *Περὶ τῶν Δέκα Λογίων*; in later Hebrew עשרות (Shabbat 86b) or, without the numeral, הדברות (B. Ḳ. 54b). As a singular, *ἡ δέκαλογος* (scil. *βίβλος*) was first used by the Church Fathers (see Clement of Alexandria, "Pædagogus," iii. 12, § 8, and "Stromata," vi. 16, §§ 133, 137); the corresponding Latin "decalogus" is met with in Tertullian ("De Anima," xxxvii.).

——**Biblical Data:** The Decalogue is given in the Pentateuch in two versions (Ex. xx. 2–17 and Deut. v. 6–18) that exhibit some variants (see below). According to the Biblical records, it represents the solemn utterances of YHWH on Mt. Sinai, directly revealed by Him to Moses and the people of Israel in the third month after their deliverance from Egypt, amid wonderful manifestations of divine power marked by thunder and lightning and thick smoke (Ex. xix.). As such, God wrote the Ten Words upon two tablets of stone—"tables of testimony" (לחות העדת, Ex. xxiv. 12, xxxi. 18, xxxii. 16) or "tables of the covenant" (לחות הברית, Deut. ix. 9, 11, 15)—and gave them to Moses. The people having gone astray, Moses, carried away by righteous indignation, broke the tables (Ex. xxxii. 19), and God subsequently commanded him to hew two other tables like the first (Ex. xxxiv. 1), whereon to rewrite the Ten Words (Ex. xxxiv. 1). According to another passage (Ex. xxxiv. 27, 28), Moses was bidden to rewrite, and did rewrite, the Commandments himself; but in Deut. iv. 13, v. 18, ix. 10, x. 24, God appears as the writer. This second set, brought

down from Mt. Sinai by Moses (Ex. xxxiv. 29), was placed in the Ark (Ex. xxv. 16, 21; xl. 20), hence designated as the "Ark of the Testimony" (Ex. xxv. 22; Num. iv. 5; compare also I Kings viii. 9).

The Decalogue opens with the solemn affirmation, put in the first person, that the speaker is YHWH, Israel's ("thy") God, who hath led Israel ("thee") out of Egypt. Therefore there shall be for Israel ("thee") no other gods before YHWH's ("my") face. Prohibition of idolatry follows as a logical amplification of this impressive announcement, and then a caution against taking YHWH's name in vain. The duty of remembering the Sabbath and that of honoring father and mother are emphasized. Murder, adultery, theft, and false testimony are forbidden, and the Decalogue concludes with an expanded declaration against covetousness.

Contents.

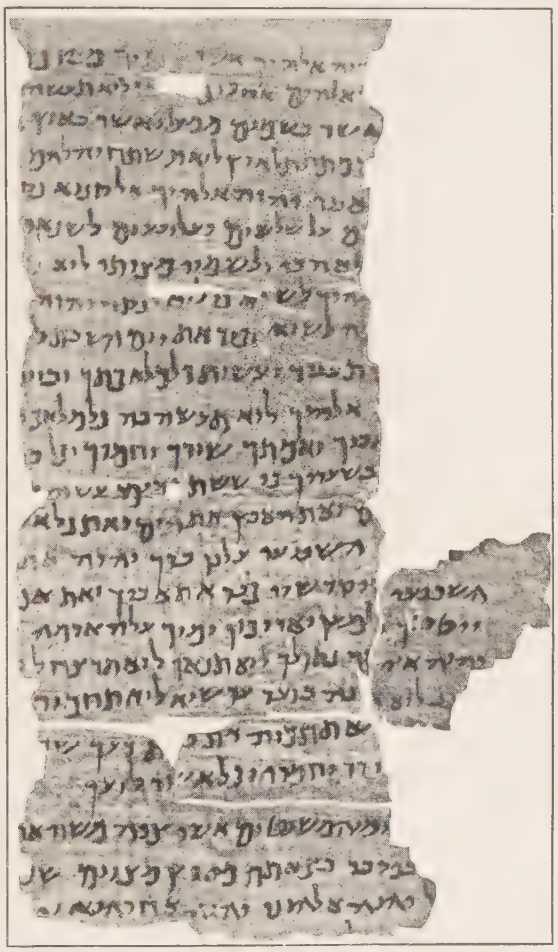
—**Critical View:** The Decalogue in Deuteronomy does not differ materially from that in Exodus in regard to the affirmations and obligations contained therein. Verbal discrepancies, however, are comparatively numerous, while the reason adduced for the Sabbath is altogether different. In detail these variants may be grouped as follows:

(a) *Differences in the consonantal (Masoretic) text, in identical words*: For example, "miẓwotai" (מצותי, Ex. xx. 6), which occurs as "miẓwotaw" (מצותו, Deut. v. 10, in the "Ketib"; this variant is due to an anticipation of the transition from the first to the third person which ensues after this verse). Similarly, there are changes in the use and position of the auxiliary vowel letters; *e.g.*, אבת (Ex. xx 5) and אבות (Deut. v. 9); יאריכון (Ex. xx. 12) and יאריכון (Deut. v. 16).

(b) *Syntactical differences*: *E.g.*, the syndetic arrangement "children, grandchildren, *and* great-grandchildren" (Ex. xx. 5, Hebr.), over against the polysyndetic "children *and* grandchildren *and* great-grandchildren" (Deut. v. 9, Hebr.); and the asyndetic succession "Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not steal" (Ex. xx. 13-17), over against the polysyndetic "Thou shalt not kill, *and* thou shalt not, . . . *and*," etc. (Deut. v. 17, Hebr.).

(c) *Stylistic variations*: "Covet," occurring twice in Exodus (xx. 17), is replaced in one instance by "desire" in Deuteronomy (v. 18). "Graven image and any likeness" in Ex. xx. 11 (Hebr.) appears as "[the] graven image of any likeness" in Deut. v. 8 (Hebr.). "Remember (זכור) the Sabbath" in Ex. xx. 9 corresponds to "Keep" (שמור) in Deut. v. 12. עד שקר ("false witness") in Ex. xx. 16 corresponds to עד שוא ("a witness of iniquity" or "falsehood") in Deut. v. 17 (A.V. 20), the prohibition being furthermore prefixed by "and." The sequence "house and wife" in Ex. xx. 17 is reversed to read "wife and house" in Deut. v. 18 (A.V. 21).

(d) *Additions and amplifications*: Deuteronomy adds in two places (v. 12, 16) the formula "as YHWH, thy God, hath commanded thee." Another addition is found in Deuteronomy in the text of the command to honor father and mother (v. 16): "and that it may go well with thee." Ex. xx. 10 summarizes "thy cattle," which in Deut. v. 14 (Hebr.) is expanded to "thine ox and thine ass and all thy cattle," to which is added "that thy man-servant and thy maid-servant may rest as well as thou." Deut. v. 18 (Hebr.) has "his field," which in the corresponding passage of Exodus is wanting.



Earliest Manuscript of Decalogue (Second Century?), Containing Variations from the Masoretic Text. Probably the Oldest Example of Square Characters in a Hebrew Manuscript.

(From "Transactions of Society of Biblical Archeology.")

But of greatest interest is the variation in the reason given for the Sabbath. Ex. xx. 10, 11 connects it with creation (compare Gen. ii. 2); Deuteronomy assigns to it a social purpose and connects it with Israel's liberation from Egyptian bondage. Thus the Sabbath may be said to rest in Exodus on a universal-theological, in Deuteronomy on a national-historical-economic, basis.

A careful analysis of these variants leads to the conclusion that Exodus, on the whole, presents an earlier text than Deuteronomy. The clearly marked effort at stylistic refinement (the substitution of "lo tit'awweh" for "lo taḥmod"; the mention of the "wife" before the "house"; even the polysyndetic phrasing, showing a straining after effect) points in this direction. The insertion of the formula "as YHWH hath commanded" indicates that the appeal rests on a well-known and long-established law. The enumeration of the various kinds of cattle also betrays the hand of a later writer, and so does the explanatory and qualifying gloss "that it may go well with thee."

On the other hand, the variants in the command against idolatry point to the priority of the Deuteronomic reading. Exodus is more explicit and strenuous, as if afraid that the laxer wording ("graven image of any likeness") of Deut. v. 8 might not be sufficiently comprehensive to bar every species of

idolatry. The Sabbath law in Deuteronomy, at least in part, appears to confirm this; while the expression "keep" is stronger than that in Exodus, "remember," and would thus indicate a later solicitude for a better observance. Also, its anxiety for the welfare of the servant exhibits a humane spirit not ordinarily to be looked for in documents of antiquity. The introduction of the theological motive in Exodus, where Deuteronomy has the historical-economic, is an element that favors the assumption of the higher antiquity of the Deuteronomic Decalogue.

Relation of the Two Versions.

These variants, however, have been explained as due to scribal carelessness, such as is easily established by a comparison of the texts of other parallel passages; the writers, contrary to the later rabbinic practise and injunction, failing to consult the written text while quoting from memory, and thus mixing with their lines reminiscences of similar but not identical verses (compare Bardowicz, "Studien zur Geschichte der Orthographie des Alt-Hebr." Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1894; Blau, "Studien zum Alt-Hebr. Bücherwesen," Budapest, 1902). But upon examination this plausible theory will be seen to create new difficulties in the matter in point. The Decalogue must be considered, on the basis of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, to have been fundamental; and as such its wording must have been so accurately fixed as to preclude the possibility of latitude for scribal caprice. The Rabbis, indeed, have felt this difficulty. They have solved it by assuming that both versions are of identical divine origin, and were spoken in a miraculously strange manner at one and the same time ("Bedibbur Eḥad"; see Mek., ed. Weiss, p. 77, Vienna, 1865; Shebu. 20b; R. H. 27b; Yer. Ned. iii. 1; Yer. Shebu. iii. 5; Cant. Rabbah xxviii.; Sifre, Ki Tabo).

Ibn Ezra (to Ex. xx. 1) recognizes the insufficiency of this explanation, but is equally dissatisfied with the solution proposed by Saadia. The latter, conforming to his rigorous theory of inspiration, would not admit that the Masoretic text was other than of divine origin. It is therefore his theory that literally the Deuteronomic Decalogue equally with that of Exodus was divinely inspired. While Exodus presents the reading of the first set of tables, Deuteronomy contains that engraved by divine direction on the second (see "Jour. Asiatique," Dec., 1861, in Neubauer, "Notice sur la Lexicographie," etc.; Geiger's "Jüd. Zeit." i. 292). With profuse professions of regard for Orthodox teachings, Ibn Ezra ventures to hold that these variants are in the nature of linguistic differences often noticeable in the Biblical books.

——**Modern Views:** Modern conservative scholars, with few exceptions (G. Livingston Robinson, "The Decalogue and Criticism," 1899), in so far as they do not maintain that the version of Exodus is the original Mosaic, or at least the older, while that of Deuteronomy (also Mosaic) departs from the original text in conformity with the parenetic method and purpose of Deuteronomy, have concluded that both versions are amplifications—those in Deuteronomy on the whole being later than those in Exodus—of an anterior and old (Mosaic) but briefer list of ten statements written in the manner of the prohibitions against murder, adultery, theft, etc. (Strack, "Exodus," p. 241; Franz Delitzsch, in "Zeitschrift für Kirchliche Wissenschaft und Leben," 1882, p. 292; Holzinger, "Exodus," in "Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum A. T." pp. 79 *et seq.*, Tübingen, 1900; Eduard König, "Einleitung," p. 187, and Index, *s.v.*; Wildeboer, "Die Literatur des A. T." p. 17).

Graphically considered, the writing of the letters (about 620) contained in the Decalogue on two tables of stone of moderately large dimensions does not present, as was long thought, an impossibility. The Mesha stone proves the contrary. The Decalogue written in the style of the latter would fill about twenty of its lines (Holzinger, *l.c.* p. 69). The unevenness in the length of the first and the second parts is a much stronger indication that the original version was without the amplifications noticeable in the commandments of the first and tenth groups.

Original Form.

The tradition, according to which earlier tables were replaced by others, shows that for a long time the knowledge was current of changes in the text, and not, as Holzinger contends (*l.c.* p. 77), that a Mosaic law had never existed.

The original Ten Words probably opened with (1) "I am YHWH, thy God," etc. Then followed:

(2) Thou shalt have no other gods before Me [beside Me].
(3) Thou shalt not take the name of YHWH thy God in vain.
(4) Remember the Sabbath-day.
(5) Honor thy father and thy mother.
(6) Thou shalt not murder.
(7) Thou shalt not commit adultery.
(8) Thou shalt not steal.
(9) Thou shalt not bear false witness.
(10) Thou shalt not covet (Wildeboer, *l.c.* p. 19).

Eduard König and others (see Lotz in Herzog-Hauck, "Real-Encyc." 3d ed., p. 563) place as the second of these original Ten Words the prohibition against the making and the worshiping of graven images. It is probable that the early Hebrews shared with the Arabs the repugnance to molten plastic idols (פֶּסֶל; see Wellhausen, "Reste Arabischen Heidentums," p. 102); but "maẓẓebot" (pillars or stones) were legitimate accessories of the YHWH cult down to a much later period than that of such a Mosaic decalogue. Moreover, idolatry was tolerated in North Israel and even in Judea down to the later centuries. Upon these considerations, Kuenen, Wellhausen, Stade, Schultz, and Smend have argued against the ascription of any decalogue to Mosaic times; but with the omission from the original ten of the injunction against idolatry, the mainstay is taken from under the opposition to the authenticity of the tradition connecting Moses with such a lapidary code.

These simple brief statements were amplified in course of time; the fourth, for instance, reflecting in both versions agricultural conditions such as did not obtain in the Mosaic days. So also does the promised reward of the fifth. The reason given in Deuteronomy for keeping the Sabbath also appeals to circumstances of agricultural civilization; that adduced in Exodus is of a theological nature, and can not be much older than the priestly code (P), nor can it antedate the reception into the Pentateuch of Gen. i.

and ii. 1–4. Critics have assigned the Exodus version, with this exception, to the ninth century B.C.; the Deuteronomic text, to the seventh century.

Decalogue of Exodus xxxiv.

From the point of view of Pentateuchal analysis Wellhausen ("Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der Historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments," 1885, pp. 84, 85, and *passim*) maintains that the Jahvist (J) contains an altogether different decalogue; viz., that of Ex. xxxiv. 14–26. Goethe, in his "Zwo Fragen, 1773," was the first modern to suggest this. This decalogue is concerned with ritual affairs. Holzinger (Commentary on Exodus, p. 119) proposes the following brief sentences as its contents:

(1) Thou shalt not worship any strange god.
(2) Thou shalt not make thee any molten images.
(3) Thou shalt observe the Feast of Mazzot [Pesaḥ].
(4) The first-born are Mine [YHWH'S].
(5) Thou shalt observe the Feast of Weeks.
(6) Thou shalt observe the Feast of the Ingathering.
(7) Thou shalt not mix with leaven the blood of My offerings.
(8) The fat of My feast shall not remain with thee until the next morning.
(9) The choicest of the first-fruits of the land shalt thou bring to the house of YHWH, thy God.
(10) Thou shalt not seethe the kid in the milk of its mother.

In order to extract these "ten words" from the passage, many other laws therein contained of seemingly equal importance have to be omitted, as also the reasons assigned for their observance. This attempt to reconstrue another decalogue may be said to be a failure, all the more as it is conceded that the decalogue in P (Ex. xx.) is virtually anterior to that (Ex. xxxiv.) in J (Holzinger, *l.c.* p. 120). Still less satisfactory, because altogether unreasonable, is the venture to recover the Decalogue from fragments in Ex. xx. 27, 28, and xxiii. 10–16 (Meissner, "Der Dekalog," Halle, 1893; Staerk, "Das Deuteronomium," pp. 29 *et seq.*, 40, Leipsic, 1894).

Division of the Decalogue.

Written on two stone tables (Deut. iv. 13, v. 19, x. 34), with script on both sides (Ex. xxxii. 15), the Decalogue would most naturally have been divided into two groups, of five "words" each, each group appearing on one stone. In this way, according to Josephus ("Ant." iii. 5, § 4) and Philo ("De Decalogo," § 12, *δίο πεντάδας*), the Decalogue was originally delivered, the first pentad containing the commandments of "pietas" (relating to God or His visible representatives on earth, the parents); the other, those of "probitas" (relating to conduct toward one's fellow men).

The Midrash mentions a similar division: ה' על לוח זה וה' על לוח זה (Ex. R. xli.), though, according to R. Nehemiah, each table contained the complete text of the Ten Words (compare Yer. Shek. vi. [quoted in "'En Ya'akob"]). The first table would thus have contained 146 of the 172 words of the Exodus Decalogue, but the other only 26. In view of this inequality in the distribution it has been suggested that the one table contained only the first three commandments; the other, the last seven. But if the amplifications were omitted, the grouping in sets of five would result in assigning to the one table 28 words and to the other 27 (Strack, "Exodus," p. 242).

Sequence and Numbering.

The order of the prohibitions against murder, adultery, and theft, as now given in the Masoretic text, in Josephus, and in the Syriac Hexapla, is not followed by the Septuagint, the Codex Alexandrinus, and Ambrosianus (which have "murder, theft, adultery"), nor by Philo (who has "adultery, murder, theft"), nor by the Codex Vaticanus (which reads "adultery, theft, murder").

Differences obtain also in regard to the numbering of the various commandments. The traditional Jewish system makes Ex. xx. 2 the first "word," and verses 3–6 are regarded as one; viz., the second (Mak. 24a; Mek., ed. Friedmann, p. 70b, Vienna, 1870; Pesiḳ. R., ed. Friedmann, p. 106b, *ib.* 1880). This arrangement is found also in the Codex Vaticanus of the LXX. and in the Deuteronomy of Ambrosianus. Still R. Ishma'el counts verse 3 as the first "word" (Sifre to Num. xv. 31; ed. Friedmann, p. 33a, Vienna, 1864). Philo and Josephus count verse 3 as commandment i.; verses 4–6 as ii.; verse 7 as iii.; verses 8–11 as iv.; verse 12 as v.; verse 13 as vi.; verse 14 as vii.; verse 15 as viii.; verse 16 as ix.; and verse 17 as x.

The numbering adopted by the Roman Catholic and Lutheran churches combines verses 3–6 into a single commandment which is numbered i., in consequence of which, up to the last, every commandment is advanced by one, the Jewish No. III. becoming II., and so on. In order to maintain the number ten, the Jewish No. X. is divided into IX. ("Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife") and X. ("Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house," etc.). This method of numbering is ascribed to Augustine ("quæst. 71 ad Exodum"), but the Codex Alexandrinus, as E. Nestle was the first to notice ("Theol. Studien aus Württemberg," 1886, pp. 319 *et seq.*), also exhibits it. Modern critics are inclined to accept this latter system of enumeration, partly because the Jewish No. I. is not a "commandment," in which they overlook the Hebrew designation דבר ("word"), and partly because, as the Jewish enumeration has it, verses 3 and 4–6 certainly constitute one command.

Accentuation of the Commandments.

The "'aseret ha-dibrot" are accentuated in the Hebrew in two ways: one for private reading, when the verses are marked to begin at 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17 (13–16 as one verse); the other for solemn public recital, when the first two commandments and the introduction are read without interruption, because God is introduced as the speaker, and every other commandment as a separate verse (Pinsker, "Einleitung in das Babylonisch-Hebräische Punktationssystem," pp. 48–50). It may be possible, though it has been doubted, that this double accentuation preserves the traces of an old uncertainty concerning the numeration of the various "principles" or "words." These accents are respectively known as the "ṭa'am ha'elyon" (superlinear) and the "ṭa'am ha-taḥton" (sublinear). The Oriental Jews know only the division into ten words; *i.e.*, that observed in private reading (W. Wickes, "Accentuation of the Twenty-one So-called Prose Books of the O. T." p. 130). The superlinear accentuation is generally used for the cantillation of the Decalogue on the Feast of Weeks

as the memorial day of the revelation—*i.e.*, the giving of the Torah (זמן מתן תורה)—while on the ordinary Sabbaths, when the Decalogue is read as a part of the pericope (Yitro and Wa'ethannan), the sublinear is followed (Japhet, "Die Accente der Heiligen Schrift," 1896, p. 160; Geiger, "Wiss. Zeit. Jüd. Theol." iii. 147 *et seq.*; also "Urschrift," p. 373, note).

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E. G. H. E. K.—E. G. H.

DECALOGUE, THE, IN JEWISH THEOLOGY: The Ten Words are designated by Philo as κεφαλαῖα νόμων = "the heads of the law," the title of the chapter "De Decem Oraculis." The second table Philo, contrary to the usual order, begins with the commandment against adultery, describing adultery as the greatest of all violations of the Law, since it corrupts three houses—that of the adulterer, that of the wronged husband, and that of the adulterer's wife. The fourth commandment refers to all festivals, and, according to Philo, embraces all the laws conducive to the spread of kindness and gentleness and fellowship and the feeling of equality among men (with reference to Sabbatical year and the jubilee). Under the fifth commandment he ranges all laws in regard to family life, the honor due to old people, the duties of the old to the young, the ruler to his subjects, the benefactor to the needy, the master to his servants, etc.

Philo's exposition of the preeminence and original character of the Decalogue, both in its general tenor and in many of its particular details, reflects the teachings of the Mishnaic period, as indeed it also anticipates some of the positions of later Rabbis. The fact that the recital of the Ten Words constituted a salient feature of the daily liturgy in the morning service (Tamid v. 1; Ber. 3c) indicates that they were regarded as the essential parts of divine revelation. This practise was discontinued as a protest against the unwarranted inference drawn therefrom by sectaries that the Decalogue alone had been revealed by God on Sinai (Ber. 11a). The Shema' ("Hear, O Israel," Deut. vi. 4) and the selections from Deut. vi. 4–9, xi. 13–22; Num. xv. 37 *et seq.*, which follow the Shema' in the order of the liturgy, and form as it were a part thereof, were believed to contain in essence the Decalogue.

The new Pesiḳta (Bet Ham. vi. 41; comp. Bacher, "Die Agada der Palästin. Amoräer," ii. 183) holds the reading of the Shema' every morning as tantamount to the keeping of the Ten Commandments, because they, too, had been proclaimed "in the morning" (Ex. xix. 16). Again, Sifre to Deut. i. 3 controverts the assumption that the Decalogue alone had been revealed through Moses. Like the Shema', Num. xix., looked upon by R. Ḥiyya as fundamental, is construed by R. Levi as a cryptogram of the Decalogue (see Didache).

According to Hananiah, the son of Joshua's brother, the Decalogue contains all the laws of the Torah (Yer. Shek. 46d, bottom; Soṭah 22d; Cant. Rabbah to v. 14), his words, "parashiyyoteha wedikduḳeha shel Torah," recalling Philo's view that the Decalogue contains the capital, the rest of the Pentateuch the special, laws. Berechiah is credited with a similar opinion (Bacher, *l.c.* iii. 356). The Decalogue is compared with a rare jewel of ten pearls (Exod. R. xliv.; Tan. [Ki] Tissa, end). The Patriarchs had been loyal to the principles of the Decalogue long before they had been revealed to Moses. (Attention is called to Yalḳ. Shim'oni, i. 276, end.) The universality of the Decalogue is accentuated by the fact of its being offered in turn to all the nations (Deut. xxxiii. 2, 3; Hab. iii. 3; Ta'an. 25a; 'Ab. Zarah 2a) in the desert territory ("hefker") which belonged to none exclusively (Mek., Yitro, 1), and of its proclamation in all the (seventy) languages of the world (Shab. 88b).

The first and second commandments are rated as preeminent (Sifre to Num. xv. 31), both on account of their doctrine and also because they alone, as is indicated by the use of the first person singular, were spoken to the people by God Himself (Macc. 24a; Sanh. 99a; Hor. 8a; compare Geiger, "Jüd. Zeit." iv. 113 *et seq.*). On the other hand, the tenth commandment is also held fundamentally to include the others; at least its violation amounted to transgressing the seven "nots" (לאוין) of the Decalogue (Pesiḳ. R. 22). As the tenth forbids the coveting of a neighbor's wife, the foregoing statement of its scope agrees with the similar valuation placed upon the seventh (against adultery:

The Seventh Commandment.

Tan., Naso). Adultery is a violation of the first commandment, according to Jer. v. 7, 8, 12; of the second, according to Num. v. 14 (וקנא = Ex. xx. 5); of the third, because adultery is denied, as is generally the case, with an oath; of the fifth, inasmuch as the child of such a union can not honor its parents; of the sixth, because adulterers are always prepared to kill if caught in the act; of the seventh, which directly forbids adultery; of the eighth, as the adulterer is virtually a thief (see Prov. ix. 17); of the ninth, because the adulteress gives false testimony against her husband; of the tenth, in that the adulterer makes his son

another man's heir. In regard to the fourth (concerning the Sabbath), the eventuality is assumed that the issue of an adulterous intimacy between a non-priest and a woman of the priestly caste might become a priest. The arrangement of the two tables whereby one is opposite six indicates that murder includes the denial of God (Mek. to Ex. xx. 17). The last six commandments are also regarded as the basis of all morality (Tosef., Shebu. iii. 6).

As a statue is seen by a thousand, and its eye covers them all, so, R. Levi says, every single person heard the words as though personally addressed (Pesiḳ. 110a; Tan., ed. Buber, to Yitro 17; compare Pesiḳ. xxi., where Jochanan is credited with this simile, while Levi points to one sound heard by many). The fact that the versions of Ex. and Deut. present textual discrepancies was explained by the theory that both were divinely given בדיבור אחד, in one act of divine speech (Sheb. 20b; R. H. 27a; Mek. xx. 8; Sifre, Deut. xxii. 11), which "would be impossible for men," and "which the human ear could not hear"; but, according to Ps. lxii. 12, the one speech of God was apprehended as two by men. In fact, the Ten Words were all proclaimed at once ("bedibbur eḥad," Mek. xx. 1). The first set of tables did not contain, in the fifth, the words "that it may be well with thee," because they were predestined to be broken (B. Ḳ. 55a). Interesting is the report that R. Ḥiyya was ignorant of this difference between Deut. and Ex. (B. Ḳ. 54b).

The Decalogue often appears as a subject of controversy with non-Jews, a circumstance which goes far to demonstrate the fundamental value attached to it (see Pesiḳ. R. xxiii.). One such controversy is with Hadrian (Pesiḳ. R. xxi.). The subjects discussed are such as why is circumcision not in the Decalogue? (Pesiḳ. R. xxiii.; Tan. to Lek Leka, Agad. Bereshit xvii.); or why does not the Torah begin with the Decalogue? (Mek. to xx. 2). The "Ten Words" are even a "pleader" for Israel (Pesiḳ. R. xi.; Midr. Teh. to Ps. xvii. 4).

How the Ten Words were distributed between the tables is also a subject of rabbinical inquiry. The prevailing opinion is that there were five on each; but it has also been maintained that each had the whole ten (see Decalogue; Yer. Sheḳ. 49d; Yer. Soṭah 22d; Cant. Rabbah v. 14; Mek. xx. 27): even twice—once on each side (Yer. Sheḳ. vi. 1). Simai argues that the Ten Words were inscribed on each table four times (*τετράγωνον*; *ib.*).

The dimensions of the tables furnish a fruitful subject for exegetical ingenuity. The objection that they were too heavy for one man to carry (raised even by modern Bible critics) is met by ascribing to the letters engraved thereon miraculous powers. They virtually carried the tables; only when they began to fly away did Moses feel the weight of the stones (Yer. Ta'an. iv.; Tan., Ki Teẓe *et al.*). The first set given with pomp attracted the "evil eye," and hence were broken (Tan., Ki Teẓe). According to some, Moses was ordered by God to break the tables, and received God's thanks for the act (Ab. R. N. ii.: see note of Schechter on the passage; Yalḳ. 363, 640). According to another version, when Moses noticed that the script began to fly off, he became alarmed and threw the tables down, whereupon he was struck dumb (Yalḳ., Ki Teẓe). By the use of "anoki" ("I am," an Egyptian word: Pesiḳ. R. xxi.), which God had employed in His conversations with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Gen. xv. 1, xxvi. 24, xxxi. 13), He convinced the people that it was the God of their fathers who spoke to them (Tan., ed. Buber, to Yitro 16).

Tables of the Law.

In post-Talmudic literature and liturgy the Decalogue is also expounded and expanded as the fountainhead whence all other laws flow. Shebu'ot being the day of the revelation (Shab. 86a), this idea was prominently utilized in the piyyuṭim and Azharot for the holiday. Saadia adopts the numeration of the letters of the Decalogue given in Num. Rabbah xviii. as 613, a number likewise fixed by Naḥshon Gaon ('Aruk, under תפל). Eliezer ben Nathan has the same number in the "Ma'arib" for Pentecost, Eleazar b. Judah the same in the "Sefer ha-Ḥayyim." In reality, the Decalogue contains 620 letters, the mnemotechnic word for which is כתר ("crown": "the Crown of the Law"), which number, according to its expounders, corresponds to the 613 Commandments, one for each letter, the seven others, auxiliary vowel-consonants, indicating the seven Noachian commandments (see beginning of "Bet" in the "Sha'ar ha-Otiyyot").

The Decalogue Fundamental.

Many "poetic" elaborations of the Decalogue are in existence, but the plan was also carried out by writers on legal matters (Zunz, "Literaturgesch." p. 95; Steinschneider, "Hebr. Bibl." vi. 125). The philosophical writers of the tenth to thirteenth centuries occasionally emphasized the fundamental nature of the Decalogue. Judah ha-Levi, in his "Cuzari" (ii. 28), remarks: "The root of knowledge was placed in the Ark, which is like the innermost chamber of the heart, and this [root] was the Ten Words and their derivatives; that is, the Torah." Baḥya ben Joseph, in his "Ḥobot ha-Lebabot," gate i., urges the importance of the Decalogue, and connecting therewith the Shema', construes the latter as laying down ten main principles corresponding to the Ten Words. Albo, in his "'Iḳḳarim" (iii. 26), develops in extenso the idea of the Decalogue's fundamentality, calling attention to the difference between the "words" on the first table as theological, and those on the second as ethical, both together covering the whole field of religion. Of Bible commentators following on the same line may be mentioned Rashi to Ex. xxiv. 12: "The first word of the Decalogue is the fountainhead of all."

Naḥmanides makes the first one of the mandatory commands ("miẓwot 'aseh"). The whole people heard all ten, but understood only commandments one and two as perfectly and thoroughly as Moses. From three on, however, they did not comprehend, and therefore Moses was forced to explain them. Maimonides, desirous of removing all anthropomorphic conceptions, reiterates Philo's idea, that it was not God's voice that was heard, but an impersonal voice created especially for the enunciation of the Decalogue ("Moreh," i. 65; compare Saadia, "Emunot we-De'ot," ii. 8; "Cuzari," i. 89). The writing on the tables was also a "creation" ("Moreh," i. 66). The Karaites entertain the same view (see Japhet Abu-

Ali on Ex. xx.; Munk, "Guide," i. 290, note 2; Aaron ben Elia, "Ez Ḥayyim," ch. 55, 98). On the effect of the second Commandment see Art.

The third commandment, interpreted to prohibit swearing, led, in unconscious appreciation of its original meaning—a caution against pronouncing divine names or imparting them to persons other than the properly initiated—to a reverent avoidance of the mention of the Shem ha-Meforash (Soṭah 38a; Sifre to Num. vi. 27, and elsewhere), and to extreme caution even in writing not to expose "the Name" to disrespect or thoughtless disregard.

Many of the modern catechisms have summarized both the doctrines and the duties of Judaism to correspond with the ten ideas of the Decalogue:

(1) The unity and personality of God.
(2) His incorporeality.
(3) Against profanation of the Name.
(4) Sabbath and festivals; cruelty to animals; slavery.
(5) Family relations.
(6) Rights and duties of life.
(7) Marriage and chastity.
(8) Rights and duties of property; interest and usury; begging.
(9) Duties to the state.
(10) Covetousness; other personal virtues and vices. For modern expansions of the Decalogue see Gerson Lasch ("Die Göttlichen Gesetze," 1857). In Dr. Samuel Hirsch's "Catechismus" the third commandment is made the basis of the discussion of prayer, inasmuch as prayers expressive of wishes and hopes no longer entertained violate the commandment. Isaac M. Wise, among modern Reform rabbis, declared the Decalogue to be "the Torah," which alone was divinely revealed. According to him, Reform Judaism has in the Decalogue its legal basis, and finds in it its limitations (see "Hebrew Review," i., Cincinnati, 1880; Isaac M. Wise, "The Law").

K. E. G. H.

DECAPITATION. See Capital Punishment.

DECAPOLIS, THE ("Ten City"): Name of a district of Palestine that included a number of autonomous cities. According to Pliny ("Historia Naturalis," v. 18, 74) these ten cities were Damascus, Philadelphia, Raphana, Scythopolis, Gadara, Hippos, Dion, Pella, Gerasa, and Canatha. With the exception of Scythopolis (= Beth-Shean) all these cities are east of the Jordan. It is curious that Damascus, which lies much further north, is also included in the Decapolis. Josephus mentions Scythopolis ("B. J." iii. 9, § 7), Philadelphia (*ib.* ii. 18, § 1), Gadara, and Hippos ("Vita," §§ 65, 74) as in the Decapolis. The "Onomasticon" of Eusebius and Jerome (ed. Lagarde, 251, 89, and 116, 29) describes the Decapolis as situated in Peræa, round about Hippos, Pella, and Gadara, these cities being expressly mentioned, perhaps, because they were more prominent than the others in the history of Christianity; Pella, for example, is known as the home of the first Christian community, and it is also included in the Decapolis by Epiphanius ("Hæreses," i. 30, § 2). It is curious that Stephanus Byzantius includes Gerasa (Γέρασα) in a district he calls Τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάπολις ("Township of Fourteen"), but this is probably a clerical error for "Ten City." Ptolemy (v. 15, §§ 22, 23) places the Decapolis in Cœle-Syria, and enumerates most of the cities mentioned by Pliny, as well as some in the neighborhood of Damascus, eighteen cities in all, and among them Capitolias, founded by Nerva in the year 97 or 98. The city of Abila is mentioned on an inscription ("C. I. G." No. 4501) as being included in the Decapolis.

The population of the Decapolis was chiefly pagan. Scythopolis was attacked by the Maccabeans (II Macc. xii. 29), but most of the cities of the Decapolis were not subjugated until the reign of Hyrcanus. Pompey again separated them from the Jewish territory in 63 B.C., and placed them as autonomous cities directly under the government of the legate of Syria. Gadara and Hippos were given to Herod (Josephus, "Ant." xv. 7, § 3; compare 10, § 2); but after his death they were again declared to be free by Augustus, so that Galilee and Perea, the two districts of Herod Antipas' tetrarchy, were separated by the Decapolis. The cities of the Decapolis used the Pompeian era in reckoning dates; were organized entirely along Hellenic lines; had Greek worship and Greek games, and were always hostile to Jews. Pliny (*l.c.* xv. 4) speaks highly of the small olives of the Decapolis. Jesus had several persons from the Decapolis among his followers (Matt. iv. 25; Mark v. 20), showing that many Jews were living there. When the Jewish war broke out, the pagans fell upon the Jews, an uprising for which Justus of Tiberias took bloody revenge. The Talmud speaks often of the pagan population of these cities, the philosopher Oenomaos of Gadara, for instance, being cited; hence several cities mentioned in the Talmud under other names may have been identical with the cities of the Decapolis, as Susitha with Hippos, Peḥla with Pella.

The Decapolis must have existed as a special district in the second century, since the geographer Ptolemy speaks of it as such; when, however, the province of Arabia was organized (106), several of those cities came gradually to be included in that province—for example, Gerasa and Philadelphia (Ammian. Marcell. xiv. 8, § 8), in 295, according to Marquardt ("Staatsverwaltung," i. 277, Leipsic, 1873); the other cities with their territories were probably included a century earlier.

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G. S. Kr.

DECKERT, FRANCIS: Clerical anti-Semitic agitator; born at Vienna 1846; died there March 21, 1901. From its beginning in the eighth decade of the nineteenth century Deckert was identified, as a political agitator and writer, with the anti-Semitic movement; but he did not become prominent until the liberal press exposed some of his questionable business transactions. In retaliation he published a pamphlet on Simon of Trent, in an effort to confirm the truth of the blood accusation ("Ein Ritualmord Actenmässig Nachgewiesen," Vienna,

1893). Actuated by the same motive, he induced the convert Paulus Meyer to write an account of a ritual murder which he pretended to have seen in 1875 in Ostrow, Russia. The story was published in the Vienna "Vaterland," and the parties named as perpetrators in the crime brought a libel suit against Meyer and Deckert, the latter being sentenced (Sept. 15, 1893) to a fine of 400 florins ($160).

Deckert continued to preach anti-Jewish sermons, which he published in his magazine, "Der Sendbote des Heiligen Joseph." To one of these sermons he appended a "prayer for the distress caused by the Jews" (1894), a travesty of the "Lord's prayer" in the most infamous language. The government confiscated it. His violent diatribes were several times the object of an interpellation in the Reichsrath, and evoked from the premier, Prince Windischgrätz, the reply (May 27, 1895) that he regretted such expressions were heard from a Christian pulpit. Nevertheless, the lawsuit brought against Deckert for inciting riots was dismissed (Jan. 14, 1896). He continued his tirades with a collection of sermons under the title "Juden 'raus!" (Out with the Jews), published in the same year. He became popular with the anti-Semitic city government, and in 1899 was given the Salvator gold medal, the highest distinction in the gift of the city. He, however, bequeathed in his will a sum for charity to be distributed without regard to religious distinctions.

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D.

DECKINGEN, JUDAH BEN BENJAMIN (also known as **Leva Rokhausen**): German lexicographer of the sixteenth century. He was the pupil of Isaac of Ahrweiler, and lived as tutor at Wendersheim (1555), Rüsselheim, and other places of southern Germany. In 1556 he compiled a Hebrew-German glossary of five quarto pages, prepared as an aid in the translation of German into Hebrew. This work has been published from a manuscript by N. Brüll.

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G. M. K.

DECSEY, SIGMUND: Departmental president of the Supreme Court of Budapest; born in 1839 at Aszod. He studied law at Budapest; founding with Desider Szilágyi (afterward minister of justice and president of the Parliament) "a lawyer's relief society." On completing his studies Decsey entered the service of the state as notary of the Court of Cassation (1870); was promoted five years later to the office of judge of the Royal bench ("Tafel"), to that of judge of the Royal Court ("Curie") in 1886, and "Senats president" in 1895. Exchange, commercial, and banking affairs belong to his department.

S. L. V.

DEDANIM (Hebr. דדנים; R. V. **Dedanites**): The descendants of the Arabian Dedan, spoken of (Isa. xxi. 13) as engaged in commerce. Dedan is first mentioned (Gen. x. 7; I Chron. i. 9) as a son of Raamah, son of Cush, and again (Gen. xxv. 3; I Chron. i. 32) as a son of Jokshan, son of Keturah. Dedan is found in Jer. xlix. 8, where Edomitish settlers seem to be referred to, as "Dedan" occurs in the prophecy against Edom; again in xxv. 23, with Tema and Buz; in Ezek. xxv. 13, with Teman, in the prophecy against Edom; and in Isa. xxi. 13 ("The burden upon Arabia. In the forest in Arabia shall ye lodge, O ye traveling companies of Dedanim"). As a Keturean tribe Dedan seems to have occupied a position in northwest Arabia. Regarding the reference to Dedan in Ezek. xxvii. 15, 20, which points to South Arabia, Gesenius and Winer suggest that the Keturean Dedan intermarried with the Cushite branch, and this theory of mixed descent gains weight from the fact that in each case the brother of Dedan is mentioned as Sheba. Thus the name of Dedan may apply to one tribe.

K. B. P.

DEDE AGATCH: Turkish port on the Ægean Sea, at the mouth of the Maritza, near Enos, European Turkey. It has about two hundred Jews in a population of three thousand. The community, founded in 1870, possesses a synagogue, and a primary school attended by thirty children. The rabbi acts also as shoḥeṭ and moḥel, and is paid out of the meat-tax. There are two charitable societies—a "biḳḳur ḥolim" and a "gemilut ḥasadim."

D. M. Fr.

DEDICATION. See Consecration or Dedication.

DEDICATION FEAST. See Ḥanukḳah.

DEED (translated from the law Latin "actum"): In English law a contract under seal. To it corresponds very closely in Jewish law the "sheṭar" (lit. "writing"); the latter, however, means a solemn document, and is as such distinguished from the mere note of hand ("ketab yad").

I. The sheṭar was said to be sealed, and in Biblical times seal-rings, making an impression upon wax, clay, or lead, were evidently used to authenticate written documents; but in the Mishnah and in the later rabbinical literature the sealing of a document means neither more nor less than the signatures of two or more attesting witnesses.

In Biblical Hebrew "sefer" (lit. "a book") is the common name for a document, whether it be a conveyance (Jer. xxxii., *passim*), a bill of divorce (Deut. xxiv. 1), or an indictment (Job xxxi. 35).

Another word, "geṭ," is found in the Mishnah, mostly applied to the bill of divorce, but used also in a more general sense. It is known, according to its outward form, either as the "straight deed" ("geṭ pashuṭ") or as the "tied deed" ("geṭ meḳushshar"), the former being open, the other folded and sealed (Mishnah B. B. x. 1). The straight deed is signed by the witnesses at the bottom of the page; the tied deed (generally made up of several sheets sewed together) is folded and signed by one witness on the back, then folded again and signed by another witness. The latter form went out of use at an early date. The Talmud (B. B. 160a) says it was invented to prevent undue haste, especially in making out bills of divorce.

Letters Patent and Close.

Concerning the form of written documents in use among the Jews before the Babylonian captivity, nothing is known. For more than a thousand years before that event, written contracts—especially

bonds for the payment of money with interest thereon—were in use in Assyria and Babylon, thousands of which are still preserved and known as "contract tablets"; and the forms observed in them have had their influence upon the documents of the post-exilic Jews.

The ordinary language of written documents, such as marriage contracts, bills of divorce, assignments of claims, as it has come down through the Mishnah and Baraita, was Aramaic; so also bonds, as appears by samples of their language (Mishnah B. B. x. 2).

II. An important variety of the deed is the bond known as the "shetar ḥob" (writing of debt).

Bond of Indebtedness.

The sealed bond—that is, an acknowledgment of debt attested by two or more witnesses—is of "higher dignity," to use an English law term, than the simple note of hand or a promise by word of mouth. For the judgment on a bond may be levied on "subjected property"—that is, property sold or pledged to others after the delivery of the bond—while a judgment on an oral contract or on a note of hand can be made only out of "free property." In other words, the bond creditor can subject the debtor's land or slaves to his claim, notwithstanding a subsequent sale, gift, or pledge to others; the bond thus operating as a mortgage, from the time of its delivery, of all the debtor's lands whereever situate—according to R. Meïr, however, only when a clause to that effect ("aḥarayut") is inserted; but, according to the majority, with or without such a clause (Mishnah B. M. i. 6; B. B. x. 8), its omission being deemed an error of the draftsman. Hence, one who finds a bond on the highway should not return it to either debtor or creditor, as it may have been paid off and thrown away, and might now by collusion be used to the injury of third parties (B. M. i. 6). It was thought that the attestation of a bond by witnesses would give to it sufficient notoriety to deter others from buying the debtor's land or lending upon its security. The obligor's signature was not a necessary part of a bond or other document; though the Babylonian contract tablets always bear it. According to Rashi, such subscription was customary in his time; and it has been so since.

When a bond was discharged, the creditor generally made out an acquittance ("shober," lit. "a breaker") with the same formalities as those observed in the bond (see Debtor and Creditor).

No set form of words is required to make a valid bond. The marriage contract, or ketubah, in so far as it secures to the bride sums of money payable upon divorce or upon the death of her husband, is in the nature of a bond, and can be collected in similar manner out of "subjected property" (Ket. 90b).

Indications of Amount.

It was usual to express the sum in two ways: first, in zuz or drachmas; next, in shekels or in minas. In case of contradiction the smaller sum prevails. But if the sum is twice named in the same coin, the last or lower figure prevails over the first or upper. Should the lower figure be indistinct or partially blotted, it can be supplied from the number first written. Where money units are named in the plural, but the number is rubbed out, the number two is presumed. Where a bond written in Greek contained the sum ὀγδοήκοντα (80) with its first part blurred, and probably raised from πεντήκοντα (50), the judge at Tiberias (Yer. B. B. x. 1) allowed only 30 shekels, τριάκοντα being the smallest sum ending in the plainly written syllable κοντα.

A bond was given generally for the repayment of a loan, and is in that case a "document of loan" or "shetar milweh." The Talmud speaks often of its being accompanied by an instrument known as a "prozbul," meant to defeat the law concerning the year of release (see Sabbatical Year).

The cost of writing the bond falls on the borrower; and the scrivener may, in the lender's absence, prepare a bond at the borrower's instance (B. B. x. 3). Where a bond was so blotted or worn as to become illegible, the creditor might have it reestablished on the testimony of witnesses by the decree of court.

The name of a surety ought to be inserted in the body of the bond above the attestation of the witnesses, and be connected by the word "and" with that of the chief debtor. If he simply writes under the attestation, "I, *A*, son of *B*, am surety on this bond," he is at most liable on a "simple contract"; and only his "free property" can be levied on. Even this is doubtful; for, unless he has become surety before the loan is made, or property is delivered, there is no consideration for his suretyship (*ib.* x. 8, where the point is raised by Simeon ben Nannas, the most celebrated lawyer of his time).

The plural "shetarot" (writings, documents) stands for bonds as a class of property. It has been shown, under Alienation and Acquisition, how a bond is transferred.

In the chapter of the Mishnah on overreaching ("ona'ah"; compare B. M. iv.), bonds are said to have no market price; for the value of a bond depends not only on the time it has to run, but also on such uncertain elements as the maker's honesty and solvency. Hence, the rule that a sale or purchase at more than a sixth above or below the market price gives a right to rescission is not applied to bonds.

III. Deeds for the conveyance of land, by way of sale or gift, are treated under the heads of Alienation and Acquisition; Gifts; Sales. Other important deeds are the Ketubah, or marriage contract; deed of Lease.

L. G. L. N. D.

DEEP: 1. In contradistinction to "rock," which is used figuratively for "a refuge" (Isa. xxxiii. 16; Ps. xxvii. 5, xl. 2, lxi. 3), the "deep" ("ma'amaḳḳim") is a metaphorical expression for misfortune or sorrow (Ps. lxix. 2, 15; cxxx. 1). Thus the "deep valley" ("'emeḳ") designates a "place of affliction and judgment" (Joel iv. 2, 12, 14, Hebr.), and the phrase "deep pit" and similar words are used in the sense of "great danger" (Prov. xxii. 14, xxiii. 27; Isa. xxiv. 17, 22; Zech. ix. 11; Ps. lv. 23, lxxi. 20, lxxxvi. 13, lxxxviii. 6, cvii. 20; Lam. iii. 47, 53; iv. 20; compare the Arabian saying, "They live in a valley that is at the mercy of torrents." Hence "the depths of Sheol" (Prov. ix. 18) is an image of utter affliction.

2. "Deep" is also an expression for the unfath-

omable and inscrutable. Therefore hardened sinners are said to make deep—that is, heap up—their sins (Isa. xxxi. 6; Hosea v. 2, ix. 9), and "deep" is synonymous with "inexhaustible quantity" (Rom. xi. 33; II Cor. viii. 2). The Bible also speaks of people who are "deep"; that is, are cautious in speech (Isa. xxxiii. 19; Ezek. xxxiii. 5 *et seq.*). The Bible applies the word "deep" also to the heart (Ps. lxiv. 7; Judith viii. 14), and to a man's words (Prov. xviii. 4), or to his plans (Prov. xx. 5), while it finds "deep things" (secrets) in the universe (Job xii. 22), in the nature of things (Eccl. vii. 24), and in history (Dan. ii. 22). Hence the word "deep" is used in the sense of "inscrutable" in reference to God's thoughts (Ps. xcii. 6). As a further consequence of these metaphorical applications, "to make deep" came to be an equivalent for "to conceal" or "to deceive" (Isa. xxix. 15). It is interesting to note that in the cuneiform texts wisdom is designated as "the deep" ("nimeḳu"), and is characterized thereby as something difficult of attainment and seldom found.

E. G. H. E. K.

DEFENSE: Means of protection from assault. In Biblical times outlying farms were protected from bands of marauders by watch-towers ("migdal"; see Tower). When the collection of houses in a village became large enough to need protection, they were generally enclosed by a wall, and were then known as cities. At times centers of strategic importance were held as fortresses (see Fortress).

G. J.

DEGREES, SONG OF. See Psalms.

DEHAVITES (דהוא; R. V. Dehaites): The Dehavites are mentioned among the peoples settled in Samaria who opposed the reconstruction of the Temple at Jerusalem (Ezra iv. 9). Whether the Dehavites are to be connected with a nomadic Persian tribe, the Δάοι, mentioned by Herodotus (i. 125), or with the name of the city of Du'-va, mentioned on Assyrian contract tablets, is doubtful. The Septuagint reads, in codex A, Δαναῖοι ("the Davæans"), but in codex B the reading is Σουσναχαῖοι οἱ εἰσὶν Ἠλαμαῖοι, which means "the Susamchites who are the Elamites," taking the word translated "Dehavites" as a verb.

K. B. P.

DEICHES or **DAICHES (דייכעס or דייכש):** Polish family; mentioned as early as the seventeenth century, and members of which are living in Russia and Austria. The relationships of those bearing the name can be determined only in a few cases; and the fact that "Deiche" is common as a first name among Russo-Polish Jewesses suggests the probability of a common origin of the family name. Nevertheless, as there are Deiches in Russia who are known to have come from the city of Cracow, and as there are others of that name resident in that city, it is not impossible that Cracow is the native place of the Deiches family. The following are the more important members of the family:

Eliezer Elijah b. Solomon Ẓebi Hirsch Deiches: Russian Talmudist; born at Wilna in 1797; died there in 1881. Eliezer officiated as rabbi of the communities of Woronowo, Padzelwe, and Eishishuk, succeeding his father as dayyan of Wilna at the age of twenty-nine, and remaining in that office until his death. As dayyan he was noted for his endeavors to lighten the burden imposed by the ritual, while he himself lived a life of asceticism.

Elijah Judah b. David Deiches: Russian rabbi and Talmudist; flourished in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; died at Jerusalem Feb., 1858. Elijah was the son of David b. Aryeh Löb Deiches, who was rabbi of Eishishuk at his death in 1842. Elijah was for many years rabbi at Neustadt-Shirwint and Wilkowiski, where he also directed large yeshibot. He then removed to Palestine, and was one of the leading rabbis of Jerusalem.

Israel Ḥayyim b. Löb Hirsch Deiches: Russian rabbi and Talmudist; born at Dorshunishak, near Kovno, Dec., 1850. At the age of three he accompanied his father to Kovno, where, under the direction of his father and of other scholars, he devoted himself to the study of the Talmud. In 1869 he removed to Wilna. Here he married the daughter of Moses Bielitzki, called also Moses Zerne's. He remained in that city until 1885, when he went as rabbi to Neustadt-Shirwint, whence he emigrated to England; he is now rabbi and editor of a Hebrew paper in Leeds. He is the author of the following works: "Pirḥe ha-Abib" (Blossoms of Spring, Wilna, 1870), discussions on portions of Jewish law, composed at the age of eighteen; "Imre Yosher" (Words of Uprightness, Wilna, 1887), sermons; "Netibot Yerushalmi" (The Ways of Jerusalem, Wilna, 1880), a commentary on the treatise Baba Ḳamma of the Palestinian Talmud; "Ḳuntros . . . 'al ha-RIBaSH," remarks and notes to the responsa of Isaac b. Sheshet, included in the Wilna edition of that work (1878); "Ma'arekot Yisrael" (The Armies of Israel), halakic discussions on various subjects included in the "Oraḥ ha-Ḥayyim" of R. Ḥayyim of Ratzki (Wilna, 1879). H. N. Steinschneider ("'Ir Wilna," p. 106) gives 1853 as the date of Deiches' birth.

Jacob Mordecai b. Simon Deiches: Polish Talmudist of the seventeenth century. He was first associate rabbi at Cracow, and as such approved Ḥayyim Krochmal's "Meḳor Ḥayyim," which appeared at Fürth in 1697.

Leizer Deiches: Polish Talmudist and rabbi; flourished in the beginning of the eighteenth century. He was rabbi at Opatow (Galicia), and was among the scholars who lived for a time in Joseph b. David Oppenheim's house for the purpose of studying the rare books and the still rarer manuscripts in the latter's library. At the request of Oppenheim, Deiches prepared for the press Abraham Abele Gombiner's work, "Magen Abraham," on the Tosefta (Amsterdam, 1732). Gombiner's grandson remarks in the introduction that Deiches was so modest that he objected to having his labors in connection with the work publicly acknowledged.

Löb Hirsch Deiches (generally called **Aryeh Ẓebi b. David):** Lithuanian Talmudist; died at an advanced age at Kovno Oct. 1, 1891. He was a son of Rabbi David of Eishishuk, and a brother of Elijah Judah Deiches. He officiated for some years as rabbi at Dorshunishak, near Kovno, and removed to the latter place in 1853, where he filled the offices of associate rabbi and director of a yeshibah until his

death. He is the author of "Zibḥe Teru'ah," a commentary on the prayers of New-Year's Day (Wilna, 1867).

Samuel b. Aryeh Löb Deiches: Lithuanian rabbi; died at Wilna March 23, 1825. His father was rabbi at Lida, near Wilna; his grandfather, called Elijah Arkes ("Arke" is the diminutive of "Aaron"), was a native of Cracow. On his mother's side he was a nephew of the dayyan of Wilna—"the great Simeon." Like the latter he was for many years one of the dayyanim of Wilna, and was famous for his devotion to the study of the Talmud. Many of the works printed at Wilna during his term of office bear his printed approbation. His brother David was the father of Elijah Judah Deiches; his other brother Meïr was dayyan at Kovno.

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L. G.

DEISM: A system of belief which posits God's existence as the cause of all things, and admits His perfection, but rejects Divine revelation and government, proclaiming the all-sufficiency of natural laws. The Socinians, as opposed to the doctrine of the Trinity, were designated as deists (F. Lichtenberger, "Encyclopédie des Sciences Réligieuses," iii. 637). In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries deism became synonymous with "natural religion," and deist with "freethinker."

England and France have been successively the strongholds of deism. Lord Herbert, the "father of deism" in England, assumes certain "innate ideas," which establish five religious truths: (1) that God is; (2) that it is man's duty to worship Him; (3) that worship consists in virtue and piety; (4) that man must repent of sin and abandon his evil ways; (5) that divine retribution either in this or in the next life is certain. He holds that all positive religions are either allegorical and poetic interpretations of nature or deliberately organized impositions of priests. Hobbes (d. 1679) may be mentioned next (see Lange, "Gesch. des Materialismus," i. 245; F. Toennies, "Hobbes," in "Klassiker der Philosophie," Stuttgart, 1896). John Locke (d. 1704; see Jodl, "Gesch. der Ethik," i. 149 *et seq.*), in "The Reasonableness of Christianity as Delivered in the Scriptures" (1695), declares that "the moral part of the law of Moses is identical with natural or rational law." John Toland (d. 1722), the forerunner of the modern criticism of the N. T., in "Christianity Not Mysterious" (1696), says: "Revelation is no reason for assuming the truth of any fact or doctrine; it is a means of information." Anthony Collins (d. 1729), author of "Discourse on Freethinking" (1713) and "Discourses on the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion" (1724), asserts that "Christianity is mystical Judaism." He applies the comparative method, and utilizes the Mishnah to show the affinity of N. T. theological allegorizing to that of the Rabbis. Tindal (d. 1733), in "The Gospel a Republication of the Religion of Nature" (1730), avers that "Revelation, both Jewish and Christian, is only a repetition of the *lex naturæ*."

Deism in England.

In France, Voltaire, Diderot, and, above all, Rousseau, were exponents of deism, on the whole illustrating the intellectual moralism of the school. In Germany it is the "Aufklärungsphilosophie" that to a certain extent is under the influence of the deistic theses, and as Moses Mendelssohn is one of the prophets of the "Aufklärung," deism may be said through him to have had a part in the shaping of modern Jewish thought. Reason and common sense are, according to Mendelssohn, identical ("Werke," ii. 265, 283, 315). Religion is, according to him, natural and eminently practical. To "do," not to "believe," is the chief care of the religious man. Natural theology is as accurately certain as mathematics. That God is, is a fact, not a belief. Mendelssohn parts company with deism by modifying the doctrine of divine retribution. According to him, happiness and the doing of right are coincidental. The virtuous man is happy. However, Mendelssohn is not consistent throughout, as he admits repeatedly that, without the assumption of immortality, morality can not stand, nor can God's Providence be established (Phædon). Revelation for him is not necessary to religion; but the national law of Judaism, which is not natural, had to be revealed ("Schriften," iii. 311-319, 348-356; v. 669, Leipsic, 1843).

Mendelssohn's Deism.

The Mendelssohnian arguments left their imprint on the Jewish theology of the nineteenth century (see L. Löw, in "Ben Chananja," i.). His "deistic" moralism on the one hand, and his "national legalism" on the other, have not been without influence on the theories of the Reform rabbis (see Holdheim, Samuel), which differentiated the moral—that is, the universal and eternal—injunctions and principles of the Law from the national and temporal; while the distinction made between moral and ceremonial laws (see Ceremonies), though recognized by Saadia and others, received a new emphasis through Mendelssohn's views. The relations of deism to Judaism, however, have not been made the subject of systematic inquiry, though non-Jewish controversial writers have often argued that Judaism, positing a transcendental God, virtually stood for deism. This contention must be allowed if deism connotes anti-Trinitarianism. Judaism has always been rigorously Unitarian. Deism, as the denial of original sin and the soteriology built thereon, also harmonizes with Jewish doctrine. But the doctrine of deism which relegates God, after creation, to the passive rôle of a disinterested spectator, is antipodal to the teachings of Judaism. God directs the course of history and man's fate (Ex. xix. 4, xx. 2; Deut. xxxii. 11, 12; xxxiii. 29; Ps. xxxiii. 13, cxlv. 16; Jer. xxxii. 9). God neither slumbers nor sleeps. He is Israel's guardian (Ps. cxxi.). Nations may plot and rage, but God's decrees come to pass (Ps. ii.).

The question as to what God has been occupied with since the creation is the subject of rabbinical speculations (Lev. R. iii., viii.; Gen. R. lxviii.; Pesiḳ. 11b; compare Midr. Sam. v.; Tan., ed. Buber, Bemidbar, xviii.; Tan., ed. Buber, Maṭṭot, end; Tan., Ki Teẓe, beginning). God presides over the births of men (Nid. 31a; Lev. R. xiv.; Tan., Tazria'). He takes care that the race shall not

die out (Pes. 43b; Pesiḳ. R. xv.). Even the instinctive actions of animals are caused by God, and so is He the power and will behind the acts of terrestrial governments (Eccl. R. x. 11). None wounds a finger without God's will (Ḥul. 7b). God sends the wind that the farmer may have wherewith to live (Pesiḳ. 69a; Lev. R. xxviii.; Eccl. R. i. 3; Pesiḳ. R. xviii.). God assigns the fate of the nations and of individuals (R. H. i. 2). Man's life is in the hand of God (Lam. R. iii. 39). Not alone the creation of the world, but also its preservation (Gen. R. xiii.; Eccl. R. i. 7, iii. 11; Gen. R. ix.; Midr. Teh. to Ps. ix.), as well as the destiny of man and mankind, is subject to God's constant guidance. In fact, creation was never considered finished (Ḥag. 12a). As the daily morning prayer has it: "[God] createth a new creation every day, everlastingly" (compare Reḳanati, "Ta'ame ha-Mizwot," p. 37, and "Aḳedat Yiẓḥaḳ," gate iv.). Albo ("'Iḳḳarim," iii. 26) calls attention to the distinctive element of the Jewish God-conception which associates Him not merely, "as some philosophers do," with the creation, but also with the direction of the world after creation.

Talmud and Midrash.

These ideas of God's government are expressed in the Jewish prayer-books (especially for Rosh ha-Shanah), and are in one way or another put forth by the philosophers. The question how God's government is compatible with human freedom has kept the Jewish thinkers on the alert; but, whatever their answer, none disputes God's supremacy and government (Saadia, "Emunot we-De'ot," iv.). Ibn Gabirol assumes that God's direction is carried into effect through "mediating forces." Judah ha-Levi's discussion of the names of the Deity (Elohim and YHWH) proves his antideistic convictions. "Ehyeh asher ehyeh" indicates God's constant presence in Israel and His help ("Cuzari," iv. 1, iii. 7). Maimonides' discussion of Providence ("Moreh," iii. 17) is also antideistic, though largely influenced by the pseudo-Aristotelian doctrine that Providence does not extend to the care of individuals.

Deism posits the moral freedom of man, his predisposition to virtue: so does Judaism (Ber. 33b). "All is in the hands of God save the fear of God" is the Talmudical formula for a doctrine resting on Biblical teachings, and accepted by Jewish theology. Judaism is theistic, not deistic. See GOD; MIRACLES; PROVIDENCE, DIVINE; REVELATION, DOCTRINE OF.

K. E. G. H.

DEITY. See GOD.

DEL BANCO, MIRIAM: American authoress; born June 27, 1867, at New Orleans; daughter of Rabbi Max Del Banco, who died shortly after her birth. Her mother removed to St. Louis, in the public schools of which city the daughter was trained, displaying remarkable poetic talent. Later she was sent to her uncle at Cape Girardeau, Mo., where she attended the State Normal School. After completing the course with honors, she rejoined her mother, who in the mean time had removed to Chicago, in which city Miss Del Banco obtained in 1885 a position as teacher in the public schools; since 1889 she has been assistant principal at the Von Humboldt School. She has been a frequent contributor to both the Jewish and general press, having written a large number of poems, both Jewish and secular; she has likewise translated Kayserling's "Die Jüdischen Frauen," which appeared as a serial in the columns of the "Jewish Advance" and was published in Chicago in 1881; and Alberti's "Ludwig Börne," which appeared in the "Menorah," 1888-89.

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A. M. Co.

DEL BENE, DAVID (also known as **Meḥaṭob**): Italian rabbi; born at Mantua in the latter half of the sixteenth century; died at Ferrara in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Possessed of great oratorical talent and having received a thorough secular education, he began while a youth to preach in the synagogue of his native town. His sermons attracted crowds of listeners, the more so as he introduced in his addresses quotations from Italian poets, and even went so far as to speak of "the holy Diana." This mode of preaching could not fail to antagonize the zealots, who raised a storm of opposition against the young orator. Israel Sforno put himself at their head, and petitioned the rabbis to excommunicate him. Consequently David retired from the pulpit, and resolved to turn his attention to rabbinical studies. His former judge, Menahem Azariah of Fano, became his master. Having acquired considerable Talmudical reputation, so much so that he was often consulted in regard to complicated halakic questions, David was appointed rabbi at Ferrara, which position he held for thirty-six years. David was distinguished by the ascetic purity of his life.

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G. I. BR.

DEL BENE (מהטוב), JUDAH ASHAEL BEN ELIEZER DAVID: Italian rabbi; born about 1618; died at Ferrara April 2, 1678. Together with Menahem Recanati he signed a halakic decision on the remission of debts in the jubilee year, which decision is cited in "Paḥad Yiẓḥaḳ" by Isaac Lampronti, who counts Del Bene among the greatest Talmudical authorities of the time. Del Bene wrote "Kis'ot le-Bet Dawid" (Thrones of the House of David), Verona, 1646. It is a philosophical work, divided into eight sections ("bottim") and fifty chapters ("she'arim"), and deals with the creation of the world, the heavens and the planets, the elements, the immortality of the soul, resurrection, articles of faith, the preeminence of the Hebrew language, the liturgists and payyeṭanim, and Mohammedanism. In the part dealing with the last-named subject Del Bene shows the superiority of Christianity over Islam, notwithstanding the Trinitarianism of the former. Another work of his, entitled "Yehudah Meḥoḳeḳi" (Judah, My Lawgiver), is quoted in "Kis'ot le-Bet Dawid." Del Bene was a skilful poet, and many of his productions have been included in miscellaneous poetical collections. His style, however, is inferior because of his too frequent use of synonyms, though, as he says in "Kis'ot le-Bet Dawid," in treating of Hebrew style, he considers its wealth of synonyms to be one of its most beautiful features.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Nepi-Ghirondi, *Toledot Gedole Yisrael*, p. 123; Zunz, in Liebermann's *Deutscher Volkskalender*, 1853, p. 67; Delitzsch, *Zur Gesch. der Hebräischen Poesie*, p. 71; Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 1343; Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael*, p. 411.

L. G. I. BR.

DELACRUT, DELACROT, or DE LA CROTA, BEN SOLOMON: Polish scholar; lived in the middle of the sixteenth century. He settled early in Italy, and at one time seems to have attended the lectures on Cabala and philosophy at the University of Bologna, devoting himself to the interpretation of cabalistic and scientific works. He was the author of the following: (1) "Perush," a commentary on Joseph Gikatilla's cabalistic work, "Sha'are Orah," Cracow, 1600; (2) a commentary on Solomon ben Abigdor's Hebrew translation of Sacrobosco's treatise on astronomy, "Tractatus de Sphæra," or "Aspectus Circulorum" (Hebrew, "Mar'eh ha-Ofannim"), with an explanation of the difficult passages of the translation according to the reading of his masters of the University of Bologna, and the interpretation he had found in Christian works (Cracow, 1720); (3) "Ẓel ha-'Olam" (The Image of the World), a translation of a treatise on cosmography written in French by Gossouin, under the title "Livre de Clergie," or "L'Image du Monde" (Amsterdam, 1733).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* cols. 1882-1883; idem, *Hebr. Uebers.* pp. 644, 950.

H. R. I. BR.

DELAIAH: 1. A son of Elioenai in the Davidic genealogy (I Chron. iii. 24; A. V. "Dalaiah"). The sons of Delaiah are mentioned in the long post-exilic list of those who returned from captivity under Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 60; Neh. vii. 62). They were unable to trace their descent. In I Esd. v. 37 the name is given as "Dalan."

2. Son of Mehetabeel and father of Shemaiah, who tried to persuade Nehemiah to seek refuge at night in the Temple, which caused Nehemiah to suspect him of spreading false alarms at the instigation of Sanballat (Neh. vi. 10).

3. Son of Shemaiah, a prince during the régime of Jehoiakim; one of those to whom Micaiah related the reading of the prophecy of Jeremiah by the prophet's scribe Baruch (Jer. xxxvi. 12).

4. A priest who headed the twenty-third of the twenty-four priestly divisions in the reign of David (I Chron. xxiv. 18).

E. G. H. G. B. L.

DELAWARE: A state on the Atlantic seaboard of the United States. The first Jew of whom anything definite is known as a resident of the state was Solomon Solis, born in Wilmington March 13, 1819 (Morais, "The Jews of Philadelphia," p. 51). Prior to 1855 M. M. Stern, now of Philadelphia, was engaged in business in Milford. There were, however, few Jews in the state before 1860, when Nathan Lieberman settled in Wilmington, his brother Henry about the same time locating in Dover, the capital of the state. Since then there has been a small influx, the total number of Jewish residents being given as 928, of whom over 800 reside in Wilmington. That city contains the only Jewish organizations in Delaware. Congregation Adath Kodesh Baron de Hirsch was organized in 1885 and incorporated Sept. 13, 1889. Its present rabbi is Herman A. Blatt. A free Hebrew Sunday-school, dating from Jan. 1, 1896, has now (1903) over 300 pupils. The charitable organizations are the Moses Montefiore Benefit Society, incorporated Feb. 10, 1883; the Hebrew Charity Organization, incorporated March 9, 1902. The latter has a loan fund without interest. There are also the Young Men's Hebrew Association, the Wilmington Lodge No. 470, I.O.B.B., and a few smaller organizations. A few Jewish families are scattered in Viola, Newcastle, Odessa, Millsboro, Laurel, Delaware City, Lewes, Georgetown, Seaford, Harrington, Middletown, and Milford.

A. J. H. GO.

DELGADO, GONÇALO: Portuguese Marano of the sixteenth century, and son of Juan Pinto Delgado; born at Tavira, where he occupied the position of an "escrivão dos orfãos" (secretary of an orphanage). He is the author of "Poema Composto de que Era, o Argumento: a Violente Irrupção Feita Pelos Inglezes no Anno do 1596, Sequeando e Abrazando a Cidade de Faro," a poem narrating the circumstances of an English incursion in 1596, during which the town of Faro was stormed and sacked. The poem is dedicated to Ruy Lourenzo de Tovara.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, ii. 393; Kayserling, *Bibl. Esp.-Port.-Jud.* p. 41.

G. M. K.

DELGADO, JOSEPH: Farmer of the revenue of Lumbrales, Castile. On July 26, 1723, he, his wife Antonia de Cardenas, and his brother Gabriel Delgado, refusing to renounce their faith, were sentenced to imprisonment for life by the Inquisition at Llerena. On the same day, the mother-in-law of Joseph Delgado was burned at the stake for the same reason.

S. M. K.

DELGADO, JUAN (MOSES) PINTO: Marano poet; born at Tavira, Portugal, about 1530; died in 1591. Going to Spain in his youth, he studied the humanities at Salamanca, where he formed a friendship with the poet Luis de Leon. He was talented in many ways, and was endowed with an unusually retentive memory, being able to reproduce verbatim a discourse heard but once. Pursued by the Inquisition, he left his wife and child at Tavira, and went first to Rome, and then to France, where he openly professed Judaism and took the name of Moses.

The poems of Jean Pinto Delgado are distinguished for grace, sublimity of style, and variety of meters; "parts of them are written not only with tenderness, but in a sweet and pure versification," says Ticknor. In addition to various poems, he composed poetical versions of certain books of the Bible, which were published together under the title "Poëma de la Reyna Ester, Lamentaciones del Propheta Jeremias, Historia de Rut, y Varias Poesias" (Rouen, 1627), and dedicated to Cardinal Richelieu. The view of J. A. de los Rios and Ad. de Castro that there exists an earlier edition, published at Paris, is very questionable. Barbosa Machado says that Delgado trans-

lated parts of Petrarch into Portuguese. Daniel Levi de Barrios says of him:

> "Del Poema de Hester en sacro coro
> Mosseh Delgado da esplendor sonoro,
> Y corren con su voz en ricas plantas
> De Jeremias las Endechas santas."

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Amador de los Rios, *Estudios Sobre los Judios de España*, pp. 500 *et seq.*; Ad. de Castro, *Hist. de los Judios en España*, p. 195; De Rossi, *Hist. Wörterb. der Jüd. Schriftsteller*, p. 265; Barbosa Machado, *Bibl. Lusitana*, ii. 393, 722; Ticknor, *Spanish Literature*, ii. 46; Kayserling, *Sephardim*, pp. 153 *et seq.*; idem, *Bibl. Esp.-Port.-Jud.* p. 41.

G. M. K.

DELIATITZ, ELIJAH BEN ABRAHAM: Russian Talmudist and rabbi of Deliatitz; flourished at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He wrote: (1) "Shene Eliyahu" (The Years of Elijah), notes on the comments of Elijah Wilna on the Abot de-Rabbi Nathan; (2) "Ben Abraham" (The Son of Abraham), a concordance of the parallel passages in the Abot, with explanations (Wilna, 1833). Deliatitz is also the author of "Ma'aneh Eliyahu" (The Reply of Elijah), a commentary on the last Mishnah of 'Uḳẓin, and on the fifth Mishnah in the fifth section of Kilayam, published with the preceding work.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fürst, *Bibl. Jud.* i. 204; Benjacob, *Oẓar ha-Sefarim*, p. 654; S. J. Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael*, p. 105.

L. G. M. SEL.

DELIATITZ, NISSAN: Russian rabbi and mathematician. He wrote "Ḳeneh Ḥokmah," the meaning of which in Prov iv. 5 is "buy wisdom," but which here means "the scientific measure." It is a manual of algebra in five parts (Wilna, 1829). Benjacob says that Nissan was the son of Abraham Deliatitz, but Fürst makes him the son of Elijah b. Abraham Deliatitz.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fürst, *Bibl. Jud.* i. 204; Zeitlin, *Bibl. Post-Mendels.* p. 65; Benjacob, *Oẓar ha-Sefarim*, p. 530.

L. G. M. SEL.

DELILAH: A woman of Sorek, loved by Samson (Judges xvi. 4–20). The chief of the Philistines bribed her to discover the source of Samson's great strength. Three times she failed. First, at his own suggestion, she bound him with "seven green withes," but these he easily snapped asunder. Then she tied him with new ropes: these also failed. Then she fastened the locks of his hair to the loom (see Moore, "Judges," *ad loc.*), but with the same result. Finally, after many complaints that Samson did not trust her, he told her that his strength lay in his hair. Then, when he was asleep, she called in a man to cut off his hair. She then awoke him, and delivered him into the hands of the waiting Philistine chiefs, from each one of whom she received 1,100 pieces of silver. In all probability Delilah was a Philistine woman, although not necessarily a "political agent" of the Philistines (Cheyne and Black, "Encyc. Bibl." *s.v.*; see SAMSON).

G. B. L.

Delilah's name, דלילה, has been explained as "faithless one" by E. Meier ("Hebräisches Wurzelwörterbuch," p. 330), and as "traitor" by Ranke ("Weltgesch." i. 51); it has also been compared with the Arabic "dalilah," Modern Arabic "dlyle," used to designate a hetæra (Gesenius, "Th." p. 341; compare "dallum" = amorous, coquettish, in Gesenius, "Lexicon," p. 195b).

This interpretation of the name would be justified only if it were certain that the story of Samson is a myth, and that the name "Delilah" had, in connection with his story, a symbolical significance. This, indeed, has been assumed by Ignaz Goldziher, for example, who, in his "Der Mythus bei den Hebräern" (pp. 186 *et seq.*), says: "Delilah is the setting sun, which has completed its day's labor, or, rather, which is no longer the sun, but the night that cuts her lover's curly locks (crines Phœbi), in which his whole strength is centered." E. Wietzke (in the pamphlet "Der Biblische Samson der Aegyptisches Horus-Ra," 1888) likewise identified Delilah with the night; but these assumptions are more or less arbitrary attempts to reduce Samson to a mythological figure. It is more correct to apply to Delilah Philo's words, in his "De Sampsone," concerning the first Philistine wife of this hero: "O nefanda mulier abominabilis, optas audire ut tradas dicentem, ut exuas coronam ab eo!" In the stories of "The Arabian Nights" the name of Delilah has come to be applied to a cunning woman (see Joseph Horowitz in "Z. D. M. G." pp. 333–335).

E. G. H. E. K.

DELITZSCH, FRANZ: Christian Hebraist; born at Leipsic Feb. 23, 1813; died there March 4, 1890. He was not of Jewish descent; although, owing to his rabbinical learning and his sympathy with the Jewish people, and from a misunderstanding of his relation to his Hebrew godfather (whom he called "uncle"), a Jewish ancestry was often attributed to him. He devoted himself early to Semitic studies, was made assistant professor at Leipsic in 1844, and was called as professor to Rostock in 1846, to Erlangen in 1850, and in 1867 to Leipsic, where he spent the remainder of his life. His services to Hebrew philology and literary history and to Biblical exegesis were great. As an Old Testament critic he was progressive: beginning as a bulwark of conservatism, he gradually moved toward the modern position (for example, in regard to the documents of the Pentateuch, and the dates of Deuteronomy, Isaiah [xl.–lxvi.], and Daniel). In Biblical psychology his work was less satisfactory, and has not met with favor. As a student he became deeply interested in post-Biblical Hebrew literature, and even his Biblical commentaries are full of citations from rabbinical and Neo-Hebraic works. In 1837 he worked out a catalogue of the Hebrew and Syriac manuscripts in the Leipsic Rathsbibliothek (published 1838). In conjunction with Steinschneider he edited and annotated Aaron ben Elijah's "'Eẓ Ḥayyim" (Leipsic, 1841); though his chief work in this branch was his "Zur Geschichte der Jüdischen Poesie" (Leipsic, 1836), a history which is still of use. Mention should also be made of his "Jüdisch-Arabische Poesien aus vor-Muhammedanischer Zeit" (Leipsic, 1874); "Jesus und Hillel" (3d ed., 1879); "Jüd. Handwerkerleben zur Zeit Jesu" (3d ed., 1879; Eng. transl. "Jewish Artisan Life," London, 1877); and his edition of Weber's "System der Altsynag. Theologie" (Leipsic, 1880).

Delitzsch's principal publications, besides those already mentioned, are his "Pentateuch-Kritische Studien," in "Zeitschr. für Kirchliche Wissenschaft," 1880, 1882; and the following commentaries: On

Genesis, 1852, 1853, revised ed., 1887; Job, 1864; Isaiah, 1866, 1889; Psalms, 1867; Proverbs, 1873; Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes, 1875. These commentaries, though they follow the Masoretic text without attempt at emendation, are exegetically strong.

Delitzsch was also active in other lines of Biblical science. He took part in the revision of Luther's translation of the Bible, instituted by the government of Saxony in 1873; he collaborated with Baer in the publication of a revised Masoretic text of the Old Testament (the Baer-Delitzsch text, unfortunately left unfinished); and, in connection therewith, produced a series of studies (from 1871 to 1886) on the Complutensian Polyglot. Delitzsch was a vigorous opponent of the anti-Semitic movement in Germany, and was one of the foremost opponents of Rohling, defending the Jews against the blood accusation. In 1841 he made a public declaration on this subject in the Waisenhaus-Kirche in Dresden, and in 1882 published a responsum ("Christliche Zeugnisse Gegen die Blutbeschuldigung," p. 12). In this connection he wrote "Rohling's Talmudjude" (7th ed., 1881); "Was D. Aug. Rohling Beschworen Hat?" (1883); "Schachmatt den Blutlügnern Rohling und Justus" (2d ed., Erlangen, 1883); "Neueste Traumgeschichte des Antisemitischen Propheten" (Erlangen, 1883). This did not prevent him from repelling what he considered unjust attacks upon Christianity in the Jewish press ("Christentum und Jüdische Presse," Erlangen, 1882). His interest in the Christianization of the Jews led him to found in 1886 at Leipsic the institution which, after his death, was called the "Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum"; and for them he translated the New Testament into Hebrew (1877), with the aid of J. E. Salkinsohn. His son **Friedrich Delitzsch** is noted as an Assyriologist; he is professor of Assyriology at the University of Berlin.

Bibliography: Herzog-Hauck, *Real-Encyklopädie*, s.v., and the authorities there mentioned.

T. T.—G.

DELMANSI. See Anaw.

DELMEDIGO (דילמידיגו = "Del Medico"): A family of German descent. About the end of the fourteenth century its founder, **Judah Delmedigo,** emigrated to the island of Crete, whose inhabitants were mostly of German origin (compare Joseph Solomon Delmedigo, "Elim," p. 30, Amsterdam, 1629). Judah had three sons: (1) **Abba ha-Zaḳen** (I.), who, at his own expense, erected a German synagogue (*ib.* הנקרא אלימניקו); (2) **Mejuhas,** who died childless; and (3) **Shemariah,** with the surname Cretensis (איקריטי). The last wrote a philosophical work, "Ḥeber Ish we-Ishto" (compare Geiger, "Wiss. Zeit. Jüd. Theol." iii. 447), and many grammatical treatises (compare Wolf, "Bibl. Hebr." ii. 597, No. 33; Zunz, in "Catalogus Lib. Manuscript. Bibl. Senat. Lips." 324). His son **Moses** was the father of **Elijah Cretensis ben Moses Abba Delmedigo** (see next column). Elijah left two sons: **Moses,** a philosopher, and **Judah,** a rabbi (see Jew. Encyc. iv. 509). One of Judah's daughters, Rachel, married Joseph of Constantinople, a descendant of Mordecai b. Eleazar Comtino (compare Grätz, "Gesch." viii. 274, 438, note), in whose library his (Comtino's) commentary on Ibn Ezra was studied by a later descendant of the family, Joseph Solomon Delmedigo.

Casta (קשתי: *idem*, "Elim," p. 29), the only daughter of Joseph of Constantinople and Rachel, married her relative Elijah, whose genealogy, on his father's side, is as follows: The above-mentioned Abba ha-Zaḳen (I.) had three sons: **Elijah, Moses,** and **Elkanah**—all Talmudists—who, together with other rabbis, defended—"with flaming swords"—their countryman Moses Capsali against the charges of Joseph Colon (Grätz, "Gesch." viii. 253). Elkanah's son **Samuel,** also a rabbi, had a son **Samuel Menahem,** who was born after his father's death. This Samuel Menahem, physician and teacher of philosophy, the head of a yeshibah in Padua, was made a prisoner of war, was ransomed by his countrymen, and was recalled as rabbi to Candia. His son **Abba** (II.) had a son **Eliezer,** who presided over a Talmudic school for many years, and was a zealous opponent of the Cabala. His son **Elijah,** also a Talmudist, his father's successor as rabbi in Candia, and husband of the above-mentioned Casta, was the father of **Joseph Solomon Delmedigo** (see Jew. Encyc. iv. 508) the most illustrious member of the family (compare Steinschneider, "Cat. Bodl." 1510). It is not reported that children were born to him on the island of Candia (see his lament in his "Ta'alumot Ḥokmah," ii. 3b, Preface). His remarks ("Elim," p. 32), "that he had a little daughter at home," and "that he needed much money for his daughter's dowry," are explained by Moses Metz as humorous references to his work "Bosmat bat Shelomoh" (Geiger, "Melo Chofnajim," p. xlv.) and to the expenses of its printing. He was married in Frankfort-on-the-Main, where he held the position of communal physician, and where his two daughters were born. One died young (Carmoly, in "Allg. Zeit. des Jud." 1856, Jahrg. 20, No. 20, with inexact statement of sources). The other, Sarah, married the physician Solomon Bing, and after his death (1680) Isai Oppenheim, who died, according to her tombstone (No. 3009 in the old cemetery of the Israelitic community in Frankfort), Feb. 9, 1691 (M. Horwitz, in Berliner's "Magazin," x. 113).

Bibliography: Geiger, *Melo Chofnajim*, pp. xii. *et seq.*; *Nachgel. Schriften*, iii. 1 *et seq.*; Grätz, *Gesch.* viii. 244, 252, 254, 281, 282; ix. 8, 36, 147; Carmoly, *Histoire des Médecins Juifs*, pp. 137, 192.

D. M. Sc.

DELMEDIGO, ELIJAH CRETENSIS BEN MOSES ABBA: Cretan philosopher and physician; born in Candia in 1460; died there March, 1497 (Grätz, "Geschichte," 3d ed., viii. 244, note). Elijah was instructed by his father in Bible and Talmud, and when scarcely more than a child he addressed halakic questions to Joseph Colon, who highly praised his erudition and clear mind (Responsa, No. 54).

The high opinion of such a Talmudical authority probably led to the call, which Delmedigo received a little later, to preside over the Talmudical school of Padua. There he devoted himself to the study of philosophy, chiefly that of Aristotle, Maimonides, and Averroes, whose systems he afterward inculcated among Christian students by lectures and by translations and commentaries written in an elegant literary Latin.

Delmedigo's reputation as philosopher soon stood so high that he was chosen by the University of Padua, with the approval of the Venetian Senate, as umpire in a dispute on some philosophical subject between the professors and students of that university; and as a result of his decision he, at the age of twenty-three, was appointed professor of philosophy, teaching successively at Padua, Florence, Venice, Perugia, and Bassano. Among his students was the eminent scholar Count Giovanni Pico di Mirandola, who became his lifelong friend and protector.

As Professor of Philosophy.

This happy period in Delmedigo's life did not last long. The members of the party against whom he had decided the above-mentioned dispute had not forgiven him for their defeat, and they commenced to persecute him. Moreover, a quarrel arose between Delmedigo and Judah Minz, rabbi of Padua, who, being strongly opposed to scientific progress and freedom in religious matters, could not agree with the theories propounded by Delmedigo in his work "Beḥinat ha-Dat" (see below). This quarrel soon developed fierce persecutions, obliging Delmedigo to leave Italy; and he returned to his native place, where he was received with much sympathy by his countrymen, both Jews and Christians. There he taught philosophy for two or three years, at the expiration of which he underwent an operation on the cheek, which caused his death. Joseph Solomon Delmedigo, who in his "Mazref le-Ḥokmah" gives some biographical notes on Elijah, relates that crowds of learned Christians, clad in mourning, attended Elijah's funeral.

Elijah's scientific activity lay chiefly in translating from Hebrew into Latin and in commenting upon some of Averroes' commentaries on Aristotle. He did this mostly at the request of Pico di Mirandola. His translations and independent works are: "Quæstiones Tres: I. De Primo Motore; II. De Mundi Efficientia; III. De Esse Essentia et Uno," Venice, 1501; "Adnotationes in Plurima Dicta," or "Anno. Quædam in Lib. de Physico Auditu Super Quibusdam Dictis Commentatoris [Averrois] et Aliis Rebus," etc., published as an appendix to the preceding work; two questions on the hylic intellect, in Latin and in Hebrew, under the title "She'elah 'Amuḳḳah 'al Aḥdut Sekel ha-Hayulani" (the first question being whether the hylic intellect is one; the second, whether it conceives substances separated from matter [Paris MS. No. 968; at the end of this work, Delmedigo promises to publish a book on the number of the precepts according to the Talmud]); "Averrois Quæstio in Librum Priorum (Analyticarum)," Venice, 1497; Averroes' commentary on Plato's "Republic," "De Regimine Civitatis" (no longer extant, and known only from quotations); "Averrois Commentatio [Summa] in Meteora Aristotelis," with an introduction as well as fragments from Averroes' "Middle Commentary," *ib.* 1488; "Averrois Commentatio [Media] in Metaph. Aristotelis," i.–vii. *ib.* 1560; Averroes' proem to the large commentary to Aristotle's "Metaphysics," xii., translated once for Pico di Mirandola, and a second time for Cardinal Grimani (Paris MS. No. 6508); a small treatise on metaphysics (*ib.*); "[Averrois] De Substantia Orbis," in Latin and in Hebrew, under the title "Biur ha-Ma'amar be-'Eẓem ha-Galgal" (*ib.*); "Sperma" (*ib.*); "Beḥinat ha-Dat" (Investigation of Religion), written at the request of his disciple Saul Cohen Ashkenazi, and published by Delmedigo's great-grandson, Basel, 1519; also, with a commentary, by Isaac Reggio, Vienna, 1833. In the last-named work Delmedigo endeavored to separate religion from philosophy. In his opinion religion consists in actions leading to a moral life, and is not a matter of syllogisms requiring demonstration. Philosophical speculations leading to a better understanding of the religious principles are indeed permitted, if not prescribed, by the Law; but these speculations are applicable only for the small minority possessing a philosophical training. As for the majority, they must take the Biblical and Talmudical prescriptions in their literal sense. Still, he admits that Judaism, besides religious prescription, contains certain dogmas, such as the unity and incorporeality of God, divine retribution, belief in the miracles related in the Law and resurrection; but these are by no means illogical—as is, for instance, the Trinity—and no true philosopher will declare them untenable. Delmedigo ascribes a divine origin to the halakic part of the Talmud, which is the traditional interpretation of the laws. The haggadic part, on the contrary, being the work of men, has no higher authority than the dicta of the philosophers. The Cabala, he claims, is rooted in an intellectual swamp; no trace of it is to be found in the Talmud, and its basal work, the Zohar, is the production of a forger.

His Works.

"Beḥinat ha-Dat."

The "Beḥinat ha-Dat" can hardly be called an original work. All that Delmedigo says in it respecting philosophy and religion is borrowed from Averroes' "Faṣl al-Maḳal," as has been pointed out by A. Hübsch ("Monatsschrift," 1882, pp. 555–563; 1883, pp. 28–46). Delmedigo's merit in connection with this work lies chiefly in the courageous expression of his opinions, heedless of consequences, which, as the result showed, were disastrous for him. His assertion concerning the haggadic part of the Talmud was probably the cause of his quarrel with Judah Minz, who regarded it as a veritable heresy. On the other hand, the cabalists, who were at that time powerful, could not forgive Delmedigo for his severe attacks upon the Cabala; and even his friend Pico di Mirandola, who was a warm supporter of the Cabala and caused many cabalistic writings to be translated into Latin, was probably offended by his attacks.

Samuel Algazi, in his "Toledot Adam," attributes to Delmedigo a commentary to the Song of Songs; but this is no longer extant. According to Joseph Solomon Delmedigo ("Mazref le-Ḥokmah," p. 5), Elijah wrote several works in which he defended Maimonides against the criticisms of Levi b. Gershom.

Bibliography: Munk, *Mélanges*, p. 510; Jules Dukas, *Recherches sur l'Histoire Littéraire du XVe Siècle*, Paris, 1876; Geiger, *Melo Chofnajim*, p. xxii.; Carmoly, in *Revue Orientale*, ii. 126; Brüll, *Jahrb.* iii. 193 *et seq.*; Rippner, in *Monatsschrift*, 1873, pp. 481–494; Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibl.* xxi. 60–71; idem, *Hebr. Uebers.* passim; idem, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 944.

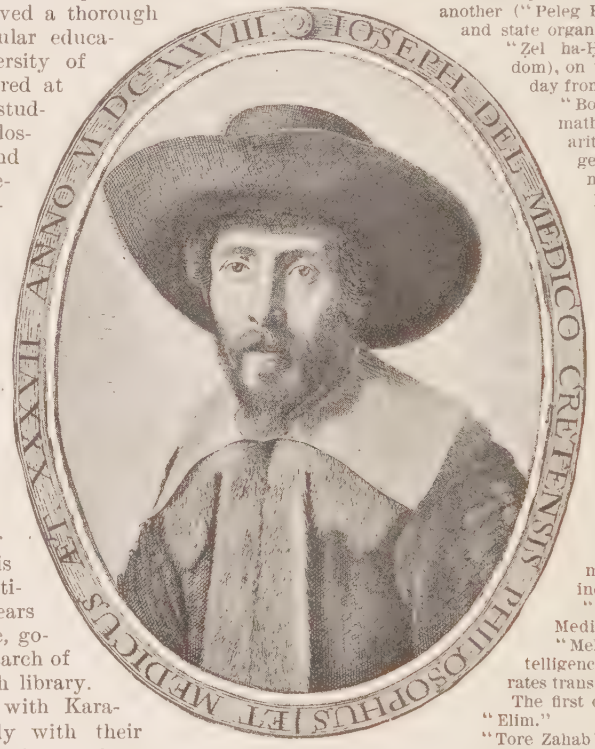
G. I. Br.

DELMEDIGO, ELIJAH BEN ELIEZER: Cretan rabbi and Talmudist; flourished in the second half of the sixteenth and in the first of the seventeenth century in Candia. He was widely known in his time as a Talmudic scholar. A halakic decision of his exists in Joseph Samega's "Derek Yemin." He was the father of the famous philosopher and writer Joseph Solomon Delmedigo.

Bibliography: Nepi-Ghirondi, *Toledot Gedole Yisrael*, p. 6; Geiger, *Nachgelassene Schriften*, iii. 5.

L. G. I. Ber.

DELMEDIGO, JOSEPH SOLOMON (YaShaR = Joseph Solomon Rofe): Philosopher and physician; born at Candia June 16, 1591; died at Prague Oct. 16, 1655; son of Elijah, rabbi of Candia. Joseph received a thorough Jewish as well as secular education. At the University of Padua, which he entered at the age of fifteen, he studied logic, natural philosophy, metaphysics, and divinity; and then devoted himself to medicine and to his favorite studies, mathematics and astronomy, the latter under Galileo. While at Padua he frequently visited, at Venice, Leo de Modena, who exercised a great influence over him. Returning to Candia, Delmedigo's freethinking tendencies and his preference for secular studies soon made his residence there impracticable. For many years he led a wandering life, going first to Cairo, in search of new books for his rich library. There he associated with Karaite scholars, especially with their ḥakam, Jacob Iskandari, at whose request he wrote his works on mechanics. At Cairo, Delmedigo triumphed over a certain Mohammedan professor in a public debate on mathematics. At Constantinople, also (where he studied the Cabala), he associated chiefly with the Karaites. Going by way of Wallachia and Moldavia, he visited Poland and Lithuania. At Wilna he was engaged as physician to Prince Radziwill (*c.* 1620).



Joseph Solomon Delmedigo.
(From the frontispiece to his "Sefer Elim.")

The appearance in Wilna of a man with such a versatile intellect was a rare event. Among his pupils here was Moses ben Meïr of Metz. A Karaite, Zerah ben Nathan of Troki, addressed to Delmedigo a number of questions on scientific subjects, the answers to which constitute his "Elim." After a few years in Lithuania and Poland, Delmedigo went to Hamburg, where he officiated as rabbi or preacher to the newly established Sephardic community. An epidemic compelled him to move to Glückstadt; from there he went to Amsterdam, where he officiated as rabbi for a few years. About 1630 he settled in Frankfort-on-the-Main, and in 1631 became a communal physician. He finally, about 1648, settled in Prague, and resided there until his death.

Delmedigo was the author of numerous scientific works. Most of them are known only by the author's list of his own writings. The following enumeration may contain some duplicates, as it is not always possible to distinguish between books which have one and the same title:

His Works.

"Ya'ar ha-Lebanon" (The Forest of the Lebanon), an encyclopedia of science according to the system of the ancients. One part treats of the value of chemistry, and is entitled "Ḥefes Meḥuppas"; another ("Peleg Elohim"), of various religious and state organizations.

"Ẓel ha-Ḥokmah" (Shadow of Wisdom), on the reckoning of the time of day from the length of a shadow.

"Bosmat bat Shelomoh" (Basmath, Daughter of Solomon), on arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, geography, chiromancy, harmony, logic, ethics, and metaphysics. Delmedigo claims to have elaborated in the "Bosmat" a system of his own.

"Or Shib'at ha-Yamim" (The Light of the Seven Days), on creation and on optics.

"Ḳeshet Derukah" (A Bent Bow), on the rainbow and on colors. This and the preceding are appended to the "Bosmat."

"'Ir Gibborim" (City of Heroes), divided into two parts: (1) "Geburot Adonai," on astronomy; (2) "Niflaot Adonai," on chemistry and mechanics.

A commentary on the "Almagest" (a part of which is included in the "Elim").

"Refu'ot Te'alah" (Healing Medicine), a medical work.

"Meḳor Binah" (Source of Intelligence), the aphorisms of Hippocrates translated from Latin into Hebrew. The first chapters are included in the "Elim."

"Tore Zahab" (Plaits of Gold), selections from Hebrew literature, with a commentary entitled "Neḳudat ha-Kesef."

"Tor ha-Ma'alah" (Order of Dignity), on the treatment of scholars.

"Ruaḥ Eliyahu," a defense of Elijah Mizraḥi's commentary on Rashi.

On Porphyry's "Introduction to Logics," and on the "Categories."

Translations of several of Philo's works and of Judah Abravanel's "Philon et Sophia."

Explanations of difficult passages in Isaac 'Aramah's "'Aḳedat Yiẓḥaḳ."

Comments on Ibn Ezra's "Sefer ha-Shem" and "Sefer ha-Eḥad."

"Arubbot ha-Shamayim" (Windows of the Heavens), on metaphysics.

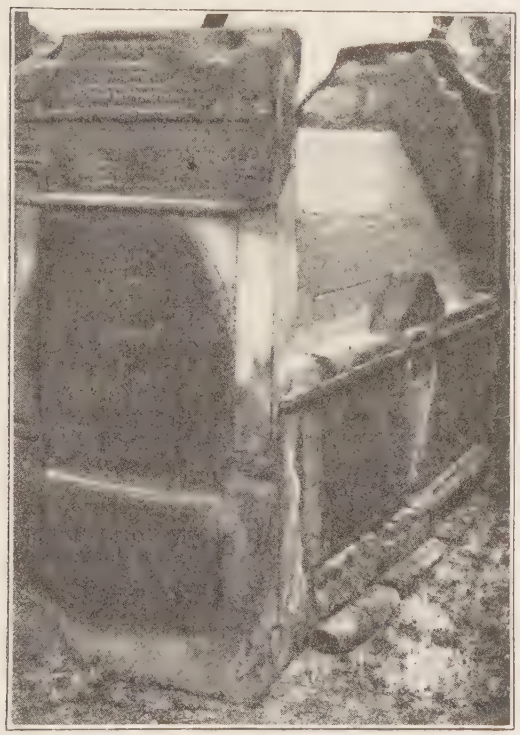
"Raḥel Mebakkah," and a number of other works upon unknown subjects.

"Elim" (Amsterdam, 1629) contains answers to twelve scientific questions propounded by Zerah ben Nathan, and seventy mathematical paradoxes. The title is an allusion to Ex. xv. 27. The work also contains some letters of Zerah ben Nathan, and dissertations by one of Delmedigo's disciples, Moses ben Meïr of Metz.

"Rosh Mashbir," on arithmetic.

"Ma'yan Gannim" (Source of the Gardens), a continuation to the answers to Zerah ben Nathan. It consists of the following short treatises: on trigonometry; on the first two books of the "Almagest"; on astronomy (these three printed with the "Elim"); on astronomical instruments; on Cabala and the supernatural; on astrology; on algebra; on chemistry; on the aphorism of Hippocrates; on the opinion of the ancients concerning the substance of the heavens; on the astronomy of the ancients, who considered the motion of the higher spheres due to spirits (Delmedigo shows that their motion is similar to that of the earth); on the principles of religion; mathematical paradoxes (printed together with the "Elim").

Another of Delmedigo's disciples, Samuel Ashkenazi, published under the title of "Ta'alumot Ḥokmah" (Basel, 1629–31) that portion of the "Ma'yan Gannim" which deals with the Cabala. This work shows that Delmedigo was a follower of the system of Isaac Luria. Geiger has published ("Melo



Tombstone of Joseph Solomon Delmedigo at Prague.
(From a photograph.)

Chofnajim," Berlin, 1840), with a German translation, one of Delmedigo's letters to Zerah ben Nathan.

Despite Delmedigo's scientific attainments, he is to be blamed for deriding the Cabala in private and defending it in public, even if Michael's supposition be correct that the letter addressed to Zerah contains interpolations by Karaites, among whom it was found. Evidently ashamed of his "Mazref le-Ḥokmah," he asserted that it was written at the request of an influential personage in Hamburg who wished to defend philosophy, and that an author is not bound to state his private belief in such cases. His lack of sincerity is also seen in some evidently false statements; for instance, regarding the miracles worked by Naḥmanides and Ibn Ezra. He was so afraid of being accused of heresy that he covered the discussions on scientific and theologic questions in his "Elim" with the cloak of orthodoxy, and attributed his own opinions to Zerah or to Moses b. Meïr of Metz. It was probably this fear that caused him to suppress the treatises on angelology and Cabala in his "Ma'yan Gannim." Still his contemporaries Yom-Ṭob Lipman Heller and Jair Ḥayyim Bachrach speak of Delmedigo in the highest terms, and praise his piety and his vast erudition.

His Insincerity.

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G. I. Br.

DELMEDIGO, JUDAH B. ELIJAH: Italian Talmudist; born in Candia; son of the philosopher Elijah Cretensis Delmedigo; studied at Padua under Judah Minz; he then returned to his native city, where his reputation as teacher of the Talmud attracted many pupils, among them Samuel Algazi. He was in continual controversy with the aged historiographer and teacher of the Law Elijah Capsali, who also had a school at Candia, both of the adversaries succeeding in rousing the interest of their most eminent contemporaries. Traces of the many differences of opinion that separated these two men and led to bitter disputes between them may be found in the responsa of the foremost authorities of this time. The liturgical poet Moses Alashkar, Elijah ben Benjamin ha-Levi, Meïr Katzenellenbogen of Padua, and David ibn abi Zimra make mention of these two scholars, who had laid disputes before them. Joseph Solomon Delmedigo was a great-grandson of Judah.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Metz, in Joseph Delmedigo's *Elim*, p. 29; Geiger, *Gesammelte Schriften*, iii. 4; Michael, *Or ha-Ḥayyim*, pp. 165 *et seq.*, 453; *Zeḳan Aharon*, Responsa Nos. 7 29, 70-78, 99, 112-114, 148-154.

L. G. E. N.

DELUGTAS, SAMUEL BEN MOSES. See Dlugosz, Samuel ben Moses.

DELVAILLE, ALBERT: French dramatic author; born at Neuilly-sur-Seine May 30, 1870. He studied at the Ecole Monge (afterward the Ecole Carnot), and then joined his father, who was a dealer in colonial wares. He soon, however, turned to writing dramas, under the pseudonym "Trebla." Among his plays, some of which are collaborations, are the following: "Par-çi, par-là," "L'Indécollable," "La Confession Naïve," "Le Harem de Pontarlier" (1896); "Vive la Femme," "A Nous la Chanson," "Voyez Terrasse" (1897); "Chez la Couturière," "Le Pierrot Bleu," "Elle" (1898); "Personne," "Vénus Cantonnière," "Pierrot aux Manœuvres," a ballet (1899); "Napolégnon," "Nostalgie" (1901). The latter play was prohibited by the authorities. He also published, in 1898, a collection of dialogues entitled "L'Amour en Fantaisies." He has contributed to "La Plume," "Le Grelot," "Le Courrier National," "Fin de Siècle," "Gil Blas," and other periodicals.

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S. V. E.

DEMAI (דמאי, "doubtful"; something which may still contain the elements of דמע, "things holy"): **1.** Agricultural produce, the owner of which was not trusted with regard to the correct separation of the tithes. The tribe of Levi, having been excluded from participating in the division of the land, obtained as compensation a share in its produce (Num. xviii. 24). As the tribe included two elements, priests and Levites, the compensation was given in two forms: "terumah" (heave-offering) and "ma'aser" (tithe) for the Levites; and the latter gave the tenth part of the tithe to the priests as "terumat ma'aser" (heave-offering; *ib.* 26). In addition, a second tithe had to be separated from the produce in the first, second, fourth, and fifth years of the year-week. This tithe had to be taken to Jerusalem and consumed there, in accordance with certain regulations; while in the third and sixth years it was given to the poor. In the former case it was called "ma'aser sheni" (second tithe); in the latter "ma'aser 'ani" (the tithe for the poor). The produce of the seventh year was free from all these dues.

Terumah and Ma'aser.

The heave-offerings, both terumah and terumat ma'aser, could not be eaten by non-priests; the second tithe, unless redeemed with "silver," which was to be spent on food in Jerusalem, could not be eaten outside that city; while the first tithe and the tithe for the poor were not subject to any restrictions. Conscientious Jews would not partake of the produce of the land unless they had first satisfied themselves that the heave-offering and tithes had been duly separated. The owners of land in Palestine were divided into three classes: (1) non-Jews, to whom the Jewish laws about tithes did not apply; (2) the trustworthy Jews ("ne'emanim" or "ḥaberim"), who were sure to separate from the produce all that was due according to the Law; and (3) the 'Am ha-Areẓ, who was suspected of neglecting these laws. Produce bought of any person of the first class was considered as unprepared—*i.e.*, as produce from which heave-offering and tithes had not been separated; that bought of the second class was "metuḳḳan" (prepared); and that bought of the third class was "demai" (doubtful, or suspected).

Ma'aser Sheni.

The conscientious never partook of demai without first separating the tithes due thereon. It was not necessary, however, to separate all the dues enumerated above, as no one was suspected with regard to the heave-offering, for two reasons: first, it was not burdensome, as the minimum quantity satisfied the Law (Ḥul. 137b); and, secondly, the offense of neglecting it was considered very serious (Sanh. 83a). It was therefore only necessary to mark out the first tithe and the second. Of the former, one-tenth was separated as "the heave-offering of the tithe," and the remaining nine-tenths were retained by the owner, as the Levite was unable to prove his claim. The second tithe could be redeemed without the addition of one-fifth of its value (Lev. xxvii. 31). These regulations concerning demai are ascribed to Johanan, the high priest (John Hyrcanus, son of Simeon), who inquired into the matter and discovered the fact that most people only separated the heave-offering and neglected the tithes (Soṭah 48).

2. The third treatise of the first section of the Mishnah, containing the regulations relating to demai. They concern chiefly the ḥaberim, an association of trusted persons who rigidly observed the laws of terumah and ma'aser, and acted on the presumption that a ḥaber would not permit anything to pass out of his hands which was not ritually qualified for immediate eating ('Ab. Zarah 41a). Without attempting to give a definition of "demai," the meaning of which is assumed to be well understood, the author of the Mishnah at once proceeds to discuss the laws of demai in seven chapters, whose contents may be summarized as follows:

I. Cases in which the law of demai is not rigidly applied; *e.g.*, fruit or vegetables which are found as "hefḳer" (unclaimed property), hefḳer being exempt from ma'aser.

II. Produce of Palestine, even when bought outside Palestine, is demai if bought of an 'am ha-areẓ. The conditions of a ḥaber involve certain restrictions, which are reduced or removed in favor of a ḥaber baker or shopkeeper.

III. A ḥaber must not cause others to partake of demai.

IV. The 'am ha-areẓ is exceptionally trusted with regard to ma'aser on Sabbath and concerning holy things—*e.g.*, "ḥallah" sacrifices—because the awe-inspiring character of Sabbath and holy things ("emat shabbat" and "emat ha-ḳodesh") deters people from uttering falsehood.

V. If demai is bought of several persons, each lot must be tithed separately.

VI. A ḥaber farmer is responsible for the proper tithing of the share of an 'am ha-areẓ landlord.

VII. Regulations for facilitating the tithing of demai on urgent occasions.

The Tosefta has a few modifications and additions. Dividing ch. ii. into two parts, it has eight chapters instead of the seven of the Mishnah; and the eighth paragraph of the sixth chapter of the Mishnah corresponds to the beginning of the eighth chapter of the Tosefta.

There is no Babylonian Gemara on the treatise "Demai," which found no practical application in Babylon; but the Jerusalem Gemara is very rich in information concerning the produce of Palestine. There occur many names of fruits and vegetables in addition to those mentioned in the Mishnah; names of places in and outside Palestine; and information about the markets. There seem to have been inspectors, who distinguished between that which was metuḳḳan and the demai; there were also appointed officers who watched the sale of articles of food and kept the prices low.

Demai and Metuḳḳan.

A few haggadic passages are interspersed. Thus, the conscientiousness of R. Phinehas, son of Jair, with regard to the laws of tithes is fully described; and with it other acts of piety by the same rabbi are related. Among the latter is the following: Two poor men left with R. Phinehas two seah of barley. He sowed the barley and gathered in the harvest. After a time the men came back and asked for their barley, when they found that through the action of the rabbi the two seah had increased to several camel-loads.

Noteworthy is the fact that a ḥaber on being appointed tax-gatherer lost his status as ḥaber.

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S. S. M. F.

DEMANDS: In law the rights which a person has to recover money or things of value from others, whether by contract or for wrongs sustained. In the Bible נשה is applied to the debit as well as to the credit. The Mishnah, when speaking of demands as a kind of property, generally names שטרות ("bonds") as being the most valuable; and a single demand is often called מלוה ("a loan").

The incidents of demands are these: (1) Can they be transferred? If so, how and with what effect? (2) To whom do they pass at the owner's death? Do they survive him? (3) Do they survive against the debtor's or wrong-doer's heirs? (4) How are they extinguished without satisfaction?

1. The first question is answered under ALIENATION. It may be added that though the sages have found means to bring about the transfer of contractual demands, the Talmud nowhere alludes to the assignment of claims arising from torts to either person or property. Where the demand savors of tort, an attorney to bring suit ("mursheh") could not be appointed, even in later times, when the leave to appoint attorneys had been extended; for the letter of attorney took the form of a partial assignment. The claim for an admitted deposit could be assigned, the thing deposited itself being assigned (B. Ḳ. 70a; "Yad," Sheluḥin, iii. 6, 7; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 123, 1).

Transference of Demand.

2. At the owner's death his estate, both landed and movable, together with his demands, goes to his heirs; and they may sue for and collect all demands. The debtor, or person bound by a wrongful act, must pay them. This applies to the value of goods taken by force or embezzlement, and to the one-fifth in addition due under some circumstances by way of atonement (B. Ḳ. ix. 5), and to the double or greater compensation due by the thief or faithless depositary ("Yad," Genebah, ii. 6). Likewise the party who has made himself liable for injury to property must, if the owner die before recovery of damages, pay his heirs, as the injured person is considered in the light of a creditor ("Yad," Nizḳe Mamon, viii. 11).

3. It has been shown under the head of DEBTS OF DECEDENTS how far the assets left by a debtor are subjected to his obligations. It is shown under ROBBERY how such assets are liable for the value of goods taken by force. They would in like manner be bound for the single value of goods stolen; also for all damages to property, whether done wilfully or by negligence (*ib.* viii. 11, 12). Neither Talmud nor either of the codes mentions the liability of heirs for injuries to the person committed by their ancestor; but it may be inferred, from the enumeration of the differences between injuries to property and injuries to the person (B. Ḳ. viii. 7; "Yad," Ḥobel, v. 9, 11), in which there is no mention of injuries arising from the death of the wrong-doer, that here also the heirs are bound to the extent of assets left.

On Estate of a Deceased Person.

As shown under DEBTS OF DECEDENTS, the procedure against the heirs is clogged with many hindrances; but, in theory, it seems that all demands survive against the heirs of the party under obligation.

4. A demand can not be extinguished by mere lapse of time. There is no statute of limitations, except the Scriptural law of the year of release, which was never in force outside the Holy Land, and even there was practically abrogated in the days of Hillel. The ḤAZAḲAH is nothing but a presumption arising from lapse of time, always subject to rebuttal. Any demand may, however, be extinguished by a voluntary release (מחילה); and, as a rule, this act does not need a formal transfer of title (קנין), though in many places it was customary to clothe it in such forms ("Yad," Mekirah, v. 11, 12). Compare ROBBERY.

The liability of the heirs for personal damages—or the survival of such demands against the tort-feasor's heirs—was hardly ever a practical question; because the liability of the heirs for anything but the bond debts (what the common law calls "specialty debts") of the ancestor was established only a short time before the Jewish courts, for lack of ordained judges, lost their jurisdiction in actions for personal injury. See DEBTS OF DECEDENTS, *sub fine*.

L. G. L. N. D.

DEMBITZ, LEWIS NAPHTALI: American lawyer, scholar, and author; born Feb. 3, 1833, at Zirke, in the province of Posen, Prussia; educated at the gymnasia of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, Sagan, and Glogau, in Prussia, and attended the law course for one semester in Prague. He then studied American law in offices at Cincinnati, Ohio, and Madison, Ind. After doing journalistic work for a time, he began in 1853 the practise of law at the bar of Kentucky, in Louisville, which practise he has continued uninterruptedly ever since. Dembitz was a delegate to the National Republican Convention of 1860, assistant city attorney of Louisville, 1884–88, and is (1901) a commissioner for Kentucky to the Conference for the Uniformity of State Laws.

In 1888 Dembitz drafted the first Australian ballot law ever adopted in the United States, to govern elections in Louisville. His legal works include: "Kentucky Jurisprudence," 1890; "Law Language for Shorthand Writers," 1892; and "Land Titles in the United States," 2 vols., 1895. He is the author of "The Question of Silver Coinage," in the "Present Problem Series," 1896, No. 1; and has written a number of book-reviews for "The Nation," 1888–97, besides articles in other magazines and in newspapers.

Dembitz was strongly attached to conservative Judaism. He was one of the early members of the executive board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and in 1878 a member of the commission on the plan of study for the Hebrew Union College. In 1898 he acted as chairman at a convention of Orthodox congregations, and was elected a vice-president of the Orthodox Jewish Congregational Union of America. In addition to memoirs,

articles, and addresses which have appeared in Jewish papers, he published "Jewish Services in Synagogue and Home," 1898; "The Lost Tribes," in the "Andover Review," Aug., 1889; and revised Exodus and Leviticus for the new translation of the Bible to be issued by the Jewish Publication Society of America. He died March 11, 1907. A.

DEMBITZER, ḤAYYIM NATHAN: Galician rabbi and historian; born in Cracow June 29, 1820; died there Nov. 20, 1892. His father, Jekuthiel Solomon, a scholarly merchant who claimed he was a descendant of R. Moses Isserles, died in 1833, aged forty-one. While diligently occupied with his Talmudical studies, he came across the "Ẓemaḥ Dawid," a chronological work by David Gans, which aroused his interest in Jewish biography and history. He received his ordination as rabbi from Solomon Kluger, Hirsch Chajes, and Berish Meisels, the last-named of whom was rabbi of Cracow until 1854. Dembitzer sided nevertheless with Meisel's rival, Saul Landau, in the quarrel about the rabbinate of Cracow. In 1856 Dembitzer became a dayyan in his native city, and was, like his older brother Jacob, advanced to the position of rosh bet din, which he held till his death. In 1874 he visited Germany and made the acquaintance of Zunz and other Jewish scholars, with whom he corresponded on historical subjects.

Dembitzer's earlier works were all on halakic subjects, on which he was a recognized authority. His "Maginne Ereẓ Yisrael" (responsa, Lemberg, 1852); "Dibre Ḥen," which appeared as a supplement to Solomon Kluger's "'Abodat ha-Ḳodesh" (Zolkiev, 1863); and "Liwyat Ḥen" (Cracow, 1882) belong to that class. But the last-named, a critical commentary on the work "RABYH" of Eliezer b. Joel ha-Levi, which Dembitzer published from a manuscript, contains much valuable material for the history of the Tosafists, which is interspersed among the pilpulistic arguments of the main subject. His chief historical work, "Kelilat Yofi," of which the first part, containing biographies of the rabbis of Lemberg and of other Polish communities, appeared in 1888, and the second part, also biographical and historical, in 1893 (Cracow), is an important contribution to the science of Judaism. He is also the author of "Miktebe Biḳḳoret," a valuable correspondence with the historian Grätz about the Council of Four Lands ("Oẓar ha-Sifrut," iv. 193–243; also published separately, Cracow, 1892), and of a biography of the Tosafist Joseph Porat, which appeared posthumously in "Ha-Ḥoker," ii. 48–59. The "Mappelet 'Ir ha-Ẓedek" (1878), a severe and vindictive criticism of J. M. Zunz's "'Ir ha-Ẓedek" on the rabbis of Cracow, was likewise written by him, although the name of Joel Dembitzer, his younger brother, appears on the title-page as the nominal author.

Bibliography: Wettstein, *Toledot Maharhan* (German title, *Biographie des H. N. Dembitzer*), Cracow, 1893; Brann, in *Monatsschrift*, xxxix. 142-143; *Sefer Zikkaron*, p. 2, Warsaw, 1890; *Aḥiasaf* for 5654, p. 296.

L. G. P. Wi.

DEMBO, ISAAC: Russian physician; born at Poneviezh, government of Kovno, in 1846. Dembo studied Hebrew and rabbinical literature under the direction of Samuel Salant and other Talmudic authorities until the age of fourteen, when he devoted himself to secular studies, and in 1870 graduated as M.D. from the University of St. Petersburg. He served as physician in several hospitals, and in 1877, on the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war, enlisted in the medical department of the army. He was awarded a medal for his services. In 1881–82 he traveled in Germany and France, and on his return to St. Petersburg was appointed physician to the Alexandrowski Hospital. In 1888 the government bestowed upon him the title of "privy councilor."

Dembo turned his attention to the scientific study of the slaughtering of animals according to the Jewish rite. In Switzerland and in Germany attempts had been made to secure the prohibition of the Jewish method, on the plea that it caused the animals unnecessary pain. After investigating the matter and studying all the current methods of slaughtering in Russia and abroad, Dembo arrived at the conclusion that the Jewish method caused less pain than any other. He communicated his results to the leading scientists (who agreed with him on the matter) and to the governments interested. Dembo published two works on this subject; namely, "Anatomisch-Physiologische Grundlagen der Verschiedenen Methoden des Viehschlachtens," Leipsic, 1894; and "Das Schlachten im Vergleich mit Anderen Schlachtmethoden vom Standpunkte der Humanität und Hygiene," *ib.* 1894. The latter work was translated into Hebrew under the title "Ha-Sheḥiṭah weha-Bedikah," Warsaw, 1896. He died May 22, 1906.

Bibliography: *Jewish Chronicle*, Jan., 1895.

H. R. I. Br.

DEMBOWSKI, NICOLAS. See Baruch Yavan; Frankists; Kamenetz-Podolsk.

DEMETRIUS: Son-in-law of King Agrippa I. When Mariamne II., daughter of Agrippa I. and sister of Agrippa II., had put away Archelaus, the son of Chelcias, she married Demetrius, who was by birth and wealth among the foremost Jews of Alexandria, and held the office of alabarch about the year 49 c.e. By him Mariamne had a son, Agrippinus. The assumption that Demetrius was the son of Alexander, and hence the brother of the apostate Tiberius Alexander, is unfounded, and is not supported by Josephus. He probably belonged to the priestly family of Onias.

Bibliography: Josephus, *Ant.* xix. 9, § 1; xx. 7, § 3; Brüll, in Geiger, *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, iii. 279; Grätz, *Monatsschrift*, 1876, 217; Schürer, iii. 88.

G. E. N.

DEMETRIUS: Chronicler; supposed to have lived at Alexandria in the third century b.c. In a work entitled Περὶ Ἰουδαίων ("About Jews"), containing extracts from foreign authors, Alexander Polyhistor (80–40 b.c.) quotes fragments of Demetrius' chronicles; and these were inserted by Eusebius in his "Præparatio Evangelica" (ix. 17–39).

The first excerpt deals with the history of Jacob from the time of his emigration to Mesopotamia till his death. Demetrius endeavors to establish the Biblical chronology and gives the date of every incident in Jacob's life, even fixing the year and month in which each of Jacob's children was born. The ex-

cerpt concludes with the genealogy of Levi back to the birth of Aaron and Moses.

The second fragment is an extract from the history of Moses, laying stress on the genealogy of Jethro in order to demonstrate that Zipporah, the wife of Moses, was a descendant of Abraham and Keturah.

The third excerpt gives an account of the sweetening of the water of Marah (Ex. xv. 23).

Another fragment was preserved by Clemens Alexandrinus ("Stromata," i. 21, 141), who gives the title of Demetrius' chronicles as *Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ Βασιλέων*. This fragment endeavors to determine exactly the period of the exile of the Ten Tribes, and that of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin till Ptolemy IV. (222–205 B.C.), in whose reign the chronicler evidently lived.

From the orthography of proper names, and from various expressions used, it is evident that Demetrius used the Septuagint, not the Hebrew Bible. For the determination of certain dates he relied on the Biblical exegesis in use among the Palestinian Jews. Josephus used Demetrius' chronicles for his "Antiquities," and adopted his chronological system.

Bibliography: Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*, i. 35 *et seq.*; Bloch, *Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus*, pp. 56 *et seq.*, Leipsic, 1879; Vaillant, *De Historicis Qui Ante Josephum Judaicas Res Scripsere*, pp. 45–52, Paris, 1851; Herzfeld, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, iii. 486 *et seq.*; Grätz, *Gesch.* iii. 604–606; Schürer, *Gesch.* iii. 349–351, 3d ed.

J. I. Br.

DEMETRIUS I. SOTER: King of Syria 162–150 B.C.; son of Seleucus IV. Philopator. He was sent by his father as a hostage to Rome in place of Antiochus Epiphanes, after whose death he demanded in vain of the Senate that he be acknowledged as his father's successor. Later he again demanded the throne; and, being met with a refusal, he fled with the aid of Polybius to Tripoli, where he was given a cordial reception. He soon obtained possession of Antioch, but could not win the sympathies of the Romans. On the contrary, the Roman Senate permitted the satrap Timarchus to assume the kingly title. Timarchus succeeded, with the aid of Artaxias of Armenia, in conquering the whole of Babylonia, ruling it in a cruel manner. At length he was defeated by Demetrius, whom the Babylonians on that account called "Soter" (Redeemer).

In 162 Demetrius appointed Alcimus high priest of the Jews, and, after the expulsion of the latter, endeavored to have him reinstated; but Nicanor, the general sent for this purpose, was killed in battle (161). Another of Demetrius' generals, Bacchides, succeeded in vanquishing Judas Maccabeus in 160; Jonathan, however, was able to stand his ground, and in 157 he made peace with Bacchides, although he was compelled to tolerate Syrian garrisons in Jerusalem and other places.

Owing to his pride and severity, Demetrius was much hated by the Syrians. He was greatly addicted to drink, and Josephus reproaches him with frivolity and laziness. In 153 Alexander Balas, recognized and supported by the Senate, and aided by Attalus II. and Ptolemy Philometor, appeared with an army in Syria, and captured Ptolemais through treason. Demetrius' own men deserted him; and the Jews, too, whom Alexander Balas had won over with large presents, withdrew their allegiance. Demetrius was compelled to withdraw the troops from the Jewish localities, with the exception of Jerusalem and Beth-Zur, and to concentrate his forces against Balas. In the decisive battle Demetrius fell.

Bibliography: Polybius, iii. 5, xxxi. *et seq.*; Appian, *Syriaca*, xlv. *et seq.*; Diodorus Siculus, xxxi.; Justin, xxxiv. *et seq.*; Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 10, §§ 4 *et seq.*; xiii. 2, §§ 1–4; *I Macc.* vii. *et seq.*; *II Macc.*, xiv. 1; Schürer, *Gesch.* 3d ed., i. 170 *et seq.*; Wellhausen, *I. J. G.* 3d ed., pp. 260 *et seq.*; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyc.* s.v.

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DEMETRIUS II. NICATOR: King of Syria; son of Demetrius Soter. He was sent to Rome by his father as hostage for his fidelity. It was intended that he should work there against Alexander Balas, whose cause was promoted by Heraclides. He could achieve nothing, however. After the death of his father he set out in 147 with an army of mercenaries against Balas, who fled to Antioch. He was aided in this by Appolonius, the governor of Cœle-Syria, against whom, however, the high priest Jonathan made successful war. In the decisive battle at Antiochia on the Ainoparus (146), Alexander Balas was defeated by Demetrius and his own father-in-law, Ptolemy Philometor, who had become reconciled with Demetrius. Balas was killed during his flight, and Ptolemy Philometor died of a wound received in the battle. Demetrius now assumed the surname "Nicator." He confirmed the high priest Jonathan, on the payment of a tribute of 300 talents, in his dignity, and in the possession of the three districts of Lydda, Ephraim, and Ramatnaim, which had been severed from Samaria. Nor had he cause to regret the act; for when the disbanded native soldiers rose in revolt against Demetrius, Jonathan sent to his aid an army of 3,000 Jews. With this army and his own mercenaries, Demetrius suppressed the dangerous uprising.

Demetrius, however, did not fulfil his promise to withdraw the Syrian garrisons from the fortresses in Judea; on the contrary, he demanded of Jonathan the payment of all the tributes which had been due to his predecessors, but which had not been paid. Under these circumstances, the uprising which was kindled by Diodotus on behalf of the young son of Alexander Balas, Antiochus VI. Dionysus, and which was provoked by the barbarities of Demetrius, came very opportunely. Demetrius was defeated; but found refuge in Seleucia, which remained faithful to him at all times. In the mean time Jonathan stood his ground against the generals of Demetrius, and in conjunction with Simon conquered southern Syria. After the murder of Jonathan, in which Diodotus shared, the fortunes of Demetrius improved. The Jews deserted Diodotus, who had forfeited their sympathies not only by this murder, but also because he had removed Antiochus VI. and had usurped the throne under the name of "Tryphon." Demetrius recognized Simon as high priest and ethnarch.

Soon afterward Demetrius commenced a war against the Parthians, but after several victories was finally defeated and taken prisoner by a Parthian general of Mithridates I. (140). He was released only after his younger brother, Antiochus Sidetes, fought a successful battle against the Parthian.

Upon the death of Antiochus, Demetrius again became ruler; and he had begun planning a fresh subjugation of the Jews, when he decided to make war on Ptolemy Euergetes II. of Egypt. He marched as far as Pelusium, but turned back, because, being without confidence in his army, he did not dare to engage in battle. In revenge Ptolemy set up Alexander Zabina against Demetrius (128), and several Syrian cities thereupon freed themselves from Demetrius' control. In 125 he was defeated near Damascus, and was killed at the instigation of his first wife, Cleopatra, who hated him because, during his Parthian captivity, he had married a daughter of the Parthian king.

Bibliography: *I Macc.* x. *et seq.*; Josephus, *Ant.* xiii.; *Justinus*, xxxv. 1, 2, 3; xxxviii. 9 *et seq.*; Diodor, xxxii. 9 *et seq.*; xxxiii. 3 *et seq.*, 9, 28; Schürer, *Gesch.* 3d ed., i. 172 *et seq.*; Von Gutschmid, *Gesch. Irans*, etc., pp. 51 *et seq.*; Flathe, *Gesch. Makedoniens*; Holm, *Griechische Gesch.* pp. 553 *et seq.*; Kuhn, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Seleukiden*; Wilcken, in *Hermes*, pp. 29, 441 *et seq.*; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyc.* s.v.; Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, pp. 153 *et seq.*

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DEMETRIUS III. EUCERUS: King of Syria; son of Antiochus Grypus. He was pretender to the throne of Antiochus X., whom he supplanted in 95 B.C. after a severe struggle. He divided the authority with his brother Philip, keeping to himself apparently Cœle-Syria. In the year 88 the Jews appealed to him for aid against their king, Alexander Jannæus, who was subsequently defeated. But thousands of Jews renewed their allegiance to their defeated king, probably out of a well-founded apprehension that Demetrius would again subject them to the Syrian rule. Demetrius was taken prisoner in a battle against his brother Philip, and died in captivity.

Bibliography: Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 4, §§ 1–9; idem, *B. J.* i. 4, §§ 4–8; Kuhn, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Seleukiden*, p. 19; Schürer, *Gesch.* 3d ed., i. 176; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyc.* viii. 2802.

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DEMIDOV, PAVEL PAVLOVICH: Prince of San-Donato, Russian jurist, and philanthropist; born in 1839; died in 1885. He was a member of a well-known Russian family of nobles whose pedigree is traced as far back as 1672. Soon after his graduation from the faculty of jurisprudence of the University of St. Petersburg, he was attached to the Russian embassy at Paris, and later to the embassy at Vienna. From 1871 to 1876 he served as mayor of Kiev.

During the Russo-Turkish war (1877–78) Demidov chose to follow the army as the authorized agent of the Society of the Red Cross, rather than to be a leader of soldiers with more warlike purposes. Of a peaceful and peace-loving disposition, and with a pronounced predilection for literary work, he cared for achievements foreign to those of the ambitious belligerents, and his name is accordingly associated with deeds of philanthropy. Through these years he remained unknown beyond the narrow circle of family, relatives, and personal acquaintances. In 1883, two years before his untimely death, he came suddenly into prominence by the publication of his work, "The Jewish Question in Russia," which was well received. In addition to a very sympathetic though somewhat cursory review of the history of the Jews in Russia, beginning with the first division of Poland, it contains an able analysis of the political and social status of the Jew and of his economic condition and statutory rights, or, more precisely, absence of rights. This analysis proved not only that the author was sufficiently broad-minded and large-hearted to free himself of all popular prejudices, but that he had both the will and the ability to dig deep, reaching here and there the very roots of this social evil. Demidov's solution of the vexed question may be expressed in the demand of equal rights for the Jews and the reorganization and increase of their educational facilities. The abolition of the "Pale of Settlement," the right to live and do as it is accorded to all other Russian subjects, the right to attend any public school upon the same basis as the Christian population, and other privileges, are demanded by the author on the ground of the central idea which he so ably maintains; namely, that the Jew is a desirable and able citizen, all claims to the contrary notwithstanding. He asserts that the peculiarly Jewish exploitation is a fiction; that the exclusiveness of the Jew is as hateful to the Jew himself as is any form of bondage to man; that his commercial ability is useful to the buyer in the Pale of Settlement, as it reduces by sharp competition the profit of the seller, thus on the whole benefiting the public; and, finally, that the much-bewailed baneful influence exerted by the Jew on the Christian poor by his selling intoxicants to the latter, has been exaggerated out of all proportion, as is demonstrated by an array of facts and statistics bearing upon the question and establishing that, beyond all possible doubt, the curse of intemperance is felt considerably more outside the Pale than within it.

Bibliography: Demidov, *San-Donato*; *Yevreiski Vopros v Rossii*, 1883; Ogarkov, *Demidovy*; *Osnovateli Gornavo Dyela v Rossii*, St. Petersburg, 1891; Pamyati, *P. P. Demidova, Knyazya San-Donato*, 1886; A. Scholz, *Die Juden in Russland*, p. 149.

H. R. M. Z.

DEMONIACS IN BIBLE AND TALMUD. See Exorcism.

DEMONOLOGY. — Biblical and Post-Biblical Data: Systematic knowledge concerning demons or evil spirits. Demons (Greek, *δαίμονες* or *δαιμόνια*; Hebrew, שדים [Deut. xxxii. 17; Ps. cvi. 37] and שעירים [Lev. xvii. 7; II Chron. xi. 15; A. V. "devils"; Luther, "Feldgeister" and "Feldteufel"]; Aramaic, or rabbinical, מזיקין and רוחין בישין), as spirits animating all elements of life and inhabiting all parts of the world, have their place in the primitive belief of all tribes and races. When certain deities rose to be the objects of regular worship and became the rulers of the powers of life, demons, or spirits, were subordinated to them. But inasmuch as they were still feared and occasionally worshiped by the populace, they became the objects of popular superstition. Jewish demonology can at no time be viewed as the outcome of an antecedent Hebrew belief. While the nomadic Hebrews had much in common with the Arabian Bedouins in their belief in spirits (see Wellhausen, "Reste Arabischen Heidenthums: Skizzen und Vorarbeiten," 1887, iii. 135 *et seq.*; Smith, "Rel. of Sem." 1889, pp. 112–125, 422 *et seq.*), Canaanite practise and belief were greatly influenced by ancient Chaldea, whose demonology

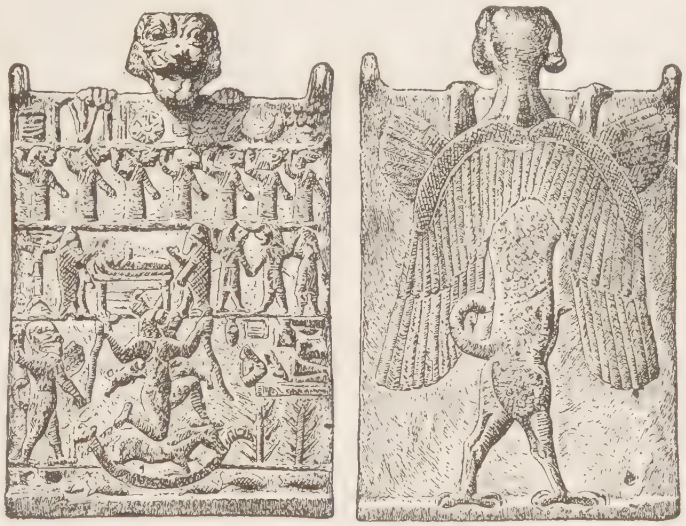
is in the main pre-Semitic (see Lenormant, "Chaldean Magic," 1877, pp. 23–38; German transl., 1878, pp. 22–41; Jastrow, "Religion of Babylonia and Assyria," pp. 260 *et seq.*; Zimmern, in Schrader's "K. A. T." 1902, ii. 458–464). In Babylonia the Jews came under the influence of both the Chaldean and the Persian belief in good and in evil spirits, and this dualistic system became a dominant factor of Jewish demonology and ANGELOLOGY. In Europe, Teutonic, Celtic, and Slavonic demonology in the form of superstition permeated Jewish practise and belief. See SUPERSTITION.

The demons mentioned in the Bible are of two classes, the "se'irim" and the "shedim." The se'irim ("hairy beings"), to which the Israelites sacrificed in the open fields (Lev. xvii. 7; A. V. "devils"; R. V., incorrectly, "he-goats"), are satyr-like demons, described as dancing in the wilderness (Isa. xiii. 21, xxxiv. 14; compare Maimonides, "Moreh," iii. 46; Vergil's "Eclogues," v. 73, "saltantes satyri"), and are identical with the jinn of the Arabian woods and deserts (see Wellhausen, *l.c.*, and Smith, *l.c.*). To the same class belongs AZAZEL, the goat-like demon of the wilderness (Lev. xvi. 10 *et seq.*), probably the chief of the se'irim, and LILITH (Isa. xxxiv. 14). Possibly "the roes and hinds of the field," by which Shulamit conjures the daughters of Jerusalem to bring her back to her lover (Cant. ii. 7, iii. 5), are faun-like spirits similar to the se'irim, though of a harmless nature. The

Demons in the Bible.

אבני השדה (Job v. 23, A. V. "stones of the field"), with which the righteous are said to be in league—obviously identical with, if not a corruption of, the אדני השדה (Mishnah Kil. viii. 5), explained in Yer. Kil. 31c as בר נש דטור, "a fabulous mountain-man drawing nourishment from the ground" (see Jastrow, "Dict.," and Levy, "Neuhebr. Wörterb." *s.v.* אדני)—seem to be field-demons of the same nature. The wilderness as the home of demons was regarded as the place whence such diseases as leprosy issued, and in cases of leprosy one of the birds set apart to be offered as an expiatory sacrifice was released that it might carry the disease back to the desert (Lev. xiv. 7, 52; compare a similar rite in Sayce, "Hibbert Lectures," 1887, p. 461, and "Zeit. für Assyr." 1902, p. 149).

The Israelites also offered sacrifices to the shedim (Deut. xxxii. 17; Ps. cvi. 37). The name שד (believed by Hoffmann, "Hiob," 1891, to occur in Job v. 21), for a long time erroneously connected with "the Almighty" (שדי), denotes a storm-demon (from שוד, Isa. xiii. 6; A. V. "destruction"; compare Ps. xci. 6, ישוד, "that stormeth about"; A. V. "that wasteth"). In Chaldean mythology the seven evil deities were known as "shedim," storm-demons, represented in ox-like form; and because these ox-colossi representing evil demons were, by a peculiar law of contrast, used also as protective genii of royal palaces and the like, the name "shed" assumed also the meaning of a propitious genius in Babylonian magic literature (see Delitzsch, "Assyrisches Handwörterb." pp. 60, 253, 261, 646; Jensen, "Assyr.-Babyl. Mythen und Epen," 1900, p. 453; Sayce, *l.c.* pp. 441, 450, 463; Lenormant, *l.c.* pp. 48–51). It was from Chaldea that the name "shedim" = evil demons came to the Israelites, and so the sacred writers intentionally applied the word in a dyslogistic sense to the Canaanite deities in the two passages quoted. But they also spoke of "the destroyer" (המשחית, Ex. xii. 23) as a demon whose malignant effect upon the houses of the Israelites was to be warded off by the blood of the paschal sacrifice sprinkled upon the lintel and the door-post (a corresponding pagan talisman is mentioned in Isa. lvii. 8). In II Sam. xxiv. 16 and II Chron. xxi. 15 the pestilence-dealing demon is called מלאך המשחית = "the destroying angel" (compare "the angel of the Lord" in II Kings xix. 35; Isa. xxxvii. 36), because, although they are demons, these "evil messengers" (Ps. lxxviii. 49; A. V. "evil angels") do only the bidding of God, their Master; they are the agents of His divine wrath.



The Nether World in the Clutches of a Demon.
(From an Assyrian bronze tablet in the collection of M. de Clerq.)

But there are many indications that popular Hebrew mythology ascribed to the demons a certain independence, a malevolent character of their own, because they are believed to come forth, not from the heavenly abode of YHWH, but from the nether world (compare Isa. xxxviii. 11 with Job xiv. 13; Ps. xvi. 10, xlix. 16, cxxxix. 8). "The first-born of Death who devours the members of his [man's] body" and causes him to be brought "to the king of terrors" (Job xviii. 13, 14, Hebr.), is undoubtedly one of the terrible hawk-like demons portrayed in the Babylonian Hades-picture (see illustra-

tion above, and Roscher, "Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie," *s.v.* "Nergal"), and the "messengers of death" (Prov. xvi. 14) are identical with the "servants of Nergal," the King of Hades and god of pestilence and fever in Chaldean mythology (see Jeremias, "Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode," 1887, pp. 71 *et seq.*; Zimmern, *l.c.* pp. 412 *et seq.*; Jensen, *l.c.* pp. 478, 557).

'Alukah (Prov. xxx. 15; A. V. "horseleech"), the bloodsucker or vampire, whose two daughters cry "Give! Give!" is none other than the flesh-devouring ghoul of the Arabs, called by them "'aluḳ" (Wellhausen, *l.c.* pp. 135–137). She has been rendered in Jewish mythology the demon of the nether world (= גיהנם; see 'Ab. Zarah 17a), and the names of her two daughters have in all probability, as familiar names of dreaded diseases, been dropped (compare Ewald, Delitzsch, and Wilderboer's commentaries, *ad loc.*, and the description of the demon "Labartu" in "Zeit. für Assyr." 1902, pp. 148 *et seq.*). Deber ("pestilence"), originally the death-dealing sting of the midsummer sun-god Nergal (see Roscher, *l.c.* iii. 257), and Keṭeb ("smiter"), the deadly hot wind (Deut. xxxii. 24; Isa. xxviii. 2; A. V. "destruction," "destroying"), are demons, the one walking in darkness, the other storming along in midday (A. V. "that wasteth at noonday"), against which God's protection is invoked in the incantatory psalm "Shir shel Pega'im," ascribed to Moses by the Rabbis (Ps. xci. 5, 6; compare Midr. Teh. *ad loc.*; Tan., Naso, ed. Buber, 39; Num. R. xii.). Possibly the evil spirit that troubled Saul (I Sam. xvi. 14 *et seq.*) was originally a demon (compare Josephus, "Ant." vi. 8, § 2), turned into an evil spirit coming from YHWH in the amended Masoretic text (see Smith, Commentary, *ad loc.*). None of these demons, however, has actually a place in the system of Biblical theology; it is the Lord who sends pestilence and death (Ex. ix. 3, xii. 29); Deber and Reshef ("the fiery bolt") are His heralds (Hab. iii. 5). The shedim are "not-gods" (Deut. xxxii. 17); there is no supernatural power beyond YHWH (Deut. iv. 35; compare Sanh. 67b). It is possible, however, that, as at a later stage in the development of Judaism the idols were regarded as demons, so the Canaanite deities were, either in disparagement, or as powers seducing men to idolatry, called "shedim" by the sacred writers (Deut. xxxii. 17; Ps. cv. 37); all the more so as the latter ascribed a certain reality to the idols (Ex. xii. 12; Isa. xix. 1, xxiv. 21; see Baudissin, "Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgesch." 1876, i. 130).

Other Demons.

——**In Rabbinical Literature:** It was the primitive demonology of Babylonia which peopled the world of the Jews with beings of a semi-celestial and semi-infernal nature. Only afterward did the division of the world between Ahriman and Ormuzd in the Mazdean system give rise to the Jewish division of life between the kingdom of heaven and the kingdom of evil. Rabbinical demonology has, like the Chaldean, three classes of demons, though they are scarcely separable one from another. There were the "shedim," the "mazziḳim" (harmers), and the "ruḥin" or "ruḥot ra'ot" (evil spirits). Besides these there were "lilin" (night spirits), "ṭelane" (shade, or evening, spirits), "ṭiharire" (midday spirits), and "ẓafrire" (morning spirits), as well as the "demons that bring famine" and "such as cause storm and earthquake" (Targ. Yer. to Deut. xxxii. 24 and Num. vi. 24; Targ. to Cant. iii. 8, iv. 6; Eccl. ii. 5; Ps. xci. 5, 6; compare Ps. lxx. and Is. xxxiv. 14). Occasionally they are called "mal'ake ḥabbalah" (angels of destruction) (Ber. 51a; Ket. 104a; Sanh. 106b). "They surround man on all sides as the earth does the roots of the vine"; "a thousand are on his left, and ten thousand on his right side" (compare Ps. xci. 7); if a man could see them he would lack the strength to face them, though he can see them by casting the ashes of the fetus of a black cat about his eyes, or by sprinkling ashes around his bed he can trace their cock-like footprints in the morning (Ber. 6a). They hover around the house and the field (Gen. R. xx.), particularly in the lower regions of the air (Num. R. xii.; Tan., Mishpaṭim, ed. Vienna, 99a; compare Diogenes Laertius, viii. 32, ix. 7). Their main abode is in the northern part of the earth (Pirḳe R. El. iii., after Jer. i. 14). Their sporting-places are caper-bushes and spearworts, where they dwell in groups of sixty; nut-trees, where they form in groups of nine; shady spots on moonlight nights, especially the roofs of houses, under gutters, or near ruins; cemeteries and privies (there is a special demon of the privy, "shed shel bet ha-kisse"); water, oil, and bread-crums cast on the ground; and they harm persons and things coming near them (Pes. 3b; Ber. 3a, 62b; Shab. 67a; Giṭ. 70a; Ḥul. 105; Sanh. 65b).

Time and Place of Appearance.

R. Johanan knew of 300 kinds of shedim living near the town of Shiḥin (Giṭ. 68a). It is dangerous to walk between two palm-trees (Pes. 111a). Demons are particularly hurtful at night. It is unsafe to salute a person in the dark, for he might be a demon (Meg. 3a); to sleep alone in a house, as Lilith may seize one (Shab. 151b); to walk alone in the night or in the morning before cockcrow (Ber. 43a; Yoma 21a; compare Cock); to take water from one whose hands have not been washed in the morning (Ber. 51a). Especially dangerous are the eves of Wednesday and of the Sabbath, for then Agrat bat Maḥlat, "the dancing roof-demon" (Yalḳut Ḥadash, Keshafim, 56), haunts the air with her train of eighteen myriads of messengers of destruction, "every one of whom has the power of doing harm" (Pes. 112b). On those nights one should not drink water except out of white vessels and after having recited Ps. xxix. 3–9 (the verses mentioning seven times "the voice of the Lord") or other magic formulas (Pes. 3a). Another perilous season is midsummer noon from the 17th of Tammuz to the 9th of Ab. Then the demon Keṭeb Meriri reigns from ten in the forenoon to three in the afternoon. He has the head of a calf, with one revolving horn in the middle, and an eye on the breast, and his whole body is covered with scales and hair and eyes; and whosoever sees him, man or beast, falls down and expires (Pes. 3b; Lam. R. i. 3; Midr. Teh. to Ps. xci. 3; Num. R. xii.). Demons assume the shape of men, but have no shadow (Yeb. 122a; Giṭ. 66a; Yoma 75a). At

times they are black goat-like beings (שעירים; Ḳid. 72a); at other times, seven-headed dragons (Ḳid. 29a). "Like angels, they have wings and fly from one end of the world to the other, and know the future; and like men they eat, propagate, and die" (Ḥag. 16b; Ab. R. N. xxxvii.). They cause the faintness of students and the wear and tear of their dress in the schoolhouses and assemblies of the learned (Ber. 6a). But they are not always malign spirits. As they, by virtue of their semi-celestial nature, can overhear the decrees of heaven, they may be consulted by men as to the future; this can be done by means of oil and eggshells; only on Sabbath is this forbidden (Shab. 101a). Hillel and Johanan ben Zakkai understood their talk just as King Solomon did (Mas. Soferim, xvi. 9; B. B. 134a; Suk. 28a; Giṭ. 68b; Ker. 5b; Pesiḳ., ed. Buber, 45b).

The saint Abba Jose of Zaintor saved his town from harm, when informed by a water-demon living near by that a harmful fellow demon made his dwelling there, by causing the inhabitants to go down to the water's edge at dawn, equipped with iron rods and spits, and beat the intruder to death; blood marked the spot where he was killed (Lev. R. xxiv.). The magicians in Egypt made use of demons to perform their miracles, as all witchcraft is the work of demons (Sanh. 67b; 'Er. 18b; Ex. R. ix.), though demons can not create, but only transform existing things (Sanh. 67b). Egypt was considered the stronghold of such witchcraft as worked by means of demons (Ḳid. 49b; Shab. 104b; Men. 85a; Tan., Wayera, ed. Buber, 17, 27; Tosef., Shab. xi. 15; compare Friedländer, "Sittengesch. Roms." i. 362, iii. 517). Some of the Babylonian amoraim employed shedim as friendly spirits, and received useful instruction from them, calling them by familiar names, such as "Joseph" or "Jonathan" (Pes. 110a; Ḥul. 105b; Yeb. 122a; 'Er. 43a; regarding יונתן שדא see Schorr in "He-Ḥaluz," 1865, p. 18). Demons were regarded by antiquity as beings endowed with higher intelligence (see Friedländer, *l.c.* iii. 562). They were said to have been created at the twilight of the Sabbath (Abot v. 9); "after the souls were created the Sabbath set in, and so they remained without bodies" (Gen. R. vii.).

Nature of Demons.

In the main demons were workers of harm. To them were ascribed the various diseases, particularly such as affect the brain and the inner parts (compare Rhode, "Psyche," 1894, p. 358). Hence there was a constant fear of "Shabriri" (lit. "dazzling glare"), the demon of blindness, who rests on uncovered water at night and strikes those with blindness who drink of it (Pes. 112a; 'Ab. Zarah 12b); "ruaḥ ẓeradah," the spirit of catalepsy, and "ruaḥ ẓelaḥta," also "ruaḥ palga," the spirit of headache (megrim or meningitis?), hovering on palm-trees (Pes. 111b; Ḥul. 105b; Giṭ. 68b); "ben nefilim," the demon of epilepsy, and "ruaḥ ḳezarit," the spirit of nightmare (Bek. 44b; Tosef., Bek. v. 3; Schorr, in "He-Ḥaluz," 1869, p. 15); "ruaḥ tezazit," the spirit of delirious fever and madness, befalling man and beast (Pesiḳ., Parah, 40a; Yer. Yoma viii. 45b; Yoma 83b; Gen. R. xii.; see Aruch and Dictionaries, *s.v.* חזז); "ruaḥ ẓara'at," the spirit of leprosy (Ket. 61b); "ruaḥ ḳardeyaḳos," the spirit of melancholy (καρδιακός; Giṭ. vii. 1, p. 67b; Yer. Giṭ. 48c); "shibbeta," a female demon, bringing croup to persons, especially children, who leave their hands unwashed in the morning (Ḥul. 107b; Ta'an. 20b; Yoma 77b), probably identical with the "bush-asp," the Parsee demon "with long hands," who lulls men to sleep and attacks them ("Vendidad," xviii. 38; "Bundahish," xxviii. 26); "bat ḥorin" (daughter of freedom; possibly a play on "ḥiwar," a euphemistic expression for blindness), a demon bringing a disease of the eye to one who fails to wash his hands after meals (see Brüll's "Jahrb." i. 157); "kuda," a demon of disease which attacks women in childbirth ('Ab. Zarah 29a); "eshshata," the demon of fever, (*ib.* 28a; Shab. 66b); "ruaḥ zenunim," the spirit of sexual desire (Pes. 111a); "she'iyyah," an ox-like demon dwelling in desolate houses (B. Ḳ. 21a, after Isa. xxiv. 12); and many others mentioned in Rabbinical lore, only part of which has been preserved in Shab. 66 *et seq.*, 109 *et seq.*: Pes. 109–113; Giṭ. 68–70; Sanh. 67 *et seq.*; see Brüll, *l.c.* i. 154 *et seq.*, who refers also to "puta" or "pura," the spirit of forgetfulness, mentioned in Siddur Rab Amram, i. 31b; see also Blau, "Das Altjüdische Zauberwesen," 1898, pp. 71–85. On the demon "ben temalyon" (probably a euphemism for St. Vitus' dance) see Ben Temalion; Exorcism.

These demons were supposed to enter the body and cause the disease while overwhelming ("kefa'o shed," R. H. 28a; Sifre, Debarim, 318) or "seizing" the victim ("aḥazo," Shab. 151b; Yoma 83a, 84a); hence the usual name for "epileptic" is "nikpeh" (Bek. 44b; Yeb. 64b; Ket. 60b; Pes. 112b). The Greek word is δαιμονίζεσθαι, meaning the condition of being in the power of a demon. To cure such diseases it was necessary to draw out the evil demons by certain incantations and talismanic performances, in which the Essenes excelled. Josephus, who speaks of demons as "spirits of the wicked which enter into men that are alive and kill them," but which can be driven out by a certain root ("B. J." vii. 6, § 3), witnessed such a performance in the presence of the emperor Vespasian ("Ant." viii. 2, § 5), and ascribed its origin to King Solomon.

In the Book of Wisdom, Solomon claims to have received from God power over the demons (Wisdom vii. 20). The same power of curing by exorcism such diseases as dumbness, blindness, epilepsy, mania, and fever was exercised by Jesus and his disciples (Matt. viii. 16, ix. 32, xi. 18, xii. 22; Mark i. 25; v. 2 *et seq.*; vii. 32 *et seq.*; ix. 17, 27; Luke iv. 33, 39 *et seq.*; viii. 27; ix. 39; xi. 14; xiii. 11; Acts xvi. 16), as also by their Jewish contemporaries (Acts xix. 13 *et seq.*). It remained for a long time a practise among the early Christians (see Irenæus, "Hæreses," ii. 4, 32; Origen, "Contra Celsum," iii. 24; Friedländer, *l.c.* iii. 572, 634).

King and Queen of Demons.

The demons were believed to be under the dominion of a king or chief, either Ashmodai (Targ. to Eccl. i. 13; Pes. 110a; Yer. Shek. 49b; Lev. R. v., where שידא is a corruption of אשמדאי) or, in the older Haggadah, Samael ("the angel of death"), who kills people by his deadly poison ("sam ha-mawet"), and is called "head of the devils" ("rosh saṭanim"; Deut R. xi.; Pirḳe R. El. xiii.). Occasionally a demon is called "saṭan": "Stand not in the way of an ox when coming from the pasture, for Satan dances between his horns" (Pes. 112b; compare B. Ḳ. 21a). The name "mashḥit" ("destroyer," Ex. xii. 23) seems to refer to the head of the demons in the sentence: "When permission is given to the destroyer to do harm, he no longer discriminates between the righteous and the wicked" (Mek., Bo, 11; B. Ḳ. 60a).

The queen of demons is Lilith, pictured with wings and long flowing hair, and called the "mother of Ahriman" (הורמין B. B. 73b; 'Er. 100b; Nid. 24b). "When Adam, doing penance for his sin, separated from Eve for 130 years, he, by impure desire, caused the earth to be filled with demons, or shedim, lilin, and evil spirits" (Gen. R. xx.; 'Er. 18b), and according to Pseudo-Sirach ("Alphabetum Siracidis," ed. Steinschneider, p. 23) it was Lilith, as Adam's concubine, who bore them (compare "Chronicles of Jerahmeel," ed. Gaster, xxiii. 1). Whether identical with Lilith or not, a more familiar personage, as queen of the demons, is Igarat bat Maḥlat (Num. R. xii.; Pes. 112b), with her

chariot and her train of eighteen myriads of demons. According to Yalḳuṭ, Ḥadash, Keshafim, 56, she dances at the head of 478 (= מחלת), and Lilith howls at the head of 480 (= לילית), companies of demons. The cabalists have as a third queen of the demons and wife of Samael, "Na'amah," the sister of Tubal Cain and the "mother of Ashmodai" (Gen. iv. 27; see Beḥai's commentary, and Yalḳuṭ, Reubeni, *ad loc.*). Agrat bat Maḥlat seems to be "the mistress of the sorceresses" who communicated magic secrets to Amemar (compare Pes. 110a, 112b). Yoḥane bat Reṭibi, who, according to Soṭah 22a, prevented women by witchcraft from giving birth to their children, seems to be the same mythical person mentioned by Pliny as "Iotape" or "Lotape" in "Historia Naturalis" (xxx. 1, 2), together with Jannes (Jambres) and Moses (see Reinach, "Texte d'Auteurs Grecs et Romains," 1895, p. 282).

Pre-Talmudic Demonology.

Upon pre-Talmudic demonology new light has been thrown by the "Testament of Solomon," translated by Conybeare in "Jew. Quart. Rev." (1898, xi. 1–45), a work which, notwithstanding many Christian interpolations, is of ancient Jewish origin and related to the "Book of Healing" ("Sefer Refu'ot") ascribed to King Solomon (see Pes. iv. 9; Josephus, *l.c.*; Schürer, "Gesch." iii. 300). In this "Testament" it is told that by the help of a magic ring with the seal of Pentalpha, Lilith-like vampires, Beelzebub, and all kinds of demons and unclean spirits were brought before Solomon, to whom they disclosed their secrets and told how they could be mastered (see Solomon, Testament of). It contains incantations against certain diseases, and specifies the task allotted to each of the chief demons in the erection of the Temple. The latter was a favorite theme of the Haggadists (Pesiḳ. R. vi.; Soṭah 48b; Giṭ. 68a). The later Haggadah ascribed to Moses this power to make the demons work at the erection of the Sanctuary (Pesiḳ. R. iv. 6b; Num. R. xii.); and Solomon's "sword against the fear of the spirits at night" (Cant. R. to iii. 8) was transformed into the magic "sword of Moses" (Pesiḳ. 140a; Pesiḳ. R. 15; Cant. R. iii. 7; Num. R. xi., xii.). Henceforth the magic books of Moses and the "Sword of Moses" (see Dieterich, "Abraxas," 1891, pp. 155, 169 *et seq.*; Gaster, "Sword of Moses," London, 1896) took the place of "Solomon's Testament" in the magic lore of the Jews.

Cosmic Demons.

In the main, demonology among the Jews preserved its simple character as a popular belief, the demons being regarded as mischievous, but not as diabolical or as agencies of a power antagonistic to God. Even Ashmodai, or Asmodeus, the king of demons (Tobit iii. 8, vi. 14, Aramaic version), who kills the seven successive bridegrooms of Sara before their marital union, is but a personification of lust and murder; but there is nothing Satanic—that is, of the spirit of rebellion against God—in him; he is driven out by the recipe prescribed by the angel Raphael, and sent to Egypt and bound by Raphael (Tobit viii. 3). It was only at a certain period and within a certain circle that demonology received its specific character as part of the cosmic power of evil, and in opposition to angelology as part of the cosmic power of good.

Babylonian cosmogony describes the combat of Bel-Marduk with the chaos-monster Tiamat, the sea-dragon, the power of darkness whose defeat is the beginning of the world of light and order. The same monster appears in various Biblical passages as Rahab, the sea-monster; Tannin, the dragon of the sea; and Leviathan, the "crooked serpent" slain by Yhwh "with his sure and great and strong sword" (Isa. xxvii. 1, li. 9; Ps. lxxxix. 10, 11; Job xxvi. 12; Gunkel, "Schöpfung und Chaos," 1895, pp. 30–46 *et seq.*). While this mythological figure became in the course of time a metaphor symbolizing nations like Egypt (Ezek. xxix. 3; Ps. lxxxvii. 4), the monster remained a real being in the popular belief; and inasmuch as this conflicted with the monotheistic system, the battle of God or His angel Gabriel with Leviathan and Behemoth was transformed into a great eschatological drama which ended in the perfect triumph of divine justice (B. B. 75b). The Babylonian Tiamat, as Behemoth and Leviathan, became on the one hand infernal monsters devouring the wicked, and on the other food and cover for the righteous in heaven (see Leviathan). Nevertheless, the Mandæan and Gnostic heresies maintained the belief in these cosmic monsters (Brandt, "Mandäische Schriften," 1893, pp. 144 *et seq.*), and many descriptions of Gehenna in Jewish and Christian literature preserve traces of these "Tartarus-holding" or "watching" demons of the lower regions (see Dieterich, *l.c.* pp. 35, 76 *et seq.*; Eschatology; Gehenna). In fact, the hosts of demons punishing the wicked in Gehenna are in the service of angels of divine justice, and though called "saṭanim" (Enoch xl. 7 *et al.*), belong to the category of angels rather than of demons. According to the Book of Jubilees, Noah learned from the angels (Raphael) the remedies against these diseases, and wrote them in a "Book of Healing" similar to the one ascribed to King Solomon (x. 5–12; Jellinek, "B. H." iii. 155 *et seq.*, xxx. *et seq.*). The host of demons under Satan's direction accordingly seduce all heathen people to idolatry (Jubilees, vii. 27, x. 1, xi. 5, xv. 20, xxii. 17), but the end of Satan will be the healing and resurrection of the servants of the Lord (xxiii. 30).

The speculation regarding the nature and origin of these demons and their leaders led as early as the second pre-Christian century, in those fragments preserved under the name of the Book of Enoch, to the story of the fall of the angels (Enoch, vii.–viii.; lxix.). Like Beelzebub, or Lucifer (Isa. xiv. 12; compare Slavonic Enoch, xxix. 4), two hundred 'Irin or "watchers" fell, attracted by the beauty of the daughters of men (Gen. vi. 4); only tradition obviously differed as to the leader of the rebellious host, whether it was Azazel or Shamḥazai. At any rate, they acknowledged the supremacy of Satan (liii. 3, liv. 6), though occasionally many satans are mentioned (xl. 7 *et al.*), and these fallen angels became "the evil spirits" (xv. 8, xix. 19) who taught mankind all the arts of deception, witchcraft, and sin (vii.–viii., lxix.). But their children, the offspring of this mixture of an earthly and a celestial race, became, when slain, the hybrid race of disembodied

spirits or demons doing the work of destruction until the Day of Judgment (xvi. 1). Belial is another name for Satan found in the Book of Jubilees (xv. 33), in Sibyllines (iii. 63), and in Ascension of Isaiah (ii. 4), where he is also called "the prince of injustice" (Sar ha-Maṣṭemah), who rules over this world. Belial (or Beliar) occurs most frequently in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. He has "seven spirits of deception" in his service (Reuben, 2), and as author of all evil, "the spirit of hatred, darkness, deception, and error," he is the opponent of God, the "Father of Light," and of His Law (Simeon, 5; Levi, 19; Issachar, 6; Dan, 5; Zebulun, 9; Naphtali, 8; Gad, 4; Joseph, 20), and when "he and his evil spirits are crushed the heathen world will be converted to the belief in the Lord" (Simeon, 7; Zebulon, 9). Under this aspect the world appeared as the arena in which Satan contends with the Lord, the God of life everlasting, until "the great dragon, the old serpent, he that is called Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world, shall be cast down and his angels with him" (Suk. 52a; Assumptio Mosis, xi.; Matt. xxv. 41; Rev. xii. 9).

New Testament Demonology.

The whole Jewish and pagan world at the beginning of the Christian era believed in those magic formulas by which the evil powers of the demons could be subdued, and the Jewish exorcists found a fertile soil everywhere for the cultivation of their Essene notions and their magic. This was the atmosphere in which Christianity arose with the claim of "healing all that were oppressed of the devil" (Acts x. 38), enforcing the recognition by the unclean spirits themselves of the Son of David as the vanquisher of the demons (Mark i. 27, iii. 11). The name of Jesus became the power by which the host of Satan was to be overcome, as Jesus himself had seen "Satan as lightning fall from heaven" (Mark ix. 38, xvi. 17; Matt. xii. 28; Luke x. 18). But there was danger lest the exorcism practised by Gentiles and Jews alike (see Conybeare, "J. Q. R." ix. 88 *et seq.*) should engender the spirit of impurity underlying all magic, the dividing line between legitimate and illegitimate magic being anything but sharply drawn (see Book of Jubilees, viii. 2; Sanh. 91a: "Abraham handed the name of unclean witchcraft to the sons of Keturah"; compare Blau, "Das Jüdische Zauberwesen," pp. 15, 23, 41 *et seq.*). It was, therefore, not hostility which prompted the Pharisees to accuse Jesus and his disciples of "casting out devils by the power of Beelzebub, the prince of devils" (Matt. xii. 24; compare Ben Stada, Shab. 104b). The more devils cast out, the more appeared (Luke xi. 26). The cure offered to an age in constant dread of demons (Acts v. 16, viii. 7, xvi. 16, xix. 12–20) only aggravated the disease; nor did Paul's system (see Everling, "Die Paulinische Angelologie und Dämonologie," 1888) spiritualize the idea of Satan as the Testaments of the Patriarchs endeavored to do, in order to remove the fear of demons (see Eph. vi. 12; Gal. iv. 3, 9).

Pharisaism diagnosed the disease of the age differently, and therefore insisted that the observance of the Law was the best prophylactic against demons. The wearing of the Tefillin, the Greek name of which, *φυλακτήρια*, indicates that they were regarded by the Hellenistic Jews as amulets (comp. Targ. Cant. viii. 3; Gen. R. xxxv.; Men. 33b), the fixing of the Mezuzah at the door, the reading of the Shema' with the name of God in the first verse, and the putting on of the Ẓiẓit, while direct observances of the Law (Deut. vi. 4–9, Num. xvi. 38), were also regarded by the Rabbis as a safeguard against all evil powers (Ber. 5a; Num. 48b). The recital of the set prayers each morning and evening (Ber. 9b), the observance of the commandment of the Sukkah (Pesiḳ. 187b), protect against evil powers. In fact, "the wicked are accompanied by the angels of Satan; the righteous by the angels of God" (Tosef., Shab. xvii. 2–3; compare Book of Jubilees, x. 6). For each commandment observed by man becomes an angel "to guard him against demons" (Ex. R. xxxii. and Tan. *ad loc.*). "Every observance of the Law is a protection" (Soṭah 21a), and those bent upon doing some sacred work ("sheluḥe miẓwah") need fear no evil powers (Pes. 8b). The priest's blessing also is a protection against malign influences (Num. R. xi.). And as in the Passover night, "the night of watching," Satan was bound and prevented from doing harm to Israel (Book of Jubilees, xlviii. 15; Pes. 109b), so is "the left hand when adorned with the tefillim surrounded with thousands, and the right hand performing acts of religion surrounded with myriads, of guardian angels" (Midr. Teh. to Ps. xci. 4). "Every limb engaged in the fulfilment of a divine commandment is protected against the 'Strong One'" (Pesik. R. ix.; Midr. Teh. to Ps. xxxv.). Thus Pharisaism, while increasing the yoke of ceremonial laws for the sake of love of God, showed a way to overcome the fear of demons. Belief in the power of the Law became the antidote against what may be termed "Satanophobia," and against the spirit of pessimism and asceticism which was fostered by the Essenes and by their Christian heirs.

The Law, the Prophylactic Against Demons.

Though the belief in demons was greatly encouraged and enlarged in Babylonia under the influence of Parsee notions, demonology never became an essential feature of Jewish theology. The reality of demons was never questioned by the Talmudists and casuists; therefore the Halakah accepted it as a fact (see Shulḥan 'Aruk, Oraḥ Ḥayyim, 4, 2 *et seq.*; 90, 6; 181, 2; Yoreh De'ah, 116, 5; 179, 16, 19; Eben ha-'Ezer, 17, 10: based upon Shab. 101a, 109a; Ḥul. 105a; Ber. 3a; Pes. 112a; Meg. 3a; Pes. 109b; Yeb. 122a). Nor did most of the medieval thinkers question their reality (see Naḥmanides on Lev. xvii. 7; "Cuzari," v. 14; Crescas, "Or Adonai," iv. 6; Solomon b. Adret, Responsa, i. 413; Moses Tachau, in "Ketab Tamim"; "Oẓar Neḥmad," iii. 97). Only Maimonides, when ignoring or circumscribing the rabbinical references to the demons (see "Yad," Roẓeaḥ, xii. 5; Gerushin, ii. 13 *et seq.*; compare "Moreh," i. 7, the commentary to Mishnah Pes. iv. 11, and Abot v. 6), and Ibn Ezra, on Lev. xvii. 7, denied their existence.

The Philosophers.

The cabalists, on the other hand, not only took up all the ideas expressed in Enoch and Pirḳe R. El.

xxxiv., regarding the demons as the spirits of the men of the Flood and as the result of the union of Adam and Lilith, but they made demons form part of the cosmic design in the emanistic system in which the right and the left are the opposite currents of pure and impure powers filling the world and dividing it between the Holy One and the serpent Samael (see Zohar, Bereshit, 47b, 53 *et seq.*, 169b *et seq.*, 174b, and CABALA). But while the malign powers became agencies of the spirit of impurity working in men and nations, there goes along with this view the popular conception of demons as spirits of the dead roaming about as specters and vampires. This latter view is especially prominent in the school of R. Judah of Regensburg, and is dwelt upon in the Book of Raziel and the "Sefer Ḥasidim," 172, 326 *et seq.* Nevertheless, while the number of the demons of diseases increases (see Güdemann, "Gesch. des Erziehungswesens," 1880, i. 205; Yalḳ., Ḥadash, Mita, 149), and the belief in the efficacy of incantations is firmly adhered to, these writers repeatedly urge their readers not to resort to any conjuration or magic practises, but to have perfect confidence only in prayer and in the power of God. "No one who indulges in such practise will see good results for himself and his house" ("Sefer Ḥasidim," ed. Wistinetzki, Nos. 211 *et seq.*, 1448–57; Güdemann, *l.c.* 207).

The Cabalists.

Notwithstanding this closing admonition of the "Sefer Ḥasidim," many prayers for the warding off of demonic influences have found a place in the Jewish liturgy and the Shulḥan 'Aruk. The privies having been in Talmudic times isolated spots which filled the imagination with specters of fear, a special incantation is prescribed invoking the protection of guardian angels against the evil spirits haunting these places (see Ber. 60b; compare Ber. 62a and Oraḥ Ḥayyim, 13, 1). Most of the prayers to be recited before retiring to bed are intended to guard the sleeper against demons (compare Ber. 4a; Shebu. 15b). At the close of the Sabbath, when the angel Dumah calls all spirits of the wicked back to their place of torment after their Sabbath respite, the evil spirits are supposed to swarm everywhere, poisoning the wells and doing harm in many ways; wherefore Psalm xci. is recited (see Pesiḳ. R. xxiii.; Sheeltot, Bereshit; Tanya, xxi.; Ha-Manhig, Shabbat, 65; Solomon b. Adret, Responsa, 1119; Kol Bo, xli.). See DUMAH.

Prayers Against Demons.

As early as geonic times there was a special incantatory formula, to be recited before drinking from the cup of the HABDALAH wine, against "the demon Puta, the prince of forgetfulness," that "by the power of the holy names of the angels Arimaz, Arimas [Ahuramazda?], Ansisel, and Petahel, he may be cast upon the high mountains [Alburz]" ("Seder Rab Amram," i. 31). To this Isaac Luria added new features in the form of incantations against all the demons, and instead of "Puta" he read "Purah," connecting it with Isa. lxiii. 1 as the name of Esau-Samael (see Isaac Luria, "Tikḳune Shabbat," and Ḳiẓẓur Shelah, "Moẓe'e Shabbat"; compare M. Brück, "Pharisäische Volkssitten," 1840, p. 121; Brüll, *l.c.*).

Death at all times impressed people with the fear of evil spirits. Many rites and prayer-formulas were introduced to avert their malign influence, and special formulas for the dying were prescribed by the cabalists, by which all the demons—the shedim, ruḥin, lilin, mazziḳim, etc.—that may have been created by the impure thoughts and deeds of the departing, are adjured, by the Holy Decrees, the Powers of Heaven, and the anathemas of men, not to follow the dead nor injure him, nor in any way, direct or indirect, to cause injury to any person through him (see "Ma'abar Yabboḳ," ed. Landshut, pp. 30–33, Berlin, 1857, and introduction, where the literature is given; AMULET; CHILDBIRTH; INCANTATIONS). Customs are sometimes explained by the superstitious as being based upon belief in demons; for instance, the one prohibiting women from going to a cemetery because demons are fond of following her who yielded to the temptation of the serpent and thus caused death to come into the world, or the custom of blowing the shofar at funerals to ward off the shedim (see Yalḳ., Ḥadash, *l.c.* 47).

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E. G. H.—G. K.

——In Arabic Literature:* Ante-Islamic mythology does not discriminate between gods and demons. The jinn are considered as divinities of inferior rank, having many human attributes: they eat, drink, and procreate their kind (compare Ḥag. 16a, where a similar belief is expressed), sometimes in conjunction with human beings; in which latter case the offspring shares the natures of both parents. The jinn smell and lick things, and have a liking for remnants of food. In eating they use the left hand ("Manaḳib Al-Ansar," No. 32). Usually they haunt waste and deserted places, especially the thickets where wild beasts gather. Cemeteries and dirty places are also favorite abodes (compare Shab. 67a; Ber. 62b; Mark v. 5). In appearing to man they assume sometimes the forms of beasts and sometimes those of men; but they always have some animal characteristic, such as a paw in place of a hand (Darimi, "Kitab al-Sunnah," ii. 213). Eccentric movements of the dust-whirlwind ("zawabi'") are taken to be the visible signs of a battle between two clans of jinn (Yaḳut, iii. 478).

Under the influence of Jewish and Christian demonology in post-Islamic times, the only animals directly identified with the jinn are snakes and other obnoxious creeping things (compare Pes. 112a). When Mohammed was on his way to Tabuk, it is said that a swarm of jinn, assuming the form of serpents, approached him and stood still for a long while.

Generally jinn are peaceable and well disposed toward men. Many an ante-Islamic poet was believed to have been inspired by good jinn; and Mohammed himself was accused by his adversaries of having been inspired by jinn ("majnun"). But there are

* This article treats only of parallels to Jewish demonology found in Arabic literature.

also evil jinn, who contrive to injure men. Among these are specially conspicuous the three female demons named "Ghul" (corresponding to the Talmudical לילית), "Si'lat," and "'Aluḳ" or "'Aulaḳ" (compare Prov. xxx. 15), and the four male demons "Afrit," "Azbab," "Aziab," and "Ezb." Ghul is especially harmful to new-born children, and in order to keep her away their heads are rubbed with the gum of an acacia (Zamakhshari, "Asas," *s.v.* "ḥaiḍ").

Demons in Islam.

Islam recognized the existence of all the pagan demons, good and evil, protesting only against their being considered gods. It divides the evil demons into five species: "jann," "jinn," "shaiṭans," "afrits," and "marids." Mohammed frequently refers in the Koran to the shaiṭans, of whom Iblis is the chief. Iblis, probably a corruption of the name "Diabolos" = Satan, is said to have been deprived of authority over the animal and spirit kingdoms, and sentenced to death, when he refused, at the creation of Adam, to prostrate himself before him (Koran, vii. 13). The shaiṭans are the children of Iblis, and are to die when their father dies; whereas the others, though they may live many centuries, must die before him. A popular belief says that Iblis and other evil demons are to survive mankind, though they will die before the general resurrection; the last to die being 'Azaril, the angel of death.

Tradition attributes to Mohammed the statement that every man has an angel and a demon appointed to attend him. The former guides him toward goodness, while the latter leads him to evil ("Mishkat," i. ch. 3). The shaiṭans, being the enemies of Allah, strive to disturb worshipers. Mohammed, it is said, prefaced his prayers with "O God! In Thee I am seeking for a refuge from the attacks of the shaiṭan and his witchcraft" (Ḥamzah, vii. 293). Among the evil jinn are distinguished the five sons of Iblis: "Ṭir," who brings about calamities and injuries; "Al-A'war," who encourages debauchery; "Suṭ," who suggests lies; "Dasim," who causes hatred between man and wife; and "Zalambur," who presides over places of traffic. It was in order to keep them away that the faithful were commanded the cleansings and fumigations which are unbearable to the shaiṭans, who delight in dirt and filth (Waḳidi, ii. 178). The pronouncing of the "takbir" formula ("Allah akbar" = Allah is very great) is also a means of driving them away. Mohammed, it is said, pronounced it in his travels whenever the appearance of the region changed, lest it might be enchanted. In later times amulets were invented to which were ascribed the virtue of protecting their bearers from the attacks of demons.

As in cabalistic literature, the cat plays a great part in Islamic demonology. A demon assuming the form of a cat is said to have presented himself to Mohammed while he was praying (Darimi, *l.c.* ii. 449). The demons called "Ḳuṭrus" usually assumed the form of cats (Mas'udi, "Muruj al-Dhahab," iii. 321). As to the good jinn, there are some among them who profess Islamism, and Mohammed pretended that many of them had listened to his sermons (Koran, sura lxxii.).

Interesting are the accounts given in the Koran of the power of Solomon over the shaiṭans, which accounts parallel the legends found in Talmud and Midrashim, and of which the following are examples:

"And we [subjected] to Solomon sundry devils to dive for him, and do other works; and we watched over them" (sura xxi. 81, 82). "And we tried Solomon, and we placed upon his throne a counterfeit body. . . . So we subjected unto him the wind, which moved gently at his command whithersoever he desired; and the devils also—every builder and diver bound in chains" (sura xxxviii. 33–37). "And of the jinn were those who worked in his presence by the will of the Lord; and such of them as swerved from our command we caused to taste of the punishment of hell. They made for him whatever he pleased of lofty halls and images, and dishes large as tanks for watering camels" (sura xxxiv. 11–12).

In the tradition it is said that Solomon possessed power over the demons by virtue of a talisman, which consisted of a signet-ring of brass, upon which was engraved the most great name of God.

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G. I. Br.

DEMOPHON: Apparently an officer under Lysias' command; he was Syrian general in Palestine about 164 B.C., and as such harried the Jewish population, who were already worn out because of their many wars, and were then engaged in agriculture (II Macc. xii. 2).

G. S. Kr.

DEN ("The Day"): Russian Jewish weekly; published at Odessa (1869–71) by A. Zederbaum and I. Goldenblum, and edited by S. Ornstein. Among its collaborators were M. Morgulis, I. G. Orshanski, and L. Levanda.

G. M. R.

DENARIUS (Greek, δηνάριον): Roman silver coin, which derived its name from its being at first equal to ten asses; later this number was increased to sixteen. From the second century B.C. it was the chief silver coin of the commonwealth, and under the empire it is probable that it held a similar position up to the fall of Jerusalem. Its normal value was one twenty-fifth of the imperial aureus.

In the English versions the word is rendered "penny"; and it was in this coin that payment was made by the Jews of the civil tribute to the Roman emperors. The coin bore the effigies and titles of the reigning monarch; hence the reply of Jesus to the Pharisees (Matt. xxii. 17–21).

In the Talmud the denarius is identified with the zuz and reckoned to be worth one-fourth of the holy shekel, or a half of the ordinary one, and equivalent to 4 common selas, 4 sesterces, 6 obols, 24 asses, or 192 perutas or widow's mites. See also Money; Numismatics.

Bibliography: Madden, *Coins of the Jews* (vol. ii. of *Numismata Orientalia*), pp. 291 292; Zunz, *Z. G.* p. 539.

J. A. P.

DENIS (DIONIS), ALBERTUS: One of the first members of the Portuguese community in Hamburg. On May 31, 1611, he with two others signed the agreement which assured to the community its cemetery in Altona. In 1612 he was with others

formally admitted to the town by the Senate and the aldermen. He was banker to Count Ernest of Schauenburg, the reigning prince of the county of Pinneberg in southern Holstein, whom he supplied with silver bullion for his mint. In consequence of his confidential relations with the count, he came into collision with the Hamburg authorities, who accused him of buying up reichsthalers coined in Hamburg to melt down in Altona. The Senate of Hamburg ordered him put into prison, but he escaped to Altona and settled there, protected by the count against the Senate of Hamburg and the hostile population of Altona. Christian IV. of Denmark committed to him (1619) the administration of the royal mint in the newly founded town of Glückstadt. He continued to be a member of the Hamburg Portuguese community, and in 1637 interceded as its representative with Count Otto of Schauenburg for the renewal of the cemetery privileges.

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G. A. Fe.

DENMARK: A kingdom of northwestern Europe. The first mention of the Danes in Jewish literature occurs in the "Yosippon" (ed. Breithaupt, pp. 8, 547; compare Jerahmeel, transl. Gaster, p. 68), where the Dodanim mentioned in the Bible (Gen. x. 4) are identified with the Danes, and where they are described as a valiant people who fled to northern shores in order to escape from the Romans, though the latter reached them even there, and overcame their resistance. The last-named detail probably owes its origin to an Italian source, in which may have been recounted, although inaccurately, the wars of the Christian emperors of Rome with the Danish kings. The identification with the Dodanim is, of course, based only on the partial consonance of the names.

It is very doubtful whether Jews were found even sporadically in Denmark in the Middle Ages. Although a "Deulacresse of Danemarcia" is mentioned in connection with the English money-broker Aaron of Lincoln, in an English "shetar" of 1176 (the first shetar bearing a date, according to Jacobs in "Jews of Angevin England," pp. 58, 59), the designation "Danemarcia" can hardly refer to Denmark proper, but rather to a territory in Normandy subject to the Danes.

The Jews first appeared in the region of Holstein, which belonged formerly to Denmark. In a letter dated Nov. 25, 1622, King Christian IV. (1588–1648) invited the Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam to settle in Glückstadt, where, among other privileges, the free exercise of their religion would be granted them. Though the history of the Jews in the territories of Sleswick-Holstein does not belong to this article, it must be noted that the Danish kings were invariably friendly to their Jewish subjects in these provinces, and that the Jews in Denmark proper were for a long time intimately connected with Altona, inasmuch as the chief rabbi of Altona, Hamburg, and Wandsbeck also exercised civil jurisdiction over the Jews settled in the Danish city Fredericia until Sleswick and Holstein in 1864 were severed from the Danish monarchy. The assistant rabbi of Fredericia was subject to the chief rabbi of Altona until 1812. The first Jews probably came to Denmark by way of Sleswick and Holstein during the reign of the above-mentioned Christian IV. His successor, Frederick III. (1648–70), was not so favorably disposed toward the Jews, for in a rescript of Feb. 6, 1651, he says: "Jews have stolen into Denmark contrary to long-standing custom, [since the days of the Reformation, the Lutheran creed had, according to the laws of Denmark, been compulsory throughout the kingdom], and have dared to traffic with jewels and the like." Accordingly, he ordered that no Jew should enter Denmark without a special passport ("Geleitsbrief"), and that those who were already in the country should be heavily fined if they did not leave within fourteen days. A few years later, however, the tables were turned. Frederick III., being in need of funds for his wars, borrowed money from the Jew Abraham (or Diego) Teixeira de Mattos of Hamburg (known through his relations with the Swedish queen Christina), and gave as security crownlands in Jutland. Teixeira thereupon made such good use of his influence with the Danish king that, as early as Jan. 19, 1657, "the Portuguese professing the Hebrew religion" were permitted to travel everywhere within the kingdom, and to trade and traffic within the limit of the law. Teixeira himself gained little by his transaction with the Danish monarch. As his loan was not returned, he took instead the estates he held as security, selling them later at a great loss. The king acted similarly in his dealings with the De Lima family, who were in possession of the Hald estate from 1660 to 1703.

Relations with Frederick III.

The first Jewish congregation was formed in the capital, Copenhagen, but other congregations were soon founded in some of the provincial cities; for example, in the Laaland town Nakskov (1667). In Ribe, Jutland, there were Jews as early as 1680, although the first synagogue in Jutland, that of Fredericia, was not built until 1719 (rebuilt in 1814). The privilege of 1657 was specially ratified in an open letter of Dec. 14, 1670, at the instance of Gabriel Gomez, who was in the service of the king. Nevertheless, a rescript of April 16, 1681, repeated that Jews were not to come into Denmark without a special Geleitsbrief; and the "Danish Law" (1683) of Christian V. (1670–99), a remarkable production which is still authoritative in Danish jurisprudence, in so far as it has not been expressly abrogated by later laws, classed Jews with Gipsies, and in general breathed the same spirit as the law of 1651. But as early as July 30, 1684, a rescript addressed to the above-mentioned Diego Teixeira declared that the Geleitsbrief was not to be demanded of the Portuguese Jews, and it is probable that the law was not always strictly enforced against German Jews. Religious services were permitted in Copenhagen in 1684.

So far as is known, the only "blood accusation" ever made in Denmark was brought against the court jeweler Meyer Goldschmidt, an elder of the synagogue already mentioned. A poor woman came to him, asking him to buy her child. She said she had been told that rich Jews bought children in

order to suck their blood, and she wished to give up her child to him, since she could not feed it. Meyer Goldschmidt immediately notified the authorities, and the woman was sentenced to be whipped, but was let off with imprisonment.

Contrast of Portuguese and German Jews.

At the end of the seventeenth and in the course of the eighteenth century, German as well as Sephardic Jews continued to come into Denmark, although in small numbers. The government was on the whole not unfavorably disposed toward the Jews, although it was often obliged to listen to the complaints of the merchants with whom the Jews competed. The subordinate officials were not generally as friendly as the government; they probably had much trouble with traveling Jews, whose speech they hardly understood. It was not easy, of course, for every police official to find out whether the Jew before him was a Portuguese and therefore enjoyed the general privileges, or whether he was to be accounted a German Jew (as were all who were not Sephardim), in which latter case the legality of his passport required demonstration. Probably the German Jews often assumed Portuguese names, and then joined the Portuguese congregation in Copenhagen in order to enjoy their privileges. What the government feared was that Jewish beggars and vagabonds might tramp about the country without definite means of support. An account of the baptism of a Polish Jew in 1620 leads to the conclusion that even then Jews who were worthless as subjects crossed the frontier and accepted baptism as a means of escaping punishment. To obtain a passport it was necessary to demonstrate the possession of money, or of means in some form for carrying on business, as well as some special technical skill; for in former centuries Denmark endeavored to open up all branches of industry by artificial means, the country until then having been almost entirely dependent upon agriculture and commerce. The Jews promoted the commercial interests of Denmark in relation to both the cloth and the tobacco industry. An agreement to build a house in any city that needed buildings was also a means of gaining an entry into Denmark. This is set forth as early as Sept. 2, 1726, in a rescript for Copenhagen; and earlier still (March 31, 1688) in one for Christianshavn, a suburb of Copenhagen on the island of Amager, where the German Jews received the privilege of carrying on the tobacco industry, but only on condition that they would build houses in that part of the city. Marrying into a Dano-Jewish family often conferred citizenship. It must be added, in explanation of all these privileges and rescripts, that, beginning with 1660, the Danish king was absolute sovereign and sole ruler of the country. He could at his pleasure appoint any Jew to a royal office, as was done in the instance of Aron Goldzieher, customs collector. Although this sovereignty was on the whole very mildly and wisely used, it is easy to see how important personal influence must have been in the direction of government. There were several rescripts against immigration before the middle of the eighteenth century, but none in the following decades of the century.

Jews and Christians.

Denmark was strictly Protestant. Naturally, anything that wore the appearance of an attempt to proselytize would be resented. Danger therefore threatened the Jews when Holger Paulli (d. 1714), a half-crazy merchant, announced himself as the Messiah and king of the Jews. Equally pregnant with possibilities of trouble was the case of Jens Gedelöcke. He was a lawyer who evinced a marked inclination for Judaism, and it became evident at his death (1729) that at heart he had been more Jew than Christian, and, according to the information of some of his Jewish friends, had practised Jewish rites. The Jews were thereupon compelled to remove his body from the Christian cemetery and to inter him in the Jewish cemetery; but as he had not formally embraced Judaism, they soon afterward decided not to permit the body to remain among them, and it was removed again. The chief of police of Copenhagen, who had not a very good reputation, endeavored to magnify the incident into an offense against the state; but the threatened storm soon blew over. At one time the Jews were forbidden to keep Christian servants (Jan., 1725); after two months, however, the ordinance was modified, and soon fell into disuse. The Jews were encouraged to embrace Christianity, but the converts made in that century were not of the best repute.

Influence of Mendelssohn Movement.

The Mendelssohn movement soon found adherents in Denmark. It is well known that Mendelssohn's friend, the Danish councilor of state, August v. Hennings, induced the minister to place the name of the insane king, Christian VII. (1766–1808), on the subscription list of Mendelssohn's edition of the Pentateuch, thereby making it impossible for Raphael Cohen, the rabbi of Altona, to put the book under ban (see Copenhagen). The crown prince (later Frederick VI.), who was for a long time regent in the name of his sick father, was interested in the progress of his Jewish subjects, and after several commissions had made reports, he issued a comprehensive order (March 29, 1814) granting to the Jews full civil liberty, and placing them in general on an equal standing with the Christian population. They were, however, still debarred from government positions. The fact that they enjoyed no political rights is of no importance, since their Danish fellow subjects were in the same position, owing to the absolute sovereignty of the king. The government at this time was more favorably disposed toward the Jews than were the people. Business rivalry was frequently bitter, and the anti-Jewish movement which spread over Germany in the beginning of the nineteenth century invaded Denmark also. A poet, Th. Thaarup (1746–1821), was the chief assailant, while another poet, Jens Baggesen (1749–1826), was among the defenders; the Jews, however, were well able to take care of themselves. In 1819 Denmark became infected with German anti-Semitism, and the political opposition took this opportunity of attacking the Jews, in order thereby to strike a blow at the government, their protector. But Frederick VI. (1808–39), who was otherwise a most peaceable

man, did not allow himself to be trifled with, and suppressed the movement with unusual rigor.

In the royal ordinance of 1814 the Jews were enjoined to provide religious instruction in the Danish language for their children, and the congregations to provide Danish preachers in the synagogues. But such preachers were not readily found, and although Copenhagen was soon supplied, it was some time before the most important provincial congregations could secure so-called "kateketer," who, when secured, were placed in charge of the spiritual needs of the various church districts, and whose special duty it was to confirm children. A Danish catechism, after a Hebrew work of Shalom Cohen, was authorized by the government, whereby at least a minimum of religious knowledge was provided for the children. As the word "Jew" had formerly been used as an opprobrious epithet in Denmark, the terms "Mosaites" and "Mosaic religious community" ("Mosaisk Troessamfund") became the official designation for Jews and their congregations.

Internal Organization.

The Jews distinguished themselves as physicians, jurists, manufacturers, and especially as able and upright merchants, not only in Copenhagen, but also in the provincial towns. Therefore many Christians were willing to concede political equality to them in the third decade of the last century, when the political freedom of the country was inaugurated by the creation of deliberative assemblies. The Jews, however, received the right to vote without the right of election to Parliament, though they were, even then, chosen as members of the communal councils in Copenhagen, as well as in provincial cities. Not until the adoption of the constitution of June 5, 1849, under Frederick VII. (1848–63), were the last restrictions removed. From this period onward the Jews of Denmark are unknown to political history. The constitution, in which civil and political rights are made independent of religious creeds, so long as religious views and acts do not conflict with the accepted code of morals, was carried out to the letter. The Jews have contributed in various ways to the development of their country, and have distinguished themselves in the most diverse fields. A few names are mentioned under Copenhagen. Since the middle of the century the Jews have concentrated themselves more and more in the capital.

In 1860–70 there were in Denmark (irrespective of Sleswick-Holstein) about 6,000 Jews, of whom 2,500 lived in Copenhagen, the remainder, with the exception of the few living in the open country, residing in the provincial towns. According to the census of 1893 there were 3,500 Jews in Copenhagen and its neighborhood, and only about 500 in the provincial towns. These figures show that the Jewish population of Denmark remained stationary in the latter half of the nineteenth century. While in 1860 the Jews constituted about .4 per cent of the entire population, they now number barely .2 per cent. On the one hand the favorable social conditions under which the Jews are living have promoted mixed marriages, and on the other hand the immigration of many Russian and Polish Jews into neighboring Scandinavian countries within the last decades could not be diverted into Denmark, since house-to-house pedling, by which most of them must support themselves, at least in the beginning, is not permitted in Denmark. In conformity with the decrease of the Jews in the provincial towns, the number of communal officials with fixed positions has also naturally decreased. In Aarhus, Jutland, where the merchant Hartvig Philip Ree introduced the first modern regular Jewish service in Denmark, there is no longer a congregation. In Aalborg, too, where S. A. Mielziner, the brother of Professor Mielziner of Cincinnati, officiated for some time as preacher, there are now very few Jews. In Horsens the Levy family built a fine synagogue about the middle of the last century, and made the condition that, when services could no longer be held, the synagogue should be transformed into a philanthropic institution for the community. This condition has already been complied with. In Naskov and Fredericia, whose communities are among the oldest in the country, there are still synagogues, but very few Jews. This is also the case in Faaborg, where a preacher is still appointed; while in Randers, which has the last provincial congregation worthy of the name, there are still a preacher and another official; the congregation is, however, near its dissolution. Jews are found only here and there in the other towns and villages of the country. Some are engaged in agriculture, partly as landed proprietors, and partly as peasants in the strict sense of the word. For additional information concerning the Jews in Denmark, see Copenhagen.

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D. D. S.

DENVER. See Colorado.

DEODATUS EPISCOPUS. See Elhanan b. Isaac of Dampierre.

DEPOSIT. See Bailments.

DEPPING, GEORGES BERNARD: German-French historian; born in Münster, Germany, May 11, 1784; died in Paris Sept. 5, 1853. He went to Paris in 1803, where he lived as teacher and writer. Besides other historical works, he wrote: "Les Juifs dans le Moyen Age, Essai Historique sur Leur Etat Civil, Commercial et Littéraire," Paris, 1834; 2d ed., 1844; German transl., Stuttgart, 1834. Depping was especially attracted to the history of the Jews in Europe during the Middle Ages by "its wealth of instruction for us; one can see from this history how fanaticism has been able to root out kindness and neighborly love, . . . and what misfortunes met those exiles who in barbaric times wished to preserve their national customs and a religion offensive to those among whom they lived." The book owed its origin to the offer of a prize, in 1821, by the Royal Academy for a work describing the condition of the Jews in France during the medieval period. Depping's work was given honorable mention, but did not win the prize. He later enlarged the work, ex-

tending its scope to the general history of the Jews in Europe. The medieval Christian sources—documents, letters, chronicles, and histories, especially those dealing with the history of the Jews in France—were studied by Depping with great diligence and not without critical acumen. This fact gives importance to the book. But it is to be regretted that those rabbinical sources which were not accessible in the form of translations were but seldom consulted. As a consequence the few passages relating to the literature of the Jews are of no value (compare, especially on Rashi, pp. 113 *et seq.*; Zunz, "Z. G." pp. 151, 446). The Introduction (pp. v.–xxiv.) contains a short but valueless review of the history of the Jews up to their appearance in Europe. Depping's style is pleasing.

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D. M. Sc.

DERASHA. See Hermeneutics; Homiletics; Midrash.

DERAZHNYA: Village in the government of Podolia, Russia. In 1898 it had a population of 6,118, of which 5,230 were Jews. Handicrafts constitute the most important sources of income, 518 persons being occupied by them. About 25 families are engaged in dairy-farming, 17 families in raising tobacco, and others in market-gardening and fruit-growing. Some find employment in factories and workshops, and 165 work as day-laborers. The village has a Linat ha-Ẓedek, a Parnasat 'Aniyyim, a Biḳḳur Ḥolim, etc. There are a Talmud Torah with 20 pupils, a private Jewish girls' school with 17 pupils, and 17 ḥadarim for boys and girls, with 436 pupils.

H. R. S. J.

DERBENT (called by the Arabs **Bab al-Abwab** ["Main Gate"], or **Bab al-Khadid** ["Iron Gate"]): A fortified seaport in the Russian province of Daghestan (Caucasus), on the western shore of the Caspian Sea, and at the entrance of a defile known to the ancients as the "Albanian Gates." The city of Derbent was founded by the Persian king Khobad at the beginning of the sixth century, to protect the Persian possessions against the attacks of the Chazars; but a fortified settlement existed there long before that time. The Jewish population of Derbent and its neighborhood are probably the descendants of the military colony which Anushirwan (530–578) established there. The suggestion of Joseph Schwarz that Derbent is the "Terbent" mentioned in the Talmud (Yer. Meg. iv. 75), is therefore without foundation. With the extension of the Chazar kingdom the Jewish community in Derbent increased rapidly, so that in the eighth century it probably had a larger population than it has to-day.

The Jewish community of Derbent was of some importance during the period of the Chazar kingdom. Ibn Ḥauḳal tells of a thriving slave-market in Derbent, where merchants of all nationalities met. The place was then much larger than Tiflis. When the Russians devastated the Chazar city Semender, the surviving inhabitants of that city, with those of Atel (capital of the Chazars), among them being many Jews, fled to Derbent (Harkavy, "Skazanie Musulmanskikh Pisatellei o Slavyanakh i Russkikh," p. 220). Derbent was annexed by Russia in 1806. Wilhelmus de Rubruquis in describing the walls of Derbent (1254) relates that the whole country was largely inhabited by Jews (G. de Roubrouck, "Récit de Son Voyage," p. 280, Paris, 1877).

According to Anisimov, the Jewish population in 1888 was 1,671; they had 220 houses, 160 gardens, 19 shops, 1,020 deciatines (about 2,754 acres) of land, 4 synagogues, 6 rabbis, and 8 schools with 95 pupils. The Jewish population in 1891 was 2,490 in a total of 15,265. The Jewish quarter is south of the city and outside the wall.

Some of the Jewish customs of Derbent are noteworthy. A woman during her confinement kneels down, and the midwife receives the child and deposits it in a wooden vessel. She then pours salt over the child, cleans it, and puts it without bandages in a cradle. On the eighth day the people gather in the synagogue, and the "shammash" (sexton) takes the child to the synagogue for circumcision. The honor of holding the children is sold for the whole year on the Festival of the Rejoicing of the Law (Simḥat Torah) to the highest bidder. The money goes to the rabbi. Except the midwife and the nearest female relative of the mother, nobody is allowed in the birth-chamber for seven weeks after the birth. The father is not permitted to bathe or to write for seven weeks from the day of the birth. During this period no one is allowed to go on the roof of the house, and it sometimes happens that serious assaults result from people not obeying these laws. If the child is a female, the old women gather in the house of the mother and choose its name, not even informing the rabbi. During these seven weeks it is permissible neither to take fire from the house nor to borrow any utensils.

Birth Customs.

The children are allowed to grow up very wild, and are far from cleanly. The boys are taught to ride horseback and to handle arms, and boys of not more than fourteen years frequently kill one another in quarrels or fights. In the shabby, filthy, low-ceilinged school buildings forty pupils are sometimes huddled together without order. They sit with crossed legs and study the alphabet, the prayer-book, and the Pentateuch in the Tat language. There are many, however, who receive no education at all.

When a young man is about to select a wife, he is expected first to negotiate a settlement with the parents of the girl, and in such a case the oldest brother of the girl is the spokesman. If this brother sanctions the marriage, then the mother of the young man begins to bargain about the price to be paid for the bride, which must not be less than sixty rubles. Feasts are arranged for the day after the conclusion of the bargain, first in the house of the girl, and then in the house of the young man. On the second day the fathers of both parties conclude the bargain in the house of the rabbi, with whom the contract of engagement ("tenaim") is deposited. Sometimes very young girls are promised in marriage, and as the marriage can not by law

Preliminaries to Marriage.

take place before the girl has reached the age of thirteen, the young man is obliged to clothe her and send her presents. In case the contract is broken by the girl, she must return all the presents. In Derbent there is no law of engagement ("erusin"), as in Kuba and other places in the Caucasus, where a regular betrothal ceremony takes place, the young man uttering the words "Hare-at," etc., during the betrothal. The betrothed man is not allowed to enter the house of his prospective bride until the day of the wedding. The marriage ceremony must take place on Wednesday or on Thursday. The wedding-feast lasts for many days. See Chorny, "Sefer ha-Masa'ot," pp. 298–310.

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H. R.

DERCETO: A goddess of the Syrians. **1.** Derceto is mentioned indirectly in II Macc. xii. 26, where it is related that Judas in his expeditions came *ἐπὶ τὸ Καρνίον καὶ τὸ Ἀταργατεῖον*, or *Ἀτεργατίον*. This latter word designates the sanctuary of the goddess *Ἀταργάτις*, and an abridged form of the name is *Δερκετώ*, which is used by Diodorus ("Sicius," ii. 4) and by Lucian ("De Syria Dea," xiv.). The same name is mentioned in the Talmud ('Ab. Zarah 11b, line 28) in the form תרעתה (Tar'atah). It is true that some have connected this Talmudical form with the Aramaic תרע ("door"), and have therefore supposed that it contained a reference to the female pudenda. But although Hesychius gives the equivalent *Σαλάμβω*, derived from *σαλάμβη* ("hole"; Hitzig, "Bibl. Theol. des Alt. Test." 1880, p. 20; but compare Hoffmann in "Zeit. für Assyr." 1896, p. 245), it must be remembered that the consonant ע had also the sound of *γ*, as may be seen in עזה ('Azzah = *Γάζα*, Gaza). Consequently the Talmudic "Tar'atah" (for "Targatah") might be an apocopated form of *Ἀταργάτις*. The full form, "Tar'atah," has recently been found.

2. עתרעתה ('Atar'ateh) has been proved to be the name of a goddess in a bilingual Palmyrene inscription (De Vogué, "Syrie Centrale," 1868, iii. 4) of the year 140, (*Ἀταρ*)*γατις* being there used as the Greek equivalent. The same name, עתרעתה, is found on coins, probably minted in the Syrian city Hierapolis. Hence this name is composed of the following two parts: (1) עתר = עתתר ('Athtar), as the goddess of fecundity and of wells is called in the South Arabian inscriptions (compare Robertson Smith, "Rel. of Sem." i. 97, note; Winand Fell, in "Z. D. M. G." 1900, pp. 245 *et seq.*); (2) עתה, probably signifying "time" (compare עת), perhaps more definitely "favorable time," "favorable circumstances," or "favorable destiny." When combined the two names may signify "'Atar, the daughter of 'Ate," or "'Atar, the mother of 'Ate," for 'Athtar is the all-producing divine power, and a son of Atargatis is mentioned by Athenæus (see Baudissin in Herzog-Hauck, "Real-Encyc." i. 173).

Hoffmann's assertion (in "Zeit. für Assyr." 1896, p. 249) that "'Ateh" is a diminutive of "'Atar" is not demonstrable.

3. "Atargates" may perhaps be compared with "Ashteroth" of Karnaim ("Ashteroth of the Double Horn"; Gen. xiv. 5), whose temple is mentioned as late as I Macc. v. 43 (*τὸ τέμενος ἐν Καρναίν*); for the *τὸ Ἀταργατεῖον* of II Macc. xii. 26 is also mentioned in connection with *τὸ Καρνίον*. Lucian ("De Syria Dea," xiv.) says: "Many people are of the opinion that Semiramis the Babylonian, of whom there are many memorials in Asia, also founded the sanctuary of Hierapolis in Syria, but dedicated it not to Juno, but to her mother, Derceto." Lucian himself doubts this, however, for he continues: "I have seen the image of Derceto in Phenicia: a strange sight! The upper half represents a woman; the lower half, from the hips down, the tail of a fish. The goddess at Hierapolis, however, is entirely a woman." Nevertheless, the goddess worshiped in Hierapolis was probably identical, in idea if not in form, with Derceto, who had a temple in Askalon (Philistia).

The people of Hierapolis avoided eating fish, "and they do that, according to their belief, for the sake of Derceto." Though Lucian says "There are people in Egypt who eat no fish, yet not to please Derceto," it is doubtful if this is decisive. In 'Ab. Zarah 11b, also, "Tar'atah shebe-Mapeg" ("Mabug" = Hierapolis) is combined with "Ẓerifah shebe-Ashḳelon." Finally, the fish may have been made the symbol of the goddess Derceto on account of its fecundity. A calendar preserved in the Louvre represents the lower half of Derceto's body in the shape of a fish. An excellent copy is to be found in Vigouroux, "La Bible et les Découvertes Modernes," iii. 355.

E. G. H. E. K.

DERECHIN: Town in the government of Grodno, Russia. According to the census of 1897 it has a population of 2,289, of whom 1,573 are Jews. The main sources of income are in trade and handicrafts. There are 227 artisans. Shoemaking is the most important industry, affording occupation for 71 persons. The industrial output of the town is sold at the annual fairs. There are 46 Jewish day-laborers, 28 factory employees, and 6 families are engaged in truck-farming. Near the town is situated the agricultural colony of Sinaiskaya, where 30 families are engaged in agriculture. In all they own 187 deciatines of land. The charitable institutions are: Gemilut Ḥasadim, Somek Noflim, Malbish 'Arummim, Linat ha-Ẓedeḳ, Haknasat Oreḥim, and Biḳḳur Ḥolim. The town has a Talmud Torah with 50 pupils, and 15 ḥadarim with 150 pupils.

H. R. S. J.

DEREK EREẒ, *i.e.*, good behavior. See ETIQUETTE.

DEREK EREẒ RABBAH (דרך ארץ רבה = "way of the world"; "deportment"): One of the small treatises (מסכתות קטנות) of the Talmud. In the editions of the latter the treatise Derek Ereẓ consists of three divisions: (1) Derek Ereẓ Rabbah (Large Derek Ereẓ); (2) Derek Ereẓ Zuṭa ("Small Derek Ereẓ"); (3) "Pereḳ ha-Shalom (Section on Peace"). This division is correct in that there are really three different works, but the designations

"Rabbah" and "Zuṭa" are misleading, since the divisions so designated are not longer and shorter divisions of one work, but are, in spite of their relationship, independent of each other. The ancient authorities, who have different designations for this treatise, know nothing of the division into "Rabbah" and "Zuṭa"; the "Halakot Gedolot" (ed. Hildesheimer, p. 647) even includes a large part of the Derek Erez Zuṭa under the title "Rabbah."

According to the usual division, Derek Erez R. consists of eleven sections ("peraḳim"). It begins with a halakic section on forbidden marriages ("'arayot"), to which are appended some ethical maxims on marriage. The second section consists of two entirely different parts, the first of which contains reflections on twenty-four classes of people—twelve bad and twelve good—with an appropriate Bible verse for each class; while the second enumerates the sins that bring about eclipses of the sun and moon, as well as other misfortunes, the whole ending with some mystic remarks concerning God and the 390 heavens. The section "Ben 'Azzai," as the ancients called the third perek, contains some moral reflections on the origin and destiny of man. Sections iv. and v., each beginning with the word "Le-'olam" (Forever), contain rules of conduct for sages and their disciples, the respective rules being illustrated by Biblical events and occurrences of the time of the Tannaim. Sections vi. and vii., which seem to have been originally one section, illustrate, by means of several stories, the correctness of the rule of conduct, never, in society or at table, to act differently from others that are present.

Summary of Contents.

Sections viii. and ix. also treat of rules of conduct during eating and drinking, especially in society; and it must be noted that sections vi. and viii. begin with the same word "Ha-niknas." Section x., on correct behavior in the bath, also begins with the same word, showing that all these sections, although they differ in content, were composed after one pattern. The last section begins with the enumeration of different things that are dangerous to life, and continues with the enumeration of actions and customs that are very dangerous to the soul.

This short summary of the contents shows that the work is of very diverse origin and that each section has its own history. It is clear that the first section can not, in view of its halakic content, belong with the rest of the treatise, which deals exclusively with morals and customs. Elijah of Wilna was therefore undoubtedly right in assigning this section to the treatise Kallah, which precedes the Derek Erez and deals entirely with marriage and the rules connected with it. The whole section is merely a later compilation, although some of its passages can not be traced back to the Talmudim and the Midrashim, as, for instance, the interesting parody on the hermeneutic rule of "ḳal we-ḥomer" (compare Joseph b. Tadai).

Entirely different in origin is the first part of the second section, drawn undoubtedly from an old tannaitic source. Four sentences of this section are cited in the Talmud as being taken from a Baraita (B. B. 90b; Sanh. 76b; Shab. 88b), and one in the name of Abba Arika (Sanh. *l.c.*), who often quoted old sentences and maxims ('Er. 54a). The composition shows that this section is not taken from the Talmud, for the division into twelve good and twelve bad classes of men is not found in the latter. The other half of this section, however, is probably a later interpolation, belonging properly to the third section. For this section begins with a saying of Ben 'Azzai concerning four things the contemplation of which would keep men from sin: hence the four classes of four things each that are enumerated in the second section.

Composition and Component Parts.

Ben 'Azzai mentioned four things in connection with the four sayings. They are drawn from the Talmud (Suk. 29). The third section seems to have been in ancient times the beginning of Derek Erez R. (Rashi on Ber. 22a; Pes. 86b; Tosef. 'Er. 53b), for which reason the old writers called the whole treatise "Perek ben 'Azzai." Yet it is difficult to understand how this section came to be taken as the introduction to the treatise, which otherwise, beginning with the fourth section, forms a connected whole, and has totally different contents from the Perek ben 'Azzai.

Therefore, as regards date and composition, only sections iv.–xi. need be considered, since the first three sections were not originally integral parts of the treatise. Sections iv.–xi. are not only similar in content, in that both set forth rules of behavior for different walks of life, and illustrate their meaning by examples from history, but their whole arrangement and composition also show the hand of the same author. Although the name of this author is not known, his date can be fixed approximately. Among the sixteen authorities quoted in the part which has been designated above as the treatise Derek Erez R. proper, there is not one who belongs to a later time than Rabbi, the redactor of the Mishnah. The Yerushalmi quotes a sentence, found in the Derek Erez R., with the formula "Tene be-Derek ha-Erez" (Shab. vi. p. 8a, bottom); from this it appears that in the time of the Amoraim a tannaitic collection of the name "Derek Erez" was known, and there is absolutely no reason for considering the present as a different treatise from the Derek Erez quoted in Yerushalmi. Nor is there any cogent reason for not considering this treatise as the source of the many quotations from Baraitas in Babli, which are found in Derek Erez R. also (compare Isaiah Berlin's glosses to the treatise), although it must be admitted that a great many of the quotations existed in different collections of Baraitas, and that the Talmud drew sometimes from one source and sometimes from another.

Date of Composition.

A contemporary of Rabbi, therefore (about 160–220)—hardly Rabbi himself—may have been the author of the Derek Erez R., the first three sections being added much later. A collection known as "Hilkot Derek Erez" existed even in the school of Akiba (Ber. 22a); but, as the term "Hilkot" indicates, it was composed entirely of short sentences and rules of behavior and custom, without any references to Scripture and tradition. It is even

highly probable that the treatise was based on the older collection, and that the work of the later editors consisted merely in the addition to the old rules of illustrations from the Bible and from history. For example, in the old collection there was a rule, "No one must enter the house of another without due announcement." This sentence was amplified by a later editor, who added: "This rule of behavior is taught out of the mouth of God Himself, who stood at the gate of paradise and called to Adam, 'Where art thou?'" (Gen. iii. 9); and to this is added the story of a journey of Jewish scholars to Rome, and how they comported themselves there (section v.).

It is characteristic of this treatise that in order to emphasize its rules, it relates many stories of the private life of the Tannaim. A most interesting one is the following, which is used as an illustration to the rule, always to be friendly and obliging: "Once Simon ben Eleazar [probably more correctly Eleazar b. Simon; compare Ta'an. 20a] met a very ugly man, and could not help exclaiming: 'How ugly are the children of our father Abraham!' The man answered: 'What can I do about it? Will you go and tell the Master who has created me?' Then Simon b. Eleazar fell down at the man's feet, asking his forgiveness. But the latter said: 'I will not forgive you until you have gone to the Master who has created me, and have said to Him, "How ugly is the creature which you have created!"'" Only after much beseeching would the man forgive him; and on the same day Simon pronounced these words in the schoolhouse: 'Be always pliable as the reed, and not hard as the cedar. Although the reed bends to the gentlest wind, it resists the fiercest storm; but the cedar, at first proud and inflexible, in the end yields to the wind, and is uprooted.'" Stories of this nature lend a peculiar charm to the Derek Ereẓ Rabbah.

Stories.

The version of the treatise found in the Maḥzor Vitry (pp. 724 *et seq.*) is different from that in the editions of the Talmud. Instead of the first part of the second section, there is in the former version a collection of sentences and reflections on various subjects, arranged according to numbers. The version of the treatise Kallah, in Coronel's "Ḥamishah Kuntresim," Vienna, 1864, contains the greater portion of the Derek Ereẓ R.; namely, the whole of sections iii., iv., v., and parts of the following sections. Aside from the variants found here, Coronel's version has also a kind of Gemara to the text. This Gemara, however, is of very late origin, being in all probability a product of the tenth century, although it contains matter of great value and of very ancient (Essene or Ḥasidean) origin. The Gemara, which is quoted by Isaac Aboab in "Menorat ha-Ma'or," is printed in the Wilna edition of the Talmud (Romm, 1889).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The treatise *Derek Ereẓ R.* was printed for the first time in the third Venetian edition of the Talmud (1546–1551); see also Goldberg, *Der Talmud. Tractat Derek Ereẓ Rabbah*, Breslau, 1888, which contains a critical edition and a German translation; Krauss, in *Rev. Etudes Juives*, xxxvi. 27–46, 205–221; xxxvii. 45–64; Weiss, *Dor Dor we-Dorshaw*, ii. 249–250; Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden*, 2d ed., pp. 116–118.

S. S. L. G.

DEREK EREẒ ZUṬA (דרך ארץ זוטא, lit. "etiquette, small [treatise]"): An uncanonical treatise of the Babylonian Talmud. The name is misleading in more than one respect; the word "zuṭa" (small) would seem to indicate that it is a shorter version of the treatise "Derek Ereẓ Rabbah," which is not the case, the two having little in common. "Derek Ereẓ," moreover, is a very unsuitable name for a collection of ethical teachings such as form the substance of the treatise. Even Rashi, however (Ber. 4a), knows the treatise under this name, calling it "Masseket Derek Ereẓ," while the Tosafists likewise call it "Hilkot Derek Ereẓ" (Bek. 44b). The designation "zuṭa" is probably of later origin.

In the Talmud editions the treatise consists of nine sections ("peraḳim"), to which the Section on Peace ("Pereḳ ha-Shalom") is added as a supplement. The Halakot Gedolot (ed. Hildesheimer, pp. 644–652) gives another version; here the same material is in two parts—(1) "Derek Ereẓ Zuṭa," corresponding to sections v.–viii., and (2) "Derek Ereẓ Rabbah," containing sections i.–iv. and ix. There are two manuscript copies with this division in the Bodleian (Nos. 120 and 380 in Neubauer's catalogue), as well as a genizah fragment ("Jew. Quart. Rev." x. 660); but in the latter the first four sections are under the title "Yir'at Ḥeṭ." The Karaite Ḳirḳisani (tenth century) cites a passage from the fourth section under that title ("Jew. Quart. Rev." vii. 698). A third version is that in the Maḥzor Vitry (ed. Horwitz, pp. 721–723), where the first part of the eighth and the whole of the ninth section are given under the title "Hilkot Darkan shel Talmide Ḥakamim." It is noteworthy that in the Talmud editions sections iv.–viii. are marked as having been taken from the Maḥzor Vitry. It should also be mentioned that the "Siddur Rab Amram" (AMRAM BEN SHESHNA) gives only the first and fourth sections, which is probably due to the fact that the second and third were not included in the ritual.

Apart from this external evidence, a closer examination shows that the work consists of three different collections: (1) i.–iv., (2) v.–viii., (3) ix., though it has a certain unity in that it consists almost exclusively of exhortations to self-examination and meekness and of rules of conduct, and urges temperance, resignation, gentleness, patience, respect for age, readiness to forgive, and, finally, the moral and social duties of a "disciple of the wise" ("talmid ḥakam"). It is written in the form of separate, short maxims arranged as in the Abot, but differing in that they are anonymous. The compiler attempted to arrange the maxims according to external characteristics, the order followed being determined by the initial word, and by the number of maxims. Several precepts which begin with the same word are put together even when they are not at all related in subject-matter (compare "The Wisdom of Ben Sira," ed. Schechter, vi. 1–20, where twenty sayings begin with אל); especially are they thus combined into groups of four, five, or seven maxims, numbers which serve to aid in memorizing the passages. How far the compiler was able to carry out his principle can not be judged from the text in its present condition; and to ascertain the original form of the treatise it is necessary critically

Summary of Contents.

to reconstruct the text. The following analysis of contents is based on such a reconstruction.

The first section begins with introductory remarks on the duties and proper conduct of a "disciple of the wise"; then follow seven sentences, each a precept in four parts, which, however, are often confused in the text as it now exists. The order is: (1) הוי; (2) אל—which sentence is to be read according to Ab. R. N., ed. Schechter, xxvi. 83; (3) אם; (4) אל (the following saying, beginning with אם, belongs to No. 3, while the next אל sentence is the fourth part of No. 4); (5) העבר (the two missing parts to be supplied from Abot ii. 4); (6) אהוב and its opposite הרחק; (7) אל—originally four sentences as shown by the Vatican MSS. in Goldberg and Coronel's version and as confirmed by the parallels in Ab. R. N., ed. Schechter, xxvi. 82, xxxiii. 36; the concluding הרחק sentence belongs to No. 6. The three haggadic utterances which form the conclusion of the first section are a later addition.

The second section begins like the first, emphasizing particularly the duties of the "disciple of the wise." After a series of admonitions concerning only the student, there follow, to the end of the section, maxims of a general nature for people in the most varied walks of life. These are also arranged in seven sentences, each beginning with the word הוי, which word also comes before למוד להיות גומל בטובה (compare Ab. R. N. xli.). Then follow seven beginning with אל, and seven with אם.

In the third section the regular arrangement can be recognized beginning with the maxim אם רפית. There are three sentences each with אם and הוי; and as many with תחלת and אם. The following sentences probably belong to section four, and concern only the conduct of the student. The paragraph beginning with the words אל תאמר איש, which, as is to be seen from the "Siddur Rab Amram," consists of four parts, concludes the fourth section, which is the end of the "Yir'at Het."

From the fourth section to the eighth is a collection of maxims arranged on the same plan. The eighth section contains eight maxims beginning with כל, but the initial and concluding maxims are not relevant to the proper matter of the section. The ninth section is a well-ordered collection of twenty-eight maxims arranged in four paragraphs; seven of these maxims begin with אהוב, seven with הוי, and fourteen with אם.

The date of composition can only be conjectured. It is almost certain that sections v.–viii. are the work of one editor, who lived after the completion of the Babylonian Talmud. One needs only to compare the maxim לעולם (v. 2) with Sanh. 23a and Mek. Mishpatim 20 to see that the compiler had the Talmud before him. The next maxim is a combination of 'Er. 65b and Ab. R. N., ed. Schechter, xxxii. 68. Ab. R. N. viii., כל המתנבל (ed. Schechter, xxii. 46), Midr. Mishle ix. 9, Pesik. viii., כל זמן (ed. Buber, 44b), and probably Derek Erez Rabbah were also used. As already mentioned, the Spanish version of the Halakot Gedolot, probably made about 1000, adopted these four sections as a complete treatise; hence one would not be far wrong in setting the ninth century as the date of composition. The first four sections date from a much earlier period. From their contents they may even have been an independent collection already in existence at the time of the Tannaim. At any rate this collection contains much that is old, even if it can not be proved that the "Megillat Hasidim," which is cited in Abot de-Rabbi Natan (ed. Schechter, xxvi. 52), is identical with the treatise under discussion.

Date of Composition.

The ninth section, originally, perhaps, a small collection of maxims, is more modern than the first and older than the second part of the treatise. The conclusion of the ninth chapter, which treats of peace, caused the insertion in the Talmud of a Section on Peace ("Perek ha-Shalom"), in which various sayings concerning peace, taken from different Midrashim, especially from the Midrash to Num. vi. 26, are placed together. This tenth (supplementary) section is comparatively a very late product, and is not found in Mahzor Vitry, in Halakot Gedolot, nor in the MSS.

The Abot excepted, this treatise is the only collection of precepts from the period of the Talmud and the Midrashim, and is therefore of great importance in any estimate of the earliest ethical views of the old rabbis. Zunz appropriately characterizes the treatise: "The Derek Erez Zuta, which is meant to be a mirror for scholars, is full of high moral teachings and pithy worldly wisdom which philosophers of to-day could study to advantage." The treatise deals mainly with man's relation to man, and is moral rather than religious in nature. A few quotations from it will illustrate its character: "If others speak evil of thee let the greatest thing seem unimportant in thy eyes; but if thou hast spoken evil of others, let the least word seem important" (i.). "If thou hast done much good let it seem little in thy eyes, and say: 'Not of mine own have I done this, but of that good which has come to me through others'; but let a small kindness done to thee appear great" (ii.).

Importance of the Treatise.

The treatise was much read, and the fact that it went through so many hands partly accounts for the chaotic condition of the text. Scholars of the eighteenth century did much, by means of their glosses and commentaries, toward making possible an understanding of the text, but a critical edition is still needed.

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S. S. L. G.

DERELICTS: Things that have been abandoned ("res nullius" in the Roman law). The Talmud treats of four kinds of things that have no owner: (1) Seas, rivers, brooks, the desert (which can not be subjected to ownership), and all they contain; also wild beasts wherever found. (2) Things declared by the owner to be derelict (הפקר). (3) The property of a convert who dies without leaving issue "begotten in holiness." (4) Land sold by a

Gentile to an Israelite, for which he has been paid, but for which he has not executed a deed (this last class is questioned).

He who devotes anything as a derelict can not put any limitations upon it. Like the fruits of the seventh year, it must be as free to the rich as to the poor. And as long as no one has, by occupation, made the derelict his own, the former owner can recover it (Ned. 44a).

The fourth kind is a subject of dispute in the Talmud. It originated in the Persian law, which recognized no transference of immovable property without a deed; which practise became recognized in Jewish law. It was argued: "The law of the kingdom is law"; the Gentile has conveyed no title to the Israelite purchaser, but as he has been paid for his land, his own title is gone; the land is therefore derelict. Hence the first Israelite who can acquire it by occupancy will be recognized as its owner. However, this very maxim, "The law of the kingdom is law," seems to have been quoted on the other side of the question (B. B. 54b). It must also be observed that, according to some interpreters of the Talmud, the third owner could not make his claim valid before he paid to the Israelite who had bought the land from the Gentile all of the money which he had expended.

Seas and rivers excepted, anything, whether movable or immovable, coming within these four classifications may be acquired by occupancy, and not otherwise. The lawfulness of fishing and hunting rests on the position that fish in open waters, and wild beasts or fowl everywhere, are "res nullius," and as such belong to the first occupant. But fish in an artificial pond ("bibarin"; Latin, "vivarium") are private property; to take them without the consent of the owner is robbery; and it is robbery likewise to take game out of a net or trap which has been set by another, even if it be in the desert (B. Ḳ. 81a).

To hunt upon the field of another may be morally wrong, and the hunter is responsible for all damage done; but the wild beasts he catches or kills belong to him (compare, however, FINDER OF PROPERTY). Fish that jump from the water into a ship or boat belong to the owner thereof (B. M. 9b). Other ownerless movable things, including tame beasts, belong to him who takes possession in a way that would give title to a purchaser, according to the nature of the thing to be acquired (see ALIENATION AND ACQUISITION).

When a debt or a deposit has for any reason become ownerless, the debtor or depositary is freed from all liability, being naturally the first occupant. For a like reason bondmen or bondwomen declared by their owners as derelict become their own masters—that is, they become free; but if under age, they become the property of the first occupant, like goods or tame beasts.

The occupation of derelict land must have the same character in each of the three cases. To seize a deed for the land gives no title except to the parchment on which it is written. Such occupation of land as is defined under ALIENATION is generally good enough; but where a field or other parcel of land is separated from other parts of the same estate, even by a foot-path, the actual occupation of one can not by a declaration in words be extended to the other. The mere perceiving of fruits, or the taking of fallen trees, is not deemed occupancy of the soil. Plowing, or sticking a spade or pick into the ground, or sowing seed and covering it with earth, is effective. To erect posts or doors on the ground gives title; living in a house, or building something in the house above the ground, does not. The reason for these technical distinctions is this: that there is no contract, written or oral, to impress a meaning on the acts of occupation; hence they can not be extended beyond the very thing which they touch (B. B. 54a, b).

Issur, the convert, father of Rab Mare, a Babylonian teacher, is an example of a convert having no son "begotten in holiness." The difficulty with which he transmitted to his son money on deposit is described in B. Ḳ. 87a.

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S. S. L. N. D.

DERENBURG (DERENBOURG): A Franco-German family of Orientalists. Their original home was Derenburg, a town near Halberstadt, Saxony, whence they moved successively to Offenbach, Frankfort-on-the-Main, and Mayence. Concerning **Jacob Derenburg,** the first known member of the family, nothing is ascertainable. His son, **Hartwig (Ẓebi-Hirsch) Derenburg,** was the author of a comedy, "Yoshebe Tebel" (Inhabitants of the Universe), written in imitation of the "La-Yesharim Tehillah" of Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto, and published in Offenbach in 1789. He moved to Mayence about this time, as is shown by the fact that he calls himself in his preface "tutor in the family of Mdm. Brendeli, widow of Beer Hamburg, in Mayence." The play was dedicated to "the philanthropist and scholar Solomon Fürth of Frankfort-on-the-Main," of whose son Derenburg had been teacher. Derenburg was buried in Mayence, but his tombstone gives no information regarding the date of his death.

The "Yoshebe Tebel" consists of a dialogue in which eight characters hold converse with one another, each of them in turn representing one of the capital sins, which the adjuster of wrongs, the "Prince of Peace" ("Sar Shalom"), representing the pastor of the community, condemns. Hartwig Derenburg abstains from mentioning names, as, in 1803, did Goethe in his "Natürliche Tochter." But as, in the case of Goethe, the originals of the characters which he put upon the stage under the veil of anonymity could be identified, so the contemporaries of Derenburg must have recognized the members of the Jewish congregation in Mayence to whom the "Prince of Peace" (R. Noah Ḥayyim Hirsch) had addressed a well-deserved rebuke. The "Yoshebe Tebel" was the author's sole production of this nature.

Hartwig's eldest son, **Jacob Derenburg,** born at Mayence in 1794, was a lawyer; his youngest son was the French Orientalist **Joseph (Naftali) Derenburg,** born at Mayence, France, Aug. 21, 1811; died at Bad-Ems, Germany, July 29, 1895. To the age of thirteen Joseph's education was confined exclusively to rabbinical studies. When sufficiently prepared, Joseph entered the gymnasium

in Mayence, and then attended lectures in the University of Giessen, and afterward in that of Bonn, where he studied Arabic under Freytag. It was principally due to his intimate friendship with Abraham Geiger that he did not entirely drift into the domain of Semitic philology, but remained faithful to Jewish science.

Joseph Derenbourg.

Abandoning the idea of becoming a rabbi, and having obtained his Ph.D. degree, Joseph in 1834 left Bonn for Amsterdam, where he accepted a position as tutor with the Bischoffsheim family. When in 1838 his pupil Raphael Louis Bischoffsheim went to Paris to study at the Ecole Centrale, Joseph accompanied him, and took up his abode in Paris. In 1841 he became associate proprietor of the Pension Coutant, and directed the religious and moral instruction of the Jewish pupils. A few months after his marriage (1843) he regained his French nationality, and, having previously spelled his name "Derenburg" (and later "Dernburg"), he called himself thenceforth Joseph Derenbourg. After teaching German at the Lycée Henri IV. in 1851, he was appointed proof-reader of Oriental texts at the Imprimerie Impériale (1852). In 1857 he established a private college, and remained at its head until 1864. In 1869 he became chevalier of the Legion of Honor, and was elected (Dec. 22, 1871) member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. If nominally he was the successor to Caussin de Perceval, his former teacher of Arabic, in reality he was called to fill the place left vacant by the death of Salomon Munk (Feb. 7, 1867). He had already (May 3, 1868) succeeded the latter, who had been an intimate friend of his, as member of the central committee of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, of which he later became a vice-president. From 1869 to 1872 he was a member of the Consistoire Israélite de Paris. In 1877 an eye affection compelled him to resign his position at the Imprimerie Nationale; but immediately after this he was appointed professor of rabbinical Hebrew at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes.

The following are Joseph Derenbourg's principal works, no mention being made of a number of articles which appeared in the "Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres," the "Journal Asiatique," the "Revue Critique," Geiger's "Jüdische Zeitschrift," the "Revue des Etudes Juives," Grätz's "Monatsschrift," etc.:

"Maimonides," in Geiger's "Wiss. Zeit. Jüd. Theol." i. (1835).

"Sur le Dernier Repas Pascal de Jesus," in "Orientalia," i., Amsterdam, 1840.

"Les Séances de Hariri," with a commentary by Silvestre de Sacy; 2d ed. revised and supplemented with historical and explanatory notes, Paris, 1847–51, preface by Reinaud.

"Les Fables de Loqman le Sage," Berlin and London, 1850.

"Les Inscriptions de l'Alhambra," appendix to Girault de Prangey's "Essai sur l'Architecture des Arabes et des Maures en Espagne," Paris, 1851.

"Essai sur l'Histoire et la Géographie de la Palestine d'Après les Thalmuds et les Autres Sources Rabbiniques: I., Histoire de la Palestine," Paris, 1867.

"Manuel du Lecteur, d'un Auteur Inconnu," reprinted from "Journal Asiatique," 1870.

"Opuscules et Traités d'Aboû l-Walîd Merwan ibn Djanâh de Cordoue" (with Hartwig Derenbourg), Paris, 1880.

"Deux Versions Hébraïques du Livre de Kalilâh et Dimnâh," Paris, 1881.

"Talmud," in the "Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses," by Lichtenberger, xii., Paris, 1882.

"Etudes sur l'Epigraphie du Yémen" (with Hartwig Derenbourg), in the "Journal Asiatique" for 1882–84.

"Les Monuments Sabéens et Himyarites du Louvre" (with Hartwig Derenbourg), Paris, 1885.

"Les Inscriptions Phéniciennes du Temple de Seti à Abydos" (with Hartwig Derenbourg), Paris, 1885.

"Le Livre des Parterres Fleuris," Hebrew grammar in Arabic, by Abu al-Walid Merwan ibn Janah, Paris, 1886, the text published in anonymous conjunction with W. Bacher.

"Commentaire de Maïmonide sur la Mischnah, Seder Toharot," 3 parts, Berlin, 1887–89.

"Johannis de Capua Directorium Humanæ Vitæ, Alias Parabola Antiquorum Sapientum," Paris, 1889.

"Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum; Pars Quarta, Inscriptiones Himyariticas et Sabæas Continens" (with Hartwig Derenbourg), i.–ii., Paris, 1889–92.

"Texte Arabe de l'Isaïe de Saadia," in Stade's "Zeitschrift," ix., x., Giessen, 1889–90.

"Œuvres Complètes de R. Saadia ben Joseph al-Fayyoûmi," edited under his general supervision. I., "Version Arabe du Pentateuque," Paris, 1893; VI., "Version Arabe des Proverbes" (with Mayer Lambert), Paris, 1894.

"La Version Arabe de Isaïe," Paris, 1896, and "La Version Arabe du Livre de Job," edited by Hartwig Derenbourg, Paris, 1899.

Bibliography: G. Maspero, *Discours Prononcé aux Funérailles de M. Derenbourg*; W. Bacher, *Joseph Derenbourg Sa Vie et Son Œuvre*, Paris, 1896; A. Carrière, *Joseph Derenbourg*, in the *Annuaire de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Section des Sciences Historiques et Philologiques*, 1897, pp. 31–40; Hartwig Derenbourg, *Version Arabe du Livre de Job de R. Saadia*, Introduction, Paris, 1899.

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Derenbourg, Hartwig: French Orientalist; son of Joseph Derenbourg; born in Paris June 17, 1844. He attended the lycées Charlemagne and Bonaparte (now Condorcet). He studied Hebrew, Arabic, and other Semitic languages under Reinaud, Ulmann, chief rabbi of France, and his father, in Paris; under Ewald, Bertheau, and Wüstenfeld, in Göttingen; under Fleischer and Krehl, in Leipsic. In 1866, after taking his degree in Göttingen, he was engaged at the Bibliothèque Impériale, continuing the preparation of the catalogue of Arabic manuscripts, discontinued since 1859. His father-in-law, Hermann Joseph Baer, the well-known bookseller of Frankfort-on-the-Main, placed him in 1871 at the head of the Paris branch of his house. In 1875 he received two almost simultaneous calls: one as professor of Arabic and

Hartwig Derenbourg.

Semitic languages to the Jewish Theological Seminary of Paris, and the other as instructor in Arabic grammar to the Ecole Speciale des Langues Orientales Vivantes. In April, 1879, he was called to occupy, at the latter institution, the chair of literary Arabic, which had been vacant since Reinaud's death in 1867.

In 1880 the minister of public instruction entrusted him with the investigation of the Arabic manuscripts in the Escurial and in the other libraries of Spain. On his return Ernest Renan had Derenbourg made assistant to the commission upon Semitic inscriptions at the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, being especially entrusted, under the direction of his father, Joseph Derenbourg, with the Himyaritic and Sabean section. In 1884 he was appointed professor of Arabic at the Ecole des Hautes-Etudes, and in 1885 professor of Islamism and of the religions of Arabia in the religious section of the same school.

In Feb., 1897, he was decorated with the cross of the Legion of Honor, and in June, 1900, he was elected member of the Institute (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres). He was also honorary member of the Academy of History in Madrid, of the Institut Egyptien in Cairo, of the Society of Biblical Archeology in London, and a member of many other scientific societies.

Hartwig Derenbourg took a lively interest in Jewish affairs. He was a member of the central committee of the Alliance Israélite Universelle and of the council of the Société des Etudes Juives, having become its president in 1890; and continual vice-president of the administrative board of the Ecole de Travail Israélite. He was, further, one of the founders and directors of the Grand Encyclopédie.

The following is a list of his principal works:

"De Pluralibus Linguæ Arabicæ," Göttingen, 1867.
"Quelques Observations sur l'Antiquité de la Déclinaison dans les Langues Sémitiques," Paris, 1868.
"Le Dîwân de Nâbiga Dhobyânî," Paris, 1869.
"Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes de la Bibliothèque Impériale," 4 vols., 1866-70.
"Notes sur la Grammaire Arabe," Paris, 1869-71.
"Histoire Littéraire de l'Ancien Testament," translated from the German of Nöldeke in collab. with Jules Soury, Paris, 1873.
"Le Livre de Sibawaihi," 2 vols., Paris, 1881-89.
"Les Manuscrits Arabes de l'Escurial," i., Paris, 1884; ii., Part I., *ib.*, 1899.
"Chrestomathie Elémentaire de l'Arabe Littéral" (with Jean Spiro), Paris, 1885; 2d ed., Paris, 1892.
"La Science des Religions et l'Islamisme," Paris, 1886.
"Ousâma Ibn Mounḳidh," the Arabic text of his "Autobiography," Paris, 1886, French transl. 1895.
"Souvenirs Historiques et Récits de Chasse" (French translation of Ousâma's "Autobiography"), Paris, 1895.
"Silvestre de Sacy, Une Esquisse Biographique," Leipsic, 1886; Paris, 1892 and 1895; Cairo, 1903.
"Yemen Inscriptions," the Glaser collection in the British Museum, London, 1888.
"Catalogue des Manuscrits Judaïques Entrés au British Museum de 1867 à 1890," Paris, 1891.
"Les Monuments Sabéens et Himyarites de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles et Antiques," Paris, 1891.
"Une Epitaphe Minéene d'Egypte," two memoirs, Paris, 1893 and 1895.
"Ibn Khâlawaihi, Livre Intitulé Laisa," in "Hebraica," 1894-1901 (unfinished).
"Al-Fakhrî d' Ibn Ṭiḳṭaḳâ," a new edition of the Arabic text, Paris, 1895.
"Les Croisades d'Après le Dictionnaire Géographique de Yaḳoût," Paris, 1895.
"Oumâra du Yémen, Sa Vie et Son Œuvre," Paris, 1897-1903.
"Les Monuments Sabéens et Himyarites du Musée d'Archéologie de Marseille," Paris, 1899.
"Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum; Pars Quarta, Inscriptiones Himyariticas et Sabæas Continens," iii., Paris, 1900.
"Les Manuscrits Arabes de la Collection Schefer à la Bibliothèque Nationale," Paris, 1901.
"Notice sur la Vie et les Travaux de Maximin Deloche," Paris, 1901; 2d ed., Tulle, 1902.
"Michele Amari, la Vie d'un Historien et Orientaliste Italien," Paris, 1902.
"Nouvelles Inscriptions Yéménites Inédites," Paris, 1902.

To this list must be added numerous articles which appeared in the "Journal des Savants," the "Journal Asiatique," the "Revue Critique," the "Revue des Etudes Juives," the "Revue d'Assyriologie et Archéologie Orientale," the "Revue de l'Histoire des Religions," etc. He died April 12, 1908.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hartwig Derenbourg, *La Version Arabe du Livre de Job de R. Saadia*, Introduction, Paris, 1899; *Titres Scientifiques de M. Hartwig Derenbourg*, Paris, 1900; *La Grande Encyclopedie*; Gubernatis, *Dictionnaire des Ecrivains du Jour*, s.v.

S.

DERNBURG, HEINRICH: German jurist; born at Mayence March 3, 1829; brother of Friedrich Dernburg. The Dernburgs are related to the French family of Derenbourg, which, before its settlement in France, was called "Dernburg" (see DERENBURG). Dernburg was educated at the gymnasium of Mayence and the universities of Giessen and Berlin, graduating from the latter in 1851. In the same year he became privat-docent of the juridical faculty of the University of Heidelberg. In 1852 he was called to Zurich as assistant professor, and was appointed professor in 1855. In 1862 he accepted a similar position in the University of Halle, which he represented in the Prussian Herrenhaus (Upper House) from 1866 to 1873, when he became professor of Roman and Prussian law in the University of Berlin. He reentered the Herrenhaus in 1873. With Brinckmann and others he founded in 1851 the "Kritische Zeitschrift für die Gesammte Rechtswissenschaft."

Among his works may be mentioned: "Geschichte und Theorie der Kompensation," Heidelberg, 1854; 2d ed., 1868; "Das Pfandrecht," Leipsic, 1860-64; "Die Institutionen des Gaius, ein Kollegienheft aus dem Jahre 161 nach Christi Geburt," Halle, 1869; "Lehrbuch des Preussischen Privatrechts und die Privatrechtnormen des Reiches," *ib.* 1871-80; "Das Vormundschaftsrecht der Preussischen Monarchie," Berlin, 1875; 3d ed., edited by Schultzenstein, 1886; "Das Preussische Hypothekenrecht" (with Hinrichs), Leipsic, 1877-91; "Pandekten," *ib.* 1884-87; 6th ed., 1900-01; "Die Königliche Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Berlin in Ihrem Personalbestande seit Ihrer Einrichtung bis 1885," *ib.* 1885; "Das Bürgerliche Recht des Deutschen Reiches und Preussen," Halle, 1898-1900.

The father of Dernburg and his whole family became Christians.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Brockhaus, *Konversations-Lexicon*, 1901, s.v.

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DERUSH. See HOMILETICS and MIDRASH.

DERZHAVIN, GAVRIIL ROMANOVICH: Russian poet and senator; born at Kazan July 15, 1743; died at Zvanka, government of Novgorod, July 20, 1816. In 1799 Derzhavin was commissioned by Emperor Paul to investigate a complaint made by the Jews of Shklov against General Zorich, the

owner of that town. The latter was accused by them of oppression and extortion; and it became the duty of Derzhavin to assume the guardianship of Zorich's estate, and to sift the matter thoroughly. During his stay in Shklov the dissensions between the sects of Mitnagdim and Ḥasidim were very bitter, passions rose high, and unfounded accusations were made. Under such conditions much transpired that was not creditable to the Jewish community, and undoubtedly Derzhavin noted it. The Jews were encouraged in their complaint by Kutaisov, a favorite of the czar. Kutaisov desired to get possession of Zorich's estate; and he knew that by proving the accusations against Zorich the estate would be confiscated and sold at auction. Derzhavin realized this; but, although on terms of friendship with Kutaisov, he was loath to become the means of helping him. Derzhavin's scruples combined with the dissensions among the Jews prejudiced the poet against them; and notwithstanding the evident abuse by Zorich of his prerogative, and in spite of the undoubted truth of many accusations against Zorich, Derzhavin reported in his favor, and he was acquitted.

Report on Jews of White Russia.

In the following year Derzhavin was again sent to White Russia, in order to investigate the causes of a famine there, and to formulate a plan for aiding the starving peasants. He was commissioned at the same time to study the economic condition of the Jews in that region, and to present a report on the subject, with suggestions as to the measures to be taken in order to eliminate the supposed harmful influence exerted by their "unscrupulous dealings" on the lower classes of the population. Derzhavin, in collecting the materials for his report, made an extended journey through the province. In a comparatively short time he obtained from various sources—sources occasionally of doubtful value—a considerable mass of data bearing directly not only on the economic condition of the Jews of White Russia, but also on their social, communal, and religious life. In Sept., 1800, Derzhavin prepared in Vitebsk his celebrated "Mnyenie ob Otvrashchenii v Byelorussii Goloda i Ustroistvye byta Yevreyev" (Opinion as to the Protection of White Russia from Famine, and on the Organization of the Status of the Jews). Looking carefully into the condition of the Jews, Derzhavin saw clearly that temporary measures would not be sufficient to remedy existing evils. The Jews of Russia were in an anomalous and unnatural condition; for the old Polish laws and those of Lithuania were defective and equivocal. When, therefore, a commission was appointed in 1804 by Alexander I. to consider remedial legislation, Derzhavin's "Opinion" had great weight with it.

Derzhavin's "Opinion."

Derzhavin's plan called for the creation of a protectorate over the Jews; the protector to advise the czar personally as to the best measures to be taken for the moral uplifting of the Jew, so that he might in time be considered worthy to become a subject. Notwithstanding the more liberal attitude of Speranski, Derzhavin's "Opinion" decidedly influenced the commission. In his report Derzhavin's prejudice against the Jews is very manifest, and is often carried to ludicrous extremes. Thus he concludes, from the custom of the Orthodox Jews of keeping their heads covered, that the Jews consider themselves "of all peoples the most excellent." He associates the frequent occurrence of certain names, such as Moses, Abraham, etc., to a desire on the part of their owners to conceal their individual identity, and states that the Jew hoards money for no other purpose than to rebuild the Temple in Palestine, whither he ever expects to return. One of the redeeming features of the "Opinion" is its recommendation of the establishment of schools for the Jews in order to facilitate their education; but even here Derzhavin insists that corporal punishment should be inflicted on the delinquents of that "stubborn race."

Nathan Naṭa (Notkin), a merchant of Shklov, supplied Derzhavin with much valuable information on the economic and moral condition of the Jews of White Russia, and suggested methods by which they might be made more useful citizens; *e.g.*, by teaching them agricultural and industrial pursuits (see Agricultural Colonies in Russia).

While Derzhavin adopted Notkin's suggestions and embodied them in his report, he nevertheless couched the whole in terms decidedly unfair to the Jews; as a result he and Notkin became estranged. That the enactment of Dec. 9, 1804, was, nevertheless, favorable to the Jews (see Alexander I., Pavlovich), was due to Notkin's exertions. Notkin's opposition angered Derzhavin to such an extent that he called his former protégé "the Jew Notka," and even asserted that Notkin had attempted to bribe him.

Bibliography: Bershadski, in *Voskhod*, i. 82; Dubnov, in *ib.* 1893, i. 54; Gessen, in *Sbornik Budushchnosti*, i., St. Petersburg, 1900; *Zapiski Derzhavina*, Moscow, 1860; Orshanski, *Russkoe Zakonodatelstvo o Yevreyakh*, St. Petersburg, 1877.

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DESCENT, LAW OF. See Agnates.

DESECRATION: The act of diverting from a sacred to a common use. It was forbidden, as being an act of desecration, to use the anointing-oil of the sanctuary for common purposes, or even to prepare oil like it, or to prepare for common use incense similar to that used in the sanctuary. The punishment for any of these transgressions was excision from the people of Israel ("karet," Ex. xxx. 33, 38). All objects used in connection with the Temple service—as the utensils employed in the ritual—the sacrifices, the clothing of the attendant priests, and the building itself were considered sacred, and their use for common purposes was therefore prohibited. Any one who knowingly appropriated any of these objects for his own use was liable to the penalty of stripes; if the act was committed unwittingly, he was required to bring a sacrifice, and to pay one-fifth more than the value of the object misused (Lev. v. 14; Maimonides, "Yad," Me'ilah, i. 1, 2).

Not only could no sacred object be diverted to a common use, but it could not even be exchanged. If a man consecrated an animal that could be used as a sacrifice and then exchanged it for another, he suffered the punishment of stripes, and both animals remained sacred. It made no difference whether

the exchange was for a better or for a worse animal; the holy object could in neither case be desecrated, nor could it be used for another purpose equally sacred (Tem. 32a; Maimonides, *l.c.* iv. 11). If, however, the animal was such as could not be offered on the altar, the owner might redeem it by paying the value of the animal and an additional fifth. The same law applied to all other objects which were not of immediate use in the Temple service (Lev. xxvii. 9; "Yad," Temurah, i. 1 *et seq.*).

Exchange of Sacred Objects Forbidden.

With regard to the use of the synagogue and its appurtenances, the Rabbis laid down the following general rule: "We may ascend with holy things, but not descend"—that is, holy objects may be used for a holier purpose, but not for one less holy (Shab. 21b). On this principle, objects used in worship were classified and graded according to their sanctity. A community might sell its synagogue and use the money in building an academy, but not the reverse. The appurtenances of the synagogue were graded as follows: the scroll of the Law; other sacred books; the mantle of the scroll; the Ark, where the scroll is deposited; the table upon which it is placed while being read; the synagogue itself being the least sacred. The money realized from the sale of a synagogue may be used in buying an Ark or a table, and so on; but the reverse is forbidden (Meg. 26a; "Yad," Tefillah, xi. 14; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Oraḥ Ḥayyim, 153, 1). The scroll of the Law must never be sold, and when it becomes old and unfit for use, it must be placed in an earthen vessel and buried near the tomb of a scholar. Torn books or pages of books of the Scriptures, and all the accessories of holy objects, as the mantle of the scroll, the sheath of the mezuzah, the straps of the tefillim, and so forth, must not be diverted to any common use, but must be buried (see Genizah). Objects which are used in the performance of certain commandments, as the "sukkah" (booth), "lulab" (palm-branch), "shofar" (ram's horn), "ẓiẓit" (fringes), etc., may be thrown away after they have become useless. It is not permitted to make any use of the light of the Ḥanukkah candles, even for such a holy use as studying the Law (Meg. 26b; "Yad," Sefer Torah, x. 3; Oraḥ Ḥayyim, 154, 673, 1).

Worn-Out Objects to be Buried.

The Rabbis permitted an individual to sell the scroll of the Law only when he needed the money for the purpose of studying the Law or for the purpose of marrying; otherwise the possessor of a copy of the scroll of the Law must never sell it, even when he needs the money for the necessities of life (Meg. 27a; "Yad," Sefer Torah, x. 2; "Kesef Mishneh" *ad loc.*; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Yoreh De'ah, 270, 1).

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DESERT. See Wilderness.

DESERTION: Leaving husband or wife with the intention of not returning. It must be premised that, if the husband deserted his wife and went beyond the jurisdiction of the court, he could not be compelled to give her a bill of divorce; and if he remained away and was never heard of again, the wife was never free from the bond of matrimony (see 'Agunah), because it was always the husband who was presumed to grant a divorce, even though at the suit of the wife, under the order of the court.

There is no proceeding known in Jewish law analogous to a modern suit for divorce on the ground of the husband's desertion, in which the divorce is granted judicially in the absence of the husband and without his consent. Further, in Jewish law there is no presumption of death from absence. Therefore the woman who was deserted by her husband remained his wife until she received a bill of divorce from him, or until his death was legally proved.

There are cases in Jewish law which may technically be deemed cases of desertion, in which the wife was entitled to receive a bill of divorce from her husband *before* he left the jurisdiction of the court. If a wife living in a foreign country desired to remove to Palestine, or if, living in Palestine, she desired to remove to the city of Jerusalem, and if her husband refused to accompany her or to allow her to remove, he was at her instance compelled by the court to give her a bill of divorce. If she was living in Jerusalem and he desired her to remove to a foreign country or even some other city in Palestine, or, if living elsewhere in Palestine, he desired her to remove to some foreign country, she had a right to refuse to accompany him, because she was not obliged to expatriate herself (Ket. 110b; compare Domicil). If she feared that he would then desert her, she could appeal to the court, and her husband would be compelled before leaving to give her a bill of divorce for the time being (Shulḥan 'Aruk, Eben ha-'Ezer, 154, 8).

Change of Residence.

This divorce for desertion was granted only in the above cases, and did not apply to countries other than Palestine or to cities other than Jerusalem; and the reason for this is to be found in the special favor with which the people looked upon the Holy Land and the Holy City. They were deemed to be dwelling-places par excellence of the Jews, and this fact established the right of the wife to refuse to follow her husband in case he desired her to remove. Many authorities are therefore of the opinion that these rules did not apply after the destruction of the Temple (compare Asher ben Jehiel to Ket. 110b).

Under the later law the principle was extended; and if a man was about to leave the jurisdiction of the court of any country to go to another country, he was either placed under oath not to desert his wife, or, if he insisted upon going, was compelled to grant her a bill of divorce (Shulḥan 'Aruk, Eben ha-'Ezer, 154, 8, 9).

Desertion by the wife occurred either if she actually abandoned her husband's domicil, or if she refused to follow her husband to another domicil. She was obliged to follow him only from one place to another in the same country, or from any other country into Palestine, or to Jerusalem from any other place in Palestine. For such desertion the husband could give her a bill of divorce, and she lost all of her property rights under the marriage contract (Ket. 110b).

Refusal to Accompany Husband.

An exception to this rule may be noted. If a man dwelling in one country married a woman dwelling in another, she was obliged to follow him to his

domicil; for that was an implied condition of the marriage, or perhaps may have been an expressed condition in the marriage contract. In case of her refusal to follow him, she was technically deemed guilty of desertion; and her husband could divorce her, she losing her property rights under the marriage contract. Compare DOMICIL.

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DESSAU: Chief town of the duchy of Anhalt, North Germany, on the left bank of the Mulde. The settlement of Jews here dates from 1621. The introduction of debased coins had ruined the finances of the duchy, and Duke Johann Casimir permitted Jews to settle at Dessau as purveyors of silver to the mint. They were forbidden to export money, and had to prevent its exportation by others. The permit was, however, of short duration. The calamities consequent upon the Thirty Years' war made it impossible to reestablish the finances of the duchy. The Jews were therefore banished. In 1672 Duke Johann Georg readmitted them; and some Jews settled at Dessau. In 1685 there were only 26 families. Moses Wulff, a descendant of Moses Isserles, banished from Berlin at the instigation of his powerful enemy, Jost Liebmann, the court factor, settled with his family at Dessau and became court factor of Johann Georg II. Combining learning with philanthropy, and being of a religious turn of mind, he exerted his great influence for the welfare of the newly established community, which soon became a center of scientific activity. A bet ha-midrash was founded by the Wulff family. At its head was Rabbi Benjamin Wolf, author of "'Ir Binyamin," who was succeeded by Isaac Itzig Gerson, or, as he later called himself, Joseph Isaac Gerson (1708–35).

Moses Wulff.

Graveyard of the Dessau Community Showing Tombstone of Mendelssohn's Father to the Right.

(From Freudenthal, "Aus der Heimat Mendelssohns.")

After the death of Moses Wulff (1729) the material prosperity of the community (which had increased to about 700 persons) diminished. His son Elijah succeeded him in the office of court factor; but the family had become impoverished, and with it the community also declined. Still, enlightened rabbis and scholars like David Hirshel Fränkel, the rosh ha-yeshibah Hirsh, Moses Fränkel, and others, made it a center of learning; and from Dessau came Moses Mendelssohn. A source of intellectual development for the first half of the nineteenth century was the Franzschule. Founded in 1799 as a primary school for poor children, five years later it was transformed, with the sanction of the government, into a Jewish high school. For sixty years it enjoyed the highest reputation throughout Germany. Its director, David Fränkel, and such teachers as Joseph Wolf, Gotthold Solomon, and Moses Philippson, attracted pupils from far and near.

The Franzschule.

The community of Dessau led in the struggle for the emancipation of the German Jews. A German monthly entitled "Sulamith," devoted to Jewish interests and culture, was published for eight years (1806–14) by David Fränkel and Joseph Wolf. But the Dessau-Anhalt government continued until 1848 to consider the Jews as "Schutzjuden." No foreign Jew was allowed to settle in the town without a special permit, and the Dessau Jews were restricted to a special quarter. Even after 1848 the government endeavored to limit the right of the Jews to election to the Parliament, and maintained for a long time the oath "more Judaico." It was probably on this account that between 1850 and 1895 the Jewish population of Dessau fell from about 1,000 to 406.

During the greater part of the nineteenth century the rabbinate of Dessau was in an extremely chaotic state. Rabbi succeeded rabbi with extraordinary rapidity; for many years the post was vacant, and the duties of the rabbinate were partially performed by the teachers of the Franzschule. The rabbis since 1870 have been: Dr. Saalfeld (1870–81); Schönberger (1881–84); Dr. Samson Weisse (1884–1893); Dr. Max Freudenthal (1893–1900); Dr. Isidor Walter (1900). In 1886 the government issued regulations concerning Jewish worship, according to which a chief rabbi for Anhalt, with his seat at Dessau, was to be nominated and supported by the government.

Dessau possesses an imposing synagogue in the Oriental style (restored in 1861), and a monument to Moses Mendelssohn erected on the centenary of his death.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Würdig, *Chronik der Stadt Dessau*, 1876, *passim*; idem, *Dessau Innerhalb Eines Jahrhunderts*, 1886; Steinthal, *Die Jüd. Volksschule in Anhalt*, in *Zeitschrift für Gesch. der Juden in Deutschland*, iv. 66; Kayserling, *Moses Mendelssohn*, passim, Leipsic, 1888; Max Freudenthal, *Aus der Heimat Mendelssohns*, passim, Berlin, 1900; *Die Juden Unter den Annhaltischen Markgrafen von*

Brandenburg, in *Allg. Zeit. des Jud.* 1840, No. 13; D. Calm, *Die Stellung der Juden in Anhalt*, ib. 1866, Nos. 40 and 41.

G. S. Sa.—I. Br.

——**Typography:** A Hebrew printing-office was established at Dessau in 1694 by court factor Moses Benjamin Wulff. The privilege obtained for this purpose included both Hebrew and German, but Wulff availed himself only of the former, the enterprise not being undertaken with a desire for gain, but to conserve and advance Jewish learning. The first work published by him (1696) was a ritual entitled "Tefillah le-Moshe," to which were appended prayers for women in Judæo-German, entitled "Minḥat 'Ani." The type for the Judæo-German was set up by a girl of nine years—Ellah, daughter of Moses of Holland. In 1704 the work of the press was suspended, owing to the great losses Wulff had sustained in his transactions with the court of Gotha. His son Elijah reestablished the office in 1742, but discontinued it in 1743. The first work issued by the latter was the Sifra with a commentary, "Ḳorban Aharon," by Aaron ben Ḥayyim; the last was the "Ḳorban ha-'Edah," on the Jerusalem Talmud, by David Fränkel. In 1783 another office was established by C. Schilder, which continued into the second half of the nineteenth century.

Bibliography: Cassel and Steinschneider, *Jüdische Typographie*, in Ersch and Gruber, *Encyc.* section ii., part 28, p. 84; Max Freudenthal, *Aus der Heimat Mendelssohns*, pp. 151 *et seq.*, Berlin, 1900.

J. I. Br.

DESSAU, MOSES. See Mendelssohn, Moses.

DESSAU, MOSES B. MICHAEL: Talmudist of the eighteenth century; called "Dessau" after the town in which he lived. He is the author of (1) novellæ published in 1724—haggadic annotations to the Talmudic tractates Berakot, Shabbat, and Ḳiddushin, and halakic novellæ to Pesaḥim and Ketubot; and (2) "Zikron Mosheh" (Memorial of Moses), published in 1765—novellæ on various haggadic and halakic subjects. He also edited and annotated "Sha'are Dura" (Gates of Dueren), by Isaac b. Meïr of Dueren.

Bibliography: Wolf, *Bibl. Hebr.* iii. 1184 and 1593h; Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* Nos. 5341 and 6456; Zedner, *Cat. Hebr. Books Brit. Mus.*

L. G. A. R.

DESSAU, WOLF. See Wolf b. Joseph of Dessau.

DESSAUER, FERDINAND (DESSOIR, FERDINAND AUGUST): German actor; son of Leopold Dessauer; born at Breslau Jan. 29, 1836; died in Dresden April 15, 1892. He was trained for the stage by Werner Mannheim, and made his début in 1852 as the *Prince* in "Dorf und Stadt." In the following year he went to Mayence, where he remained until 1855, when he appeared at Heidelberg. Vienna was his next engagement, in 1856; followed in 1857 by Stettin; 1857–61, Leipsic; 1861–63, Bremen; 1863–64, Weimar. From 1864 to 1867 he played at the Hoftheater, Berlin; after which he returned to Weimar, in 1868. He next went to the Lobetheater, Breslau, in 1868–69. The following seven years were spent at the Hoftheater, Dresden; from 1877 to 1878 at the Thalia Theater, Hamburg; from 1878 to 1879 at the Residenz Theater, Dresden; and in 1880 he played at Prague.

Dessauer became insane during a performance, and never acted again. His principal rôles were *Kaufmann Bloom*, *Mephisto*, *Falstaff*, *Muley Hassan*, *Riccaut*, *Chalisac*, and *Hans Lange*.

Bibliography: *Moniteur des Dates*, Appendix, p. 48; Flüggen, *Bühnen Lexikon*, pp. 56–57.

S. E. Ms.

DESSAUER, GABRIEL L.: Hungarian rabbi and author; born at Neutra, Hungary, in 1805; died June 1, 1878. He became a pupil of R. Moses Sopher (Schreiber) at Presburg, and was for forty years rabbi at Balaton-Kojár, on the Plattensee, where he died. He published the following works: "Das Buch Hiob: Uebersetzt und Commentirt," Presburg, 1838; "Yad Gabriel" (Gabriel's Hand), novellæ about the slaughtering of animals as contained in the ritual codex in Shulḥan 'Aruk, Yoreh De'ah, *ib.* 1838; "Ha-Ariel," a commentary on the Talmudic utterances of R. bar bar Ḥana, Budapest, 1859; "Shire Zimrah," to a part of Genesis, an appendix to Hartwig Wessely's "Shire-Tif'eret," with a commentary entitled "Degel ha-Lewi"; finally, "Homiletische Skizzen," Ofen, 1862.

S. M. K.

DESSAUER, JOSEF: German composer; born at Prague May 28, 1798; died at Mödling, near Vienna, July 8, 1876; a pupil of Tomaczek (piano) and Dionys Weber (composition). In compliance with the wishes of his parents, Dessauer first devoted himself to a mercantile career. At the age of twenty-three, upon one of his commercial tours, he visited Italy, where his musical bent received a powerful stimulus.

In 1821, owing to the favorable reception accorded at Naples to several of his canzonettas and other vocal compositions, Dessauer determined to devote himself exclusively to composition. He settled in Vienna, from which city he made numerous European tours to introduce his compositions; and his songs, which were distinguished by considerable melodic beauty, soon secured for him international fame. In the "Hofmeister Catalogue" for 1844 nearly seventy of these canzonettas, ariettas, etc., are enumerated.

Less successful were his operas, "Lidwinna" (Prague, 1836), "Ein Besuch in Saint-Cyr" (Dresden, 1838), "Paquita" (Vienna, 1851), "Domingo" (1860), and "Oberon" (not performed). Neither these nor his instrumental works are now performed; only a few of his songs, such as the well-known air "Scheiden und Meiden," having maintained their popularity and being still reprinted. The Schlesingers of Berlin, who included most of these compositions in their catalogue for 1900, publish the following list: "3 Slavische Lieder"; "9 Wanderlieder von Uhland" ("Lebewohl," "Scheiden und Meiden," "In der Ferne," "Morgenlied," "Nachtreise," "Winterreise," "Abreise," "Einkehr," "Heimkehr"); and two song collections of ten numbers each, including "Verschwiegenheit," "Das Gebet," "Wie Glücklich," "Am Strande," "Ich Denke Dein," "Das Zerbrochene Ringlein."

Bibliography: Mendel, *Musikalisches Konversations-Lexikon.*

S. J. So.

DESSAUER, JULIUS: Hungarian writer; son of Gabriel L. Dessauer; born at Neutra 1832. He was for some years rabbi at Ujpest. He has published the following works: "Die Fünf Bücher Moses. Nebst dem Raschi-Commentar, Punktirt, Leichtfasslich Uebersetzt und mit Anmerkungen Versehen," Budapest, 1863; 2d ed., 1887; "Schulchan Aruch, Orach Hayyim, Deutsch Bearbeitet," in two parts, *ib.* 1868; "Spruch-Lexikon des Talmud und Midrash," *ib.* 1876; "Schlüssel zum Gebetbuche," *ib.* 1878; "Perlenschatz: Philosophische Sentenzen in Alphabetischer Reihenfolge," *ib.* 1880; "Der Jüdische Humorist," *ib.* 1899.

S. M. K.

DESSAUER, LEOPOLD (DESSOIR, LUDWIG): German actor; born at Posen Dec. 15, 1810; died Dec. 30, 1874, in Berlin. Dessauer, who was known during his stage career as "Dessoir," was the son of a Jewish merchant. He made his début in the theater of his native town in 1825, playing *Nanky* in Körner's "Toni." Then he traveled about the country, appearing at Coburg, Schönebeck, Wriezen, Krossen, Wiesbaden, and Mayence, eventually playing *Tell* at Potsdam. This was the real beginning of his career, and in 1834 he went to the Stadttheater, Leipsic, where, in the following year, he married the leading woman, Theresa Reimann. The union proved an unhappy one, and in 1836 Dessauer obtained a divorce and left Leipsic for the Stadttheater, Breslau, where he remained until 1837. Two years of starring followed at Prague, Brünn, Vienna (Burgtheater), and Budapest, after which he succeeded Devrient at Karlsruhe. In 1847 he went to Berlin, where he played, with few interruptions, until July 10, 1872. In 1853 he appeared in London.

Dessauer was by many considered a greater artist than Dawison, whose most serious rival he was. The former, it is true, was handicapped by lack of figure, looks, and, to some extent, voice; yet so considerable was his talent that he was among the foremost Shakespearian actors. His *Othello*—first played at Berlin Oct. 6, 1849—*Lear, Shylock, Hamlet, Antony, Brutus, Coriolanus, King John, Macduff*, and *Iachimo* were classical creations. Scarcely less clever were his *Bolingbroke, Uriel Acosta, Faust, Tasso, Alba, Gessler, Narciss, Caligula* ("Fechter von Ravenna"), *Louis XI.* ("Gringoire"), *Perin* ("Donna Diana"), and *Marinelli* ("Emilia Galotti").

Dessauer's life was greatly embittered by his marital misfortunes, for his second wife, Helene Pfeffer, whom he married in 1844, became insane on the death of their child.

Bibliography: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, v. 75-77; E. M. Oettinger, *Prachtalbum für Theater und Musik*, vol. v.; Entsch, *Bühnen Album*, 1876, pp. 173-179.

S. E. Ms.

DESSAUER, MORITZ: German rabbi and author; son of Gabriel L. Dessauer; born at Balaton-Kojár, Hungary, May 24, 1842; died April 17, 1895, at Meiningen. He pursued his Talmudic studies at Vár-Palota and Stuhlweissenburg, and attended subsequently the rabbinical seminary and the university at Breslau. In 1871 he went as preacher to Köthen, becoming, in 1881, district rabbi at Meiningen. He published the following works: "Spinoza und Hobbes: Begründung Ihrer Staats- und Religionstheorien Durch Ihre Philosophischen Systeme," Breslau, 1868; "Daniel, in Sieben Kanzelreden für das Neujahrsund Versöhnungsfest," *ib.* 1875; "Der Sokrates der Neuzeit und Sein Gedankenschatz: Sämmtliche Schriften Spinozas Gemeinverständlich und Kurz Gefasst," Köthen, 1878; "Der Deutsche Plato: Erinnerungsschrift zu Moses Mendelssohn's 150jährigem Geburtstage," Berlin, 1879; "Blüthen und Knospen der Humanität aus der Zeit von Reuchlin bis Lessing," Zurich, 1881; "Humanität und Judenthum," Leipsic, 1885.

Bibliography: Human, *Geschichte der Juden im Herzogtum S.-Meiningen-Hildburghausen* pp. 72 *et seq.*, Hildburghausen, 1898.

S. M. K.

DESSOFF, FELIX OTTO: German conductor and composer; born Jan. 14, 1835, in Leipsic; died Oct. 28, 1891, at Frankfort-on-the-Main; studied with Moscheles, Plaidy (piano), Hauptmann (composition), and Reitz (instrumentation) at the Leipsic Conservatory (1851–54). Graduating with high honors, he first became musical director of the Actientheater at Chemnitz, and during the following six years successively conducted opera-orchestras in Altenburg, Düsseldorf, Cassel, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Magdeburg. In 1860, when only twenty-five years of age, he was appointed leader of the orchestra at the Imperial Opera at Vienna, and in the same year he was elected director of the famous Philharmonic concerts. Several months later he received an appointment as teacher of thorough-bass and composition in the Vienna Conservatory. From 1875 to 1881 he was court kapellmeister at Karlsruhe, and then became the first kapellmeister at the Stadttheater, Frankfort.

Dessoff was at one time perhaps the leading conductor of his day. Although not a strict adherent of the Mendelssohn school, his virtuosity, technical finish, and careful attention to detail stamped his performances as models. His influence upon the development of the Philharmonic Society can scarcely be overestimated; and it was largely due to his initiative that this important musical institution of Vienna was placed upon a secure financial and artistic basis.

Bibliography: Mendel, *Musikalisches Konversations-Lexikon.*

S. J. So.

DESSOIR, FERDINAND. See Dessauer, Ferdinand.

DESSOIR, LUDWIG. See Dessauer, Leopold.

DETERMINISM. See Fatalism and Free-Will.

DETMOLD. See Lippe.

DETMOLD, JOHANN HERMANN: German diplomat; born at Hanover July 24, 1807; died there March 17, 1856. He was the son of Detmold, the court physician at Hanover, who, with his whole family, joined the Christian Church. Detmold received his education at the universities of Göttingen and Heidelberg. Admitted to the bar, he established himself as a lawyer in his native town in 1830. He took an active interest in politics as a Conservative, and in 1838 was elected a member of

the Hanoverian Dict. His opposition to the new constitution and his attacks upon the government, both in the Chamber and in the press, led to a brief imprisonment. In 1848 he was elected to the German Parliament sitting at Frankfort-on-the-Main, where he allied himself with the deputies of the Right. He remained an uncompromising reactionist. In 1848, after the refusal of Frederick William IV. to accept the German crown, he became secretary of justice, and soon afterward was appointed secretary of the interior in the short-lived German government. When the "Reichsverweser" in 1849 dismissed the government, Detmold returned to Hanover, but was again sent to Frankfort, this time as representative of the King of Hanover, with the title of "Legationsrat." He held the position until 1851, when he was recalled. The last years of his life were spent in Hanover.

During his juridical and diplomatic career Detmold found time for the cultivation of the arts, the last five years of his life being especially devoted to artistic interests. He was a fluent speaker and writer, and his political controversies developed a considerable power of satire and invective.

Detmold is the author of "Anleitung zur Kunstkennerschaft," Hanover, 1833; 2d ed., 1845—an incisive and witty criticism of artistic conditions in Hanover; "Randzeichnungen," Brunswick, 1843—a political essay; "Thaten und Meinungen des Herrn Piepmeyer," Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1849—a satirical pamphlet on the politics of the Frankfort Parliament.

Bibliography: De le Roi, *Geschichte der Evangelischen Judenmission*, i. 229, Leipsic, 1899; *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, s.v.; *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon*, s.v.

S. F. T. H.

DETMOLD, SAMUEL: Austrian educator and translator; lived at the end of the eighteenth and in the first half of the nineteenth century. He was one of the collaborators on the German translation of the Bible which was published by a number of the "Meassefim," Breslau, 1822–27. Detmold translated the books of Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Chronicles. He is also the author of a Hebrew primer with the title "Moreh Derek" (Guide of the Road), Vienna, 1815.

Bibliography: Steinschneider, *Bibliographisches Handbuch*, p. 41; Zedner, *Cat. Hebr. Books Brit. Mus.* s.v.; Zeitlin, *Bibl. Post-Mendels.* pp. 66, 255–256, whose statements are, however, hardly correct.

L. G.

DETROIT: Largest city in the state of Michigan. No authentic records of the settlement of Jews in the vicinity of Detroit, or in the state of Michigan, are found earlier than the middle of the nineteenth century. Even then the settlers were few in number and to a great extent interrelated. Most of them were of Bavarian stock. Among the earliest are found the names of Silberman, Hirsch, Cohen, Schloss, Bendit, Sloman, Heineman, and Kanter.

The first organization of Jews in Detroit was effected during the summer of 1850, when the Beth El Society, from which a few years later sprang Congregation Beth El, was established. Like all congregations of that period this one was Orthodox in its ritual, but it was not long before the Reform spirit began to create divisions in the community. In 1861 a large number of the members withdrew because of the introduction of an organ and a mixed choir into the synagogue, and formed the Sha'are Zedek congregation, which is to-day the leading organization of the Orthodox Jews of the city. The pulpit of congregation Beth El has been occupied by a number of well-known rabbis, including Liebman Adler, Isidore Kalisch, Kaufmann Kohler, Henry Zirndorf, and Louis Grossman. This congregation brought Kohler and Zirndorf to America. The present (1902) rabbi is Leo M. Franklin.

In a total population of 300,000 there are about 12,000 Jews, of whom 60 per cent are (1902) of Russian and Polish origin. Besides Temple Beth El, which is now the home of a Reform congregation, there are in the city the congregations Sha'are Zedek, Beth Jacob, Beth David, and Benai Israel, all of which worship in their own synagogues and according to the Orthodox ritual. A number of hebrahs assemble only on the holidays. Each congregation has its own cemetery. The Orthodox Jews maintain a Talmud Torah, and have recently dedicated a modern and commodious school building for that purpose.

Until the fall of 1899 there were not less than nine Jewish charitable institutions in Detroit, but at that time all except one were federated under the title "Union of Jewish Charities." This organization, with headquarters in its own building, carries on practically every branch of educational, philanthropic, and relief work. Most of the Jewish secret orders have lodges in Detroit, and there are three Jewish social clubs, the Phœnix, the Fellowship, and the Standard. The Jewish Woman's Club, with a membership of 250, does excellent educational work. The city supports a Jewish weekly, "The Jewish American," which is the organ of Temple Beth El and other congregations.

A. L. M. F

DEUTERONOMIST: The name given by critics to the author of the discourses in Deuteronomy. See Deuteronomy.

DEUTERONOMY (דברים): The fifth book of the Pentateuch, called in Hebrew "Debarim" (Words), from the opening phrase "Eleh ha-debarim"; in Rabbinical Hebrew it is known also as "Mishneh Torah." The English appellation is derived from the name which the book bears in the Septuagint (Δευτερονόμιον) and in the Vulgate (*Deuteronomium*); and this is based upon the erroneous Septuagint rendering of "mishneh ha-torah ha-zot" (xvii. 18), which grammatically can mean only "a repetition [that is, a copy] of this law," but which is rendered by the Septuagint τὸ Δευτερονόμιον τοῦτο, as though the expression meant "this repetition of the law." While, however, the name is thus a mistranslation, it is not inappropriate; for the book does include, by the side of much new matter, a repetition or reformulation of a large part of the laws found in the non-priestly sections (known as "JE") of Exodus.

—**Biblical Data:** The book of Deuteronomy consists in the main of the discourses which Moses is represented as having delivered, immediately before his death (i. 3), on the other side of Jordan for the purpose of teaching the Israelites the laws which they

were to obey, and the spirit in which they were to obey them, when they should be settled in the Promised Land. Disregarding introductions and other subsidiary matter, the contents of the book may be summarized as follows:

Ch. i. 6–iv. 40: Moses' first discourse, consisting (i.–iii.) of a review of the providential guidance of the Israelites through the wilderness to the border of the Promised Land, and concluding (iv.) with an eloquent appeal not to forget the great truths, especially the spirituality of their God, impressed upon them at Horeb.

Ch. v.–xxvi., xxviii. 1–xxix. 1: Moses' second discourse, containing the exposition of the Deuteronomic law, and forming the central and most characteristic portion of the book. It consists of two parts: (1) ch. v.–xi., a hortatory introduction, developing the first commandment of the Decalogue, and inculcating the general theocratic principles by which Israel, as a nation, is to be governed; (2) ch. xii.–xxvi., the code of special laws, followed (xxviii. 1–xxix. 1) by a solemn rehearsal of the blessings and curses attached respectively to the observance and neglect of the Deuteronomic law.

[Ch. xxvii. consists of instructions (interrupting the discourse of Moses, and narrated in the third person) relative to a ceremony by which the nation, after entering Canaan, is to symbolize its ratification of the preceding code; see Josh. viii. 30-35.]

Ch. xxix. 2–xxx. 20: Moses' third discourse, emphasizing afresh the fundamental duty of loyalty to YHWH and the dangers of apostasy.

Ch. xxxi.–xxxiv.: Moses' last words of encouragement addressed to the people and to Joshua; his song (xxxii. 1–43) and blessing (xxxiii.); the account of his death (xxxiv.).

It is characteristic of the discourses of Deuteronomy that the writer's aim is throughout parenetic: both in the two historical retrospects (i.–iii., ix. 9–x. 11), and in passing allusions elsewhere (as xi. 2–6; xxiii. 4, 5; xxiv. 9), he appeals to history for the sake of the lessons deducible from it; and in his treatment of the laws, he does not merely collect or repeat a series of legal enactments, but he "expounds" them (i. 5); that is, he develops them with reference to the moral and religious purposes which they subserve, and to the motives from which the Israelite ought to obey them. It is a further characteristic of the discourses that they are, in both the historical and the legal parts, dependent upon the narrative and laws, respectively, of JE in Exodus and Numbers; entire phrases from the earlier document being frequently embedded in them (compare Deut. i. 33, 35, 36 with Ex. xiii. 21, and Num. xiv. 23, 24 respectively; and Deut. xvi. 16, 19 with Ex. xxiii. 6, 8, 17).

The Laws in Deuteronomy.

The following is an outline of the laws in Deuteronomy, the asterisk (*) denoting those laws which are peculiar to Deuteronomy, and the dagger († or ‡) those which differ more or less materially in their provisions from those in JE and P respectively. For a more complete synoptical table see Driver's "Introduction to the Literature of the O. T." 7th ed., pp. 73 *et seq.*, or his Commentary on Deuteronomy, pp. iv. *et seq.*

i. Religious Observances:

1. Law of single sanctuary, xii. 1-28‡ (burnt offerings, sacrifices [*i.e.*, peace-offerings], tithes, heave-offerings [first-fruits and other offerings from the produce of the soil], vows, free-will offerings, and firstlings, all to be offered at the central sanctuary).
2. Laws against the worship of "other gods," xii. 29–31, xiii*.
3. Sanctity of the laity, xiv. 1-21 (person not to be disfigured in mourning, xiv. 1–2; law of clean and unclean animals, xiv. 3-20; flesh of animals dying a natural death not to be eaten, xiv. 21).
4. Laws tending to ameliorate the condition of the poor, xiv. 22–xv. 18 (disposition of the charitable tithe, xiv. 22–29‡; relief secured to debtors every seventh year, xv. 1–11†‡; law of slavery, xv. 12–18†‡).
5. Offerings and festivals (firstling males to be offered to YHWH, xv. 19–23‡; regulations respecting the observance of the three annual pilgrimages, xvi. 1–17‡).

ii. The Office-Bearers of the Theocracy:

1. Judges to be appointed in every city, xvi. 18*; and judgment to be impartial, xvi. 19, 20.
   [Ch. xvi. 21–22, asherahs and "pillars" prohibited; xvii. 1, sacrifices to be without blemish; xvii. 2–7, an Israelite convicted of idolatry to be stoned to death*.]
2. The supreme central tribunal, xvii. 8–13*.
3. The king, xvii. 14–20 (theocratic conditions which the monarchy is to satisfy*).
4. Rights and revenues of the priestly tribe, xviii. 1–8*.
5. The prophet, xviii. 9–22* (verses 10, 11 against different forms of magic and divination—expansion of Ex. xxii. 18).

iii. Criminal Law:

1. Manslaughter and murder, xix. 1–13 (cities of refuge†).
2. Against removal of boundary-stones, xix. 14*.
3. Law of witness, xix. 15–21 (compare xvii. 6).
   [Four laws designed to secure self-control and forbearance in the conduct of war, xx.* and xxi. 10-14*; compare xxiv. 5*.]

iv. Miscellaneous Laws Relating Chiefly to Civil and Domestic Life: Symbolical rite of expiation for an untraced murder, xxi. 1-9*; primogeniture, xxi. 15–17*; treatment of an undutiful son, xxi. 18–21*; treatment of the body of a malefactor, xxi. 22-23*; lost cattle or other property to be restored to owner, xxii. 1-4; sexes not to interchange garments, xxii. 5*; mother-bird not to be taken with nest, xxii. 6, 7*; parapets on roofs, xxii. 8*; prohibition of non-natural mixtures and combinations, xxii. 9-11; law of fringes, xxii. 12; slander against a newly married maiden, xxii. 13–21*; adultery and seduction, xxii. 22–29; prohibition of marriage with stepmother, xxii. 30; conditions of admittance into the theocratic community, xxiii. 1–8*; cleanliness in the camp, xxiii. 9-14‡; humanity to escaped slave, xxiii. 15–16*; religious prostitution forbidden, xxiii. 17–18*; usury (interest), xxiii. 19–20; vows, xxiii. 21–23; regard for neighbor's crops, xxiii. 24–25*; divorce, xxiv. 1–4*; pledges, xxiv. 6, 10–13; man-stealing, xxiv. 7; leprosy, xxiv. 8–9; wages of hired servant not to be detained, xxiv. 14–15; criminal's family not to be punished with him, xxiv. 16*; justice toward "stranger" (*i.e.*, resident foreigner), widow, and orphan, xxiv. 17–18; gleanings, xxiv. 19–22; limit to stripes, xxv. 1–3*; ox not to be muzzled while threshing, xxv. 4*; levirate marriage, xxv. 5–10*; modesty in women, xxv. 11, 12*; just weights and measures, xxv. 13-16; liturgical directions for the offering of first-fruits and of the triennial tithe, xxvi. 1–15*.

The moral and religious duties which form the subject of the imprecations in xxvii. 15–26 should likewise be noted, as also the injunctions occurring in other parts of the book, or introduced more or less incidentally in xii.–xxvi.—as v. 6–21 (the Decalogue, repeated, with variations in the subordinate clauses, from Ex. xx. 2–17); vi. 8 and xi. 18 (the law of frontlets); vi. 14 and xi. 16 (against "other gods"); xii. 16, 23-25, and xv. 23 (blood not to be eaten); xix. 21 ("the lex talionis)."

——Critical View: I. If the Deuteronomic laws are compared carefully with the three codes contained in Exodus and Numbers, it will be apparent that they stand in a different relation to each:

(1) The laws in JE—namely, Ex. xx.–xxiii. (repeated partially in Ex. xxxiv. 10–26), and the kindred section, Ex. xiii. 3–16—form the *foundation of the Deuteronomic legislation.* This is evident partly from the numerous verbal coincidences referred to above—whole clauses, and sometimes even an entire law, being repeated verbatim—and partly from the fact that frequently a law in Deuteronomy consists of an expansion, or application to particular cases, of a principle laid down more briefly in Exodus (compare, for instance, Deut. xiii., xvii. 2–7, with

Ex. xxii. 20; Deut. xvi. 1–17 with Ex. xxiii. 14–17; and Deut. xviii. 10, 11 with Ex. xxii. 18). The civil and social enactments which are new in Deuteronomy make provision chiefly for cases likely to arise in a more highly organized community than is contemplated in the legislation of Ex. xx.–xxiii.

(2) With the laws contained principally in Lev. xvii.–xxvi. (the law of holiness, known as "H"), there are parallels in Deuteronomy (chiefly moral injunctions); but though in such cases the substance is often similar, the expression is nearly always different (compare, for instance, Deut. xiv. 1 with Lev. xix. 28; Deut. xvi. 19, 20 with Lev. xix. 15; Deut. xxiv. 19–22 with Lev. xix. 9, 10); and it can not be said that the legislation of Deuteronomy is in any sense an expansion or development of that in Lev. xvii.–xxvi. The one exception is the description of clean and unclean animals in xiv. 4a, 6–19a, which agrees in the main verbally with Lev. xi. 2b–20.

(3) With the ceremonial laws contained in the other parts of Leviticus, and in Numbers (P), Deuteronomy is only remotely related: there are no verbal parallels. Some of the institutions and observances codified in P are indeed mentioned, as, for instance, burnt and peace-offerings, fire-sacrifices, heave-offerings, the distinction between clean and unclean, a Torah for leprosy (xxiv. 8); but they are destitute of the central significance which they hold in the system of P; while many of the fundamental institutions of P—as the distinction between the priests and the common Levites; the Levitical cities and the year of jubilee; the cereal-offering; the guilt- and sin-offering; the great Day of Atonement—are not referred to in Deuteronomy at all; and in the laws which do touch common ground, great, and, indeed, in some cases, irreconcilable, discrepancies frequently display themselves. Thus the Deuteronomic legislation may be termed an expansion of the body of laws contained in JE; it is, in several features, parallel to that contained in H; it contains allusions to laws similar to—it can not be said identical with—those codified in some parts of P; while its provisions sometimes differ widely from those found in other parts of P.

Relation to Other Codes.

The Deuteronomic discourses may be said to comprise three elements—a historical, a legislative, and a parenetic. Of these the parenetic element is both the most characteristic and the most important; for it is devoted to the inculcation of certain fundamental religious and moral principles upon which the writer lays great stress. The historical element is subservient to the parenetic, the references to history, as has been already remarked, having nearly always a didactic aim. The legislative element, though obviously, in many of its features, tending directly to secure the national well-being, and possessing consequently an independent value of its own, is by the writer of Deuteronomy viewed primarily as a vehicle for exemplifying the principles which it is the main object of his book to enforce. The author wrote, it is evident, under a keen sense of the perils of idolatry; and to guard Israel against this, by insisting earnestly on the debt of gratitude and obedience which it owes to its sovereign Lord, is the fundamental teaching of his book. Accordingly the truths on which he loves to dwell are the sole godhead of YHWH, His spirituality (Deut. iv.), His choice of Israel, and the love and faithfulness which He has manifested toward it; from which are deduced the great practical duties of loyal and loving devotion to Him, an absolute and uncompromising repudiation of all false gods, a warm and spontaneous obedience to His will, and a large-hearted and generous attitude toward men.

Aim and Scope of Deuteronomy.

The central and principal discourse (v.–xxvi., xxviii.) opens with the Decalogue; and the first commandment, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me," may be said to be the text which in the rest of ch. v.–xi. is eloquently and movingly expanded. YHWH is, moreover, a spiritual being: hence no sensible representation can be framed of Him. Still less should Israel's devotions be paid to any other material object (iv. 12, 15–19). YHWH has chosen Israel; and, in fulfilment of the promises given to its forefathers, has wonderfully delivered it from its bondage in Egypt, and assigned it a home in a bounteous and fertile land, to take possession of which it is now on the point of crossing the Jordan (vi. 10, 11; viii. 7–10). In return for all these benefits it is the Israelite's duty to fear and to love YHWH—to fear Him as the great and mighty God, whose judgments strike terror into all beholders (iv. 32–36, xi. 2–7); and to love Him on account of the affection and constancy with which, even as a father, He has ever dealt with Israel. The love of God, an all-absorbing sense of personal devotion to Him, is propounded in Deuteronomy as the primary spring of human duty (vi. 5); it is the duty which is the direct corollary of the character of God and of Israel's relation to Him; the Israelite is to love Him with undivided affection ("with all thine heart, and with all thy soul," vi. 5; xiii. 3; xxx. 6; and elsewhere—an expression characteristic of Deuteronomy), renouncing everything that is in any degree inconsistent with loyalty to Him.

The Love of God.

This brings with it, on the one hand, an earnest and entire repudiation of all false gods, and of every rite or practise connected with idolatry; and, on the other hand, a cheerful and ready acquiescence in the positive commandments which He has laid down. Of nothing is the Israelite more repeatedly and emphatically warned in Deuteronomy than of the temptations to idolatry, and of the perils of yielding to them. The heathen populations of Canaan are to be exterminated; no intermarriage, or other intercourse with them, is to be permitted; and their places of worship and religious symbols are to be ruthlessly destroyed (vii. 2–5; xii. 2, 3). Israel must ever remember that it is "holy" to YHWH (vii. 6; xiv. 2, 21; xxvi. 19; xxviii. 9). Canaanitish forms of divination and magic are not to be tolerated; an authorized order of prophets is to supply in Israel, so far as YHWH permits it, the information and counsel for which other nations resorted to augurs and soothsayers (xviii. 9–19). Local shrines and altars, even though ostensibly dedicated to the worship of the true God, were liable to contamination, on the part of the unspiritual Israelites, by the ad-

mixture of heathen rites; accordingly, the three great annual feasts are to be observed, and all sacrifices and other religious dues are to be rendered, it is repeatedly and strongly insisted, at a single central sanctuary, "the place which YHWH shall choose . . . to set his name there" (xii. 5–7, 11, 14, 18, 26, and elsewhere). Obedience to these commands, if it come from the heart and be sincere, will bring with it the blessing of YHWH: disobedience will end in national disaster and exile (vi. 14–15, vii. 12–16, viii. 19, and especially xxviii.).

The practical form which devotion to YHWH is to take is not, however, to be confined to religious duties, strictly so called. It is to embrace also the Israelite's social and domestic life, and it is to determine his attitude toward the moral and civil ordinances prescribed to him. The individual laws contained in ch. xii.–xxvi. are designed for the moral and social well-being of the nation; and it is the Israelite's duty to obey them accordingly. Love of God involves the love of one's neighbor, and the avoidance of any act which may be detrimental to a neighbors' welfare. The Israelite must comport himself accordingly. Duties involving directly the application of a moral principle are especially insisted on, particularly justice, integrity, equity, philanthropy, and generosity; and the laws embodying such principles are manifestly of paramount importance in the writer's eyes. Judges are to be appointed in every city, who are to administer justice with the strictest impartiality (xvi. 18–20). Fathers are not to be condemned judicially for the crimes of their children; nor children for the crimes of their fathers (xxiv. 16). Just weights and measures are to be used in all commercial transactions (xxv. 13–16); grave moral offenses are punished severely; death is the penalty not only for murder, but also for incorrigible behavior in a son, for unchastity, for adultery, and for man-stealing (xxi. 18–21, xxii. 20–27, xxiv. 7).

Love of Neighbors.

But the author's ruling motive is humanity, whereever considerations of religion or morality do not force him to repress it. Thus philanthropy, promptitude, and liberality are to be shown toward those in difficulty and want—as the indigent in need of a loan (xv. 7–11); a slave at the time of his manumission (xv. 13–15); a fugitive (xxiii. 15, 16); a hired servant (xxiv. 14, 15); the "stranger [*i.e.*, resident foreigner], the fatherless, and the widow" (xiv. 29, and frequently elsewhere). Gratitude and a sense of sympathy, evoked by the recollection of Israel's own past, are frequently appealed to as the motives by which the Israelite should in such cases be actuated (x. 19, "For ye were strangers in the land of Egypt"; xv. 15; xvi. 12; xxiv. 18, 22, "and thou shalt remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt"). A spirit of forbearance, equity, and regard for the feelings or welfare of others underlies also many of the other regulations of Deuteronomy. Nowhere else in the Old Testament does there breathe such an atmosphere of generous devotion to God and of large-hearted benevolence toward men; nowhere else are duties and motives set forth with deeper feeling or with more moving eloquence; and nowhere else is it shown so fully how high and noble principles may be made to elevate and refine the entire life of the community.

The Song of Moses, contained in chap. xxxii. 1–34, is a didactic poem, the aim of which (verses 4–6) is to exemplify the rectitude and faithfulness of YHWH as manifested in His dealings with a corrupt and ungrateful nation. Looking back upon the past, the poet, after the exordium (verses 1–3), describes, first, the providence that had brought Israel safely through the wilderness, and planted it in a land blessed abundantly by the goodness of YHWH (verses 7–14); secondly, Israel's ingratitude and lapse into idolatry (verses 15–18), which had obliged YHWH to threaten it with national disaster, and to bring it almost to the verge of ruin (verses 19–30); and thirdly, YHWH's determination not to allow an unworthy foe to triumph over His people, but by speaking to them through the extremity of their need to bring them to a better mind, and so to make it possible for Himself to interpose and save them (verses 31–43). The thought underlying the poem is thus the rescue of the people, by an act of grace, at the moment when annihilation seems imminent. The author develops this theme with a glow of impassioned earnestness, and also with great literary and artistic skill.

Song and Blessing of Moses.

Chap. xxxiii. contains the "Blessing of Moses," consisting of a series of benedictions, or eulogies, pronounced upon the different tribes (Simeon excepted), with an exordium (verses 2–5) and a conclusion (verses 26–29). The method of the author is to signalize some distinctive feature in the character, or occupation, or geographical situation of each tribe, with allusion, by preference, to the theocratic function discharged by it, and at the same time to celebrate the felicity, material and spiritual, of the nation as a whole, secured to it originally by YHWH's goodness in the wilderness (verses 2–5), and maintained afterward, through the continuance of his protecting care, in Canaan (verses 26–29). In general character it resembles the blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 1–27); but if the two be compared attentively, there will be seen to be some noticeable points of difference. The most salient features in Deut. xxxiii. are the isolation and depression of Judah (verse 7; contrast the warm eulogy in Gen. xlix. 8–12), the honor and respect with which Levi is viewed (verses 8–11; contrast the unfavorable terms of Gen. xlix. 5–7), the strength and splendor of the double tribe of Joseph (verses 13–17; compare Gen. xlix. 22–26, with which there are some verbal resemblances), and the burst of grateful enthusiasm with which the poet celebrates the fortune of his nation, settled and secure, with the aid of its God, in its promised home. The tone of the blessing is very different from that of the song (xxxii.): the one reflects national happiness; the other, national disaster. The two, it is evident, must have been composed at times in which the circumstances of the nation were very different.

It is the unanimous opinion of modern critics that Deuteronomy is not the work of Moses, but that it was, in its main parts, written in the seventh century B.C., either during the reign of Manasseh, or during that of Josiah (but before his eighteenth year, the Book of the Law found in that year in the

Temple [see II Kings xxii.–xxiii.] clearly containing Deuteronomy, if indeed it included anything more).

Age and Authorship of Deuteronomy.

The reasons for this conclusion, stated here in the briefest outline, are as follows: (1) Even upon the assumption that JE in Exodus and Numbers is Mosaic, the historical discrepancies in Deut. i.–iv. and ix.–x., and the terms in which incidents belonging to the fortieth year of the Exodus are referred to, preclude the possibility of Deuteronomy being Mosaic likewise; while the use of the expression "beyond Jordan" in i. 1, 5; iii. 8; iv. 41, 46, 47, 49, for eastern Palestine, implies that the author was a resident in western Palestine. (2) The same conclusion follows, a fortiori, for those who allow that JE is a post-Mosaic document, from the fact, noticed above, that JE itself, both in the narrative parts and in the laws, is repeatedly quoted in Deuteronomy. (3) In Deuteronomy it is strictly laid down that sacrifice is to be offered at a single central sanctuary (xii. 5, 11, 14, etc.); whereas in Joshua to I Kings vi. sacrifices are frequently described as offered in various parts of the land (in accordance with the law of Ex. xx. 24), without any indication on the part of either the actor or the narrator that a law such as that of Deuteronomy is being infringed. (4) The other differences between the legislation of Deuteronomy and that of Ex. xxi.–xxiii. point with some cogency to the conclusion that the laws of Deuteronomy originated in a later and more highly developed stage of society than the laws of Exodus. (5) The law of the kingdom (xvii. 14–20) is colored by reminiscences of the monarchy of Solomon. (6) The forms of idolatry referred to—especially the worship of the "host of heaven" (iv. 19, xvii. 7)—point to a date not earlier than the reign of Ahaz, and more probably to one in the seventh century B.C. (7) The influence of Deuteronomy upon subsequent writers is clear and indisputable. It is remarkable that Amos, Hosea, and the undisputed portions of Isaiah show no certain traces of this influence, while Jeremiah exhibits marks of it on nearly every page. If Deuteronomy had been composed between Isaiah and Jeremiah, these facts would be exactly accounted for. (8) The language and style of Deuteronomy—clear and flowing, free from archaisms, but purer than that of Jeremiah—would suit the same period. (9) The prophetic teachings of Deuteronomy—the leading theological ideas and the principles which the author seeks to inculcate—exhibit many points of contact with that of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and especially with the characteristic principles of the compiler of the Book of Kings (who must have lived in the same age).

Influence on Subsequent Writers.

Upon these grounds (which, when studied in detail, are seen to possess far greater cogency than can be conveyed by a mere summary) it is concluded by modern critics that Deuteronomy is in reality a work of the seventh century B.C. It is not difficult to realize the significance which the book must have had if it were written at this time. It was a great protest against the prevalent tendencies of the age. It laid down the lines of a great religious reform. The century was one in which—as Jeremiah and the Books of Kings sufficiently testify—heathenism was making serious encroachments in Judah. The Book of Deuteronomy was an endeavor by means of a dramatic use of the last words of Moses—based, not improbably, upon an actual tradition of a concluding address delivered by the great leader to his people—to reaffirm the fundamental principles of Israel's religion (namely, loyalty to YHWH and the repudiation of all false gods) and to recall the people to a holier life and to a purer service of YHWH. So far as its more distinctively legal parts are concerned, Deuteronomy may be described as the *prophetic reformulation and adaptation to new needs of an older legislation* (namely, the laws contained in JE). It is essentially the work not of a jurist or statesman, but of a prophet; a system of wise laws (iv. 6–8), consistently obeyed, is indeed, as explained above, a condition of the welfare of the community; but the points of view from which these laws are presented, the principles which the author evidently has at heart, the oratorical treatment, and the warm parenetic tone, are all characteristic of the prophet, and are all the creation of the prophetic spirit.

[For reasons which can not be here developed, the discourses of Deuteronomy do not appear to be all from the same hand. The kernel of the book consists of ch. v.–xxvi. and xxviii.; and this, no doubt, constituted the book found in the Temple by Hilkiah. It was probably preceded by ch. i.–iv. (with the exception of a few verses here and there which seem to be of later origin), though most modern critics are of opinion that these chapters were prefixed to it afterward. Some little time after the kernel of Deuteronomy was composed, it appears to have been enlarged by a second Deuteronomic writer (D^2), who supplemented the work of his predecessor (D^1) by adding ch. xxvii., xxix. 10–29, xxx. 1–10, and some other short passages in xxix.–xxxiv., together with the song (xxxii. 1–43) and the historical notices belonging to it (xxxi. 16–22, xxxii. 44). Finally, at a still later date, the whole thus formed was brought formally into relation with the literary framework of the Hexateuch as an entirety by the addition of some brief extracts from P (i. 3, xxxiv. 1 and 5 [partly], 7–9). At what stage in the history of the text the blessing (xxxiii.) was introduced is uncertain. The song was probably written in the age of Jeremiah; the blessing is earlier, being assigned by most critics to the reign of Jeroboam II.]

Its Composite Character.

The style of the Deuteronomic discourses is very marked. Not only do particular words and expressions, embodying often the writer's characteristic thoughts, recur with remarkable frequency, giving a distinctive coloring to every part of his work, but the long and rolling periods in which the author expresses himself—which have the effect of carrying the reader with them and holding him enthralled by their oratorical power—are a new feature in Hebrew literature. The author has a wonderful command of Hebrew style. His practical aims, and the parenetic treatment which as a rule his subject demands, oblige him naturally to expand and reiterate more than is usually the case with Hebrew writers; nevertheless, his discourse, while never (in the bad sense of the term) rhetorical, always maintains its freshness, and is never monotonous or prolix.

Style of Deuteronomy.

The influence of Deuteronomy upon the later literature of the Old Testament is very perceptible. Upon its promulgation it speedily became the book which both gave the religious ideals of the age and

molded the phraseology in which these ideals were expressed. The style of Deuteronomy, when once it had been found, lent itself readily to adoption; and thus a school of writers, imbued with its spirit, quickly arose, who have stamped their mark upon many parts of the Old Testament. As has been just remarked, even the original Deuteronomy itself seems in places to have received expansion at the hands of a Deuteronomic editor (or editors). In the historical books, especially Joshua, Judges, and Kings, passages—consisting usually of speeches, or additions to speeches, placed in the mouths of prominent historical characters, or of reflections upon the religious aspects of the history—constantly recur, distinguished from the general current of the narrative by their strongly marked Deuteronomic phraseology, and evidently either composed entirely, or expanded from a narrative originally brief, by a distinct writer; namely, the Deuteronomic compiler or editor. Among the Prophets, Jeremiah, especially in his prose passages, shows most conspicuously the influence of Deuteronomy; but it is also perceptible in many later writings, as in parts of Chronicles, and in the prayers in Neh. i., ix., and Dan. ix.

Bibliography: Of recent commentaries reference may be made to those of Dillmann (1886), Driver (1895; 2d ed., 1896), Steuernagel (1898), and Bertholet (1899); and with reference to sources, the *Oxford Hexateuch* (1900), i. 70-97, 200 *et seq.*, ii. 246 *et seq.*, may be mentioned.

J. JR. S. R. D.

——**Critical View: II.** Scientific criticism denies both the unity and the authenticity of Deuteronomy, and brings forward definite theories regarding its composition, date of writing, and place in the development of law and religion. The critical problems presented by this book are especially difficult, and the way in which they are solved is decisive not only for the criticism of the whole of the Pentateuch, but for the total conception of the religion of the O. T. and its development. The book is divided on the whole as follows: the Deuteronomic law proper, xii.–xxvi.; the parenetic introduction, v.–xi., and peroration, xxvii.(xxviii.)–xxx.; and the historical setting; that is, the introduction, i.–iv., and the peroration to the whole book, xxxi. to end.

Analysis of Sources.

Nearly all critics agree that the introduction, i.–iv. 40 (43), can not be the work of the author of v.–xi., or v.–xxvi., as (1) it contains contradictions to that portion, namely, ii. 14 (also i. 35–39) to v. 3 (also vii. 19—ix. 2–23, xi. 2), ii. 29 to xxiii. 5, and iv. 41–43 to xix. 2; (2) iv. 45–49, the superscription, is incompatible with that in i. 5; (3) the introduction i.–iv. is different in motive, being historic and not parenetic. This historical introduction was written by a Deuteronomist (D^2); that is, an author writing in the style and spirit of Deuteronomy at a time when the Jahvist-Elohist narrative (JE) of the preceding books, Exodus–Numbers, was not yet united with Deuteronomy (Reuss, Hollenberg, Kuenen, Wellhausen, Cornill, Steuernagel, etc.). But as, after the combination of JE with Deuteronomy the narrative portion in the latter was duplicated, the original narrative, which also included iv. 41–43 and ix. 25–x. 11, was, according to Dillmann, changed by the Deuteronomic editor (Rd) into a speech by Moses, excepting the passages ii. 10–12, 20–23; iii. 9, 11, 14; iv. 41–43; x. 6, 7, which were not suited for the purpose. Therefore i.–iii. are by the author of Deuteronomy and iv. 1–40 was added by Rd in order to give a parenetic ending to his speech of Moses. Horst also separates i.–iii. from iv. 1–40. Portions from ch. ix and x. also belong to i.–iii., in the following sequence: ix. 9b, 11, 12–14, 25–29, 15, 16, 21, 18–20; x. 1–5, 10, 11; then followed i. 6–iii. 29, i. 6–8 preceding i. 9–18. Ch. ii. 10–12, 20–23; iii. 9, 11b, 13b–14; x. 6–9 are marginal notes by a learned reader. Ch. iii. 29 is followed by xxxi. 1–8, and ch. xxxiv. constitutes the end. Horst, in other words, constructs from the historical notes in i.–xi. a chronological account of the events in the wilderness after the Law had been promulgated. Steuernagel, finally, considers all the passages with the address in the singular (i. 21, 31a; ii. 7, etc.) as later interpolations.

All these source-analyses, and the separation of i.–iv. from the rest of the book, to which only Hoonacker has hitherto objected, are inadmissible, for (1) the supposed contradictions do not exist; (2) i. 5 is no superscription, while i. 1 is an epilogue to Num. (Knobel, Herxheimer, Klostermann); and (3) all the critics have misunderstood the import of the introduction, ch. i.–iv., which is not a historical or chronological account, but in its general character and in its details a single and continuous reproof based upon Israel's guilt contrasted with God's manifold mercies, and therefore as clearly of a parenetic nature as are the other parts of the book.

Variations of Analysis.

Ch. v.–xi.: Wellhausen holds that this passage does not belong to the original Deuteronomy as it is too long for an introduction: "Moses is forever trying to get at his point, but never gets to it." Wellhausen is followed by Valeton, who designates v. 5, vii. 17–26, ix. 18–20, 22, 23, x. 1–10a, 18–20, xi. 13–21 as interpolations, and by Cornill, who considers only x. 1–9 as such, and designates this parenetic introduction as Dp in contrast to the historical i.–iv., Dh.; D'Eichthal, on the other hand, distinguishes three documents: (1) a glorification of God and Israel—v. 1–3, 29 *et seq.*; vi. 1–25; vii. 7–24, 1–6, 25, 26; (2) exhortations to humility—viii. 1–20; ix. 1–8, 22–24; (3) a further glorification of Israel—x. 21 *et seq.*; xi. 1–28, 32. According to Horst, the Law begins in ch. v., into which parenetic insertions (vii. 6b–10, 17–24; viii.; ix. 1–9a, 10, 22–24; x. 12–xi. 12, 22–25 [26–32]) have been forced. Steuernagel distinguishes in v.–xi. two combined introductions to the Law—namely, one with the plural form of address: v. 1–4, 20–28; ix. 9, 11, 13–17, 21, 25–29; x. 1–5, 11, 16, 17; xi. 2–5, 7, 16–17, 22–28; and another with the singular form of address: vi. 4–5, 10–13, 15; vii. 1–4a, 6, 9, 12b–16a, 17–21, 23–24; viii. 2–5, 7–14, 17–18; ix. 1–4a, 5–7a; x. 12, 14–15, 21 (22?); xi. 10–12, 14–15. Kuenen, Oettli, König, and Strack ("Einleitung," 4th ed., p. 42) object to the separation of v.–xi., which is in fact entirely unnecessary, and makes of xii.–xxvi. a fragment, this splitting up into fragments resting on no other foundation than the fiction that a briefer original Deuteronomy had been in existence to accommodate an impatient reader limited in time.

Ch. xii.–xxvi.: Since the assertion of Wellhausen ("Composition des Hexateuchs," p. 194), that the

main division of the book has also been worked over, sources, interpolations, etc., have likewise been discovered within this part. In ch. xii. Vater had already assumed two duplicates—verses 5–7 parallel to 11, 12, and 15–19 parallel to 20–28—this opinion being shared by Cornill and in part by Stade ("Gesch. Israels," i. 658). Steinthal even distinguishes seven fragments in this chapter: (1) 1–7; (2) 8–12; (3) 13–16; (4) 17–19; (5) 20, 26–28; (6) 21–25; (7) 29-31 and xiii. 1. Nearly the same is assumed by Stärk. D'Eichthal divides xii. into two documents: (1) 1–3, 29–31; (2) 4–28. Horst thinks that 4–28 is a combination of four different texts. Steuernagel divides the chapter thus: (1) 1; (2) 2–12, subdivided into (3) 2; (4) 4–7; (5) 8–10; (6) 13–27, subdivided into (7) 15, 16; (8) 22–25; and (9) 28. Underlying all these efforts to split its chapters into fragments and parts of fragments is a misconception of the style of Deuteronomy.

The following, among other criticisms, may be mentioned: Beginning with Wellhausen, almost all critics consider xv. 4, 5 as a gloss or correction to xv. 7, 11, because they do not take into account the meaning and connection. The passage xvi. 21–xvii. 7 is in the wrong place, according to Wellhausen, Cornill, Stärk, and others, while Valeton and Kuenen admit this only of xvi. 21–xvii. 1. Wellhausen, Stade, Cornill, and others do not include the "king's law," xvii. 4–20, in Deuteronomy. In ch. xxiii. verses 3–9 have been objected to by Geiger, Wellhausen, Stade, and Valeton, while Kuenen rejects their criticism. D'Eichthal finds contradictions between xxvi. 3, 4 and xxvi. 11; Horst, between xxvi. 1–15 and xiv. 22–29. The latest critics, Stärk and Steuernagel, have gone furthest in rearranging and cutting up the text. Starting with the twofold mode of address —singular and plural—both assume that two works were combined, each of which again, according to Steuernagel, was based on a number of different sources. These and other critics (1) forget that the categories of the critic are not necessarily those of the author; (2) fail to explain how the present discrepancies were derived from a previous orderly arrangement, for in view of the continual change of address a separation of passages based on it can be effected only by resorting to violence; (3) should first have examined whether the noteworthy changes in the forms of address have no internal warrant. While it is possible that xii.–xxvi. has been subjected to many revisions, changes, and interpolations, as a legal code naturally would be, nothing to that effect can be proved.

Supposed Sources of xxvii.-xxx.

Ch. xxvii.–xxx.: Kuenen criticizes xxvii. as follows: Not attributable to the Deuteronomist are: (1) 1–8, because they include an earlier account—5–7a; and (2) 11–13, because they refer back to xi. 29–30, although misunderstanding the passage. Verses 14–26 constitute a later interpolation; hence only 9, 10 remain for D^1. This opinion is shared by Ewald, Kleinert, Kayser, Dillmann. According to Wellhausen, xxviii. does not agree with xxvii.; xxviii.–xxx. are parallel to xxvii., each being a different conclusion to two different editions of the chief part, xii.–xxvi. corresponding to the two prefaces i.–iv. and v.–xi. Ch. xxviii. itself lacks unity. Valeton ascribes only 1–6, 15–19 to the author of the hortatory v.–xi., considering all else as later expansions. Kleinert considers 28–37 and 49–57 as later interpolations. Dillmann also assumes numerous interpolations by a later editor. In the two following chapters Kleinert considers xxix. 21–27 and xxx. 1–10 as interpolations. Kuenen ascribes both chapters to another author.

Ch. xxi.–xxxiv.: Not only the critics but also the apologists refuse to consider these closing chapters, wholly or in part, as due to the author of Deuteronomy proper. (1) xxxi. 1–8, parallel to Num. xxvii. 15–23, is a continuation of iii. 28 *et seq.*, by the same author; xxxi. 9–13 forms the close of the law-book, xxx. 20; (2) xxxi. 14–30 serves as introduction to the song of Moses, belonging with it to the passages incorporated later in Deuteronomy; ch. xxxii. 44–47 is the ending to the song, and to xxxi. 15–29; 48–52 are taken from the Priestly Code (P); (3) xxxiii. is an old document incorporated by the editor; (4) xxxiv., Moses' death, is combined from different accounts; the following verses are taken from P: 1a and 5 (revised), 7–9 (Dillmann); 1–7a, 8, 9 (Wellhausen); 1a, 8, 9, 1a, 7a, 8, 9 (Kuenen); 1a, 8, 9 (Cornill). To J belong: 1b, 4 (Dillmann); 1b–7 (Cornill). To JE belong: 10 (Dillmann); 2–7, 10–12 (Wellhausen; revised); 1b–3, 5–7b, 10 (Kuenen). To D belong: 1a β 6 (revised), 11, 12 (Dillmann); and 1b β 2–3, an interpolation. According to Wellhausen, 2–7, 10–12, Kuenen 4–6, 7a, 11–12, Cornill 10–12, are editorial interpolations.

Date and Tendency.

Ranke, Hävernick, Hengstenberg, Baumgarten, Fr. W. Schultz, Keil, Kühel, Bissel, and other apologists ascribe the book to Moses. This view is criticized on the following grounds: (1) The account of the discourses of Moses, their writing and transmission (xxxi. 9, 24–26; xxviii. 58, 61; xxix. 19, 20, 26; xxx. 11; xvii. 18 *et seq.*), can not be by Moses. (2) Moses can not possibly have written the story of his death, nor compared himself with later prophets (ch. xxxiv.). (3) A later time is indicated by ii. 12 ("as Israel did"), by iii. 9–11, 14 ("unto this day"; comp. Judges x. 4 and i. 44 with i. 17); and by xix. 14 ("of old time"). (4) The writer speaks of the country east of the Jordan as "on this side" (i. 1, 5; iv. 41–49), though referring in the speeches to the western country (iii. 20, 25; xi. 30: in iii. 8 vice versa): therefore, he is in Palestine. (5) Although Israel is represented as about to enter Canaan, the language necessitates the inference that Israel is already settled in that country, engaged in agriculture or living in cities, under an organized government. (6) The book assumes a long period of development as regards politics and the state ("king's law": supreme court), religion (allusions to fundamental religious principles and the law of the Prophets; emphasis on the centralization of worship), and worship (position of the priests and Levites; gifts to the sanctuary). (7) The book uses sources that can be proved to be post-Mosaic. The precise dates given, however, vary.

Kleinert is of the opinion that the book was composed about the end of the period of the Judges, perhaps even by Samuel or by a contemporary of Samuel, and certainly in a truly Mosaic spirit. The

legislation occupies a middle ground in relation to that of the earlier books. As pre-Deuteronomic may be proved: Ex. xx.–xxiii., xxxiv. 11–26, xix. 5 *et seq.*, xiii. 1–13; Lev. xvii. 18 *et seq.*; Num. xxxiii. 50 *et seq.*, iii. 12 *et seq.*; the principal enactments in Lev. xviii.–xx.; the content of Ex. xii. 1–14, 21–23, 43–50; Lev. xiii. xiv. Post-Deuteronomic: Lev. xi., xv. 16 *et seq.*, xvii. 15 *et seq.*, xxii. 17 *et seq.*, xxiii., xxv. 39 *et seq.*, xxvii. 26–30 *et seq.*; Num. xv. 37 *et seq.*; xviii. 15, 21 *et seq.*; xxviii., xxix. Moses' blessing, xxxiii., dates from the early time of the Judges. Ch. xxxi. 14–29, xxxii. 1–43, 48–52, xxxiv. must be separated as non-Deuteronomic.

Different Dates Assigned.

The book is assumed to have been composed during the earlier, but post-Solomonic, time of the Kings, by Delitzsch and Oettli; under Hezekiah, by Vaihinger and König; under Manasseh, by Ewald, Riehm, W. R. Smith, Wildeboer, Kautzsch, Kittel, Dernier, Valeton; under Josiah, by De Wette, Bleck, George, Vatke, Graf, Wellhausen, Kuenen, Dillmann, Cornill, Stade, Reuss, and nearly all critics since Graf-Wellhausen. Gesenius and the more recent French critics, as D'Eichthal, Havet, Vernes, Horst, have assumed a date during, or later than, the Exile.

The assumption that the book was composed under Hezekiah, Manasseh, or Josiah is based on the hypothesis that the law-book which was discovered in the Temple by the priest Hilkiah in the eighteenth year of the reign of King Josiah, 621 B.C., as narrated in II Kings xxii. *et seq.*, was virtually the present Deuteronomy, the only difference of opinion being as to how long it had been composed. Most of the advocates of the Josianic period even say that the book was composed and hidden with the definite intention that it should be brought to light in that way. This hypothesis is difficult to maintain, for a number of improbabilities must be assumed in order to prove that the code found at the time of Josiah was Deuteronomy. All that can be claimed is that the narrator of the story of the finding and of the reforms attendant upon it adopts in part the language of Deut. This view is exposed to the insuperable objection that the religion which brought truth into the world can not have been founded upon a deception. That this fundamental book of religion, containing such a free and pure stream of truth, could be pseudepigraphic, and that the whole nation should have considered as of Mosaic origin and of divine authority, and have adopted at once, without objection or criticism, a book which was a forgery, of the existence of which no one knew anything before that time, and which demanded radical modifications of the religious life, and especially of worship, is inconceivable.

Those critics who recognize these objections, but for critical reasons hesitate to take Moses as the author, assert, therefore, that the book is in its essentials a faithful reproduction of the teaching of Moses, filling in the outlines given by the latter; and that there are no objections to assuming that inspired men, working in the spirit of Moses, and sustaining to him the uninterrupted relation of spiritual succession, should feel justified in rendering his teaching and his law comprehensible for their own time, supplementing and developing them, and that the book thus composed is none the less Mosaic in spirit. Modern criticism holds that the book was prepared for the purpose of realizing the ideals of the Prophets in the national life of Israel. It is the summary of the prophetic deliverances of the eighth and seventh centuries, though not altogether free from impairments of the prophetic ideals. Some critics (Cheyne, "Jeremiah," pp. 65 *et seq.*) consider it as a product of the priestly-prophetic circles, an assumption that is certainly correct (comp. xvii. 9 *et seq.*, xxiv. 8).

Although the place assigned traditionally to Deut. as containing the end of the Mosaic legislation, and as presupposing the existence of Ex.–Num., is disputed by modern criticism, yet all critics agree that it is based on previous sources that have in part been preserved. This applies certainly to J and to E, both in the narrative and the legal portions. J in the narrative: i. 8, comp. Gen. xv. 18; i. 45, comp. Num. xiv. 16; iii. 15 *et seq.*, comp. Num. xxxii. 29; otherwise the story is recapitulated from E. In the Law the close relation and connection with the Book of the Covenant contained in E (Ex. xx. 24–xxiii. 19) is most noticeable, Steuernagel being the only one to dispute this, and the so-called Decalogue in J (Ex. xxxiv.). It is a matter of dispute whether the author of Deuteronomy knew J and E as separate works, or after they had been united into JE and incorporated into the Tetrateuch. The priority of the Decalogue of Ex. xx. or that of Deut. v. is also a much disputed question. Deuteronomy takes a very independent stand toward its sources, the reproduction being a free modification or enlargement. Wellhausen and Stade have therefore assumed it to be an enlarged edition of the old Book of the Covenant, and Kuenen, followed especially by Cornill, has brought forward the hypothesis that Deut. supplanted the Book of the Covenant.

Sources and Redaction.

It is a very important question under discussion, whether the author of Deuteronomy was acquainted with P; whether, therefore, the latter was the earlier book, if not in its present codification, at least in content. P is asserted to be older by Dillmann, Delitzsch, Oettli, and, of course, by the traditionalists. As regards history they quote iv. 3 = Num. xxv. (leading astray of the Israelites); i. 37, iii. 26, iv. 21 (Aaron and Moses forbidden to enter Canaan) = Num. xx. 12, 24, xxvii. 14; i. 23 (number of the spies) = Num. xiii. 1 *et seq.*; x. 3 (the Ark of shittim-wood) = Ex. xxxvii. 1; x. 22 (the number "70") = Gen. xlvi. 27; xxxi. 2, xxxiv. 7 (the age of Moses) = Ex. vii. 7. In the Law the many allusions to the law of holiness belonging to P (Lev. xvii.–xxvi.), the assumption of several "torot," and especially Deut. xiv. in comparison with Lev. xi., confirm this view. According to other critics the historical references are derived from notes in JE, no longer extant, and as regards the Law they reverse the relation in every case. P presupposes Deut.; so that, for instance, Lev. xi. was modeled upon Deut. xiv.

The redaction of Deut. passed, according to Wellhausen, through three stages: (1) the original Deut. —xii.–xxvi.; (2) two enlarged editions independent

of each other—i.–iv., xii.–xxvi., xvii., and v.–xi., xii.–xxvi., xxviii.–xxx.; (3) combination of the two editions and incorporation of the work so formed into the Hexateuchic code. Deuteronomy was in the first place combined only with JE; a later editor combined this work with P after the component parts of the latter had been put together. Dillmann assumes the following three stages of redaction down to Ezra: (1) Pg + E + J; (2) PgEJ + D; (3) PgEJD + Ph (law of holiness). The views in regard to the redaction depend on what is considered as the original Deut. and into what and how many parts it is divided.

According to the Graf-Wellhausen theory of the relation of Deut. to the Prophets, and its priority to P, the book marks a radical change in the Israelitic religion. Through the centralization of worship the popular exercise of religion, closely connected with the daily life, the home, and the house, is uprooted and all the sacred poetry of life destroyed. Worship is separated from life, and the sharp contrast of holy and profane arises between the two. The idea of the Church comes into existence; then a separate profession, that of the clergy, is created; and by transferring the priestly ideal to the whole people the way is prepared for the exclusive and particularistic character of later Judaism. As the prophetic ideas are formulated into concrete laws, religion is externalized and becomes a religion of law, an *opus operatum*. The people now know exactly what they have to do, for "it is written." Deuteronomy marks the beginning of the canon; religion becomes a book religion, an object of study, a theology. The people know what they may expect if they keep the Law. Religion assumes the nature of a covenant, a contract, and the doctrine of retribution becomes paramount. Further conclusions are then drawn by P as to post-exilic Judaism, Pharisaism, the Talmud, Rabbinism.

This whole conception is based on literary and religio-historical assumptions that are either wrong or doubtful. The doctrines and demands of Deut. have always been fundamental in Israel's religion. The book condemns and abolishes paganism. The alleged legitimacy of the decentralization and popularization of worship is based entirely upon a wrong interpretation of Ex. xx. 24. Centralization is the necessary consequence of monotheism and of the actual or ideal unity of the people. Law and prophecy are closely connected from the foundation of Judaism, beginning with Moses. The regulation of life according to divine law, the contrast between holy and profane, the rise of a canon and a theology, are incidental to the development of every religion that has ever controlled and modified the life of a people.

E. G. H. B. J.

DEUTERONOMY RABBAH. See Debarim Rabbah.

DEUTSCH, ALEXANDER: French financier; died April 18, 1889. He was head of the firm of A. Deutsch & Sons, of Paris, and was one of the most prominent financiers in that city, his firm taking the lead in the organization of the mineral-light ("éclairage minéral") industry. He was also prominent in other industries, and his exertions in the industrial interests of France won for him the ribbon of the Legion of Honor. Deutsch took an active part in Jewish affairs, and contributed liberally to the charitable institutions of Paris.

Bibliography: *Archives Israélites*, 1889, pp. 141-142.

S. A. R.

DEUTSCH, ANTON: Hungarian journalist and politico-economic writer; born at Budapest Oct. 21, 1848. He studied in Budapest and Paris. Since 1870 he has worked with the "Pester Lloyd," the economic articles in which come from his pen. His most important writings are: "Fünfundzwanzig Jahre Ungarischer Volkswirtschaft und Finanzen" and "Magyar Vásárok Története" (History of the Hungarian Fairs).

Bibliography: *Szinnyei*; *Magyar Irók Tarà*; *Pallas Lexicon*, iv.

S. M. W.

DEUTSCH, CAROLINE: German novelist; born at Namesto, a small Hungarian village, Feb. 23, 1846. Her father, a rabbi, was German in culture, and the German language and spirit prevailed in the family. While still very young, Caroline began to write verse, some appearing in Berlin newspapers. In 1870 she graduated as a public teacher, obtaining at the same time a permanent position on the "Jüdische Presse" of Berlin. Several novelettes from her pen were published in the Berlin "Volkszeitung."

In recent years she has written chiefly for the "Hamburger Nachrichten." The scenes of her novels are mostly laid in Hungary, and she vividly describes the life of the Hungarian peasant and small tradesman. In 1875 she married, and although her legal name was Caroline Weiss, she still wrote under her former name. Of her writings may be mentioned: "Ueber Klippen," a novel, in 2 vols., Dresden, 1894; "Aus Drang und Not," Prague, 1897; "Besiegt," "Die Tochter des Hirten," and "Ilonka," published in 2 vols., Hamburg; "In Letzter Stunde," Leipsic, 1897.

S. M. Z.

DEUTSCH, DAVID: German rabbi; born at Zülz, Silesia, 1810; died at Sohrau, Silesia, July 31, 1873. He was brought up by his relative Menahem Deutsch, at Breslau. He studied Talmud under Mordecai Benet at Nikolsburg, and under Moses Sofer at Presburg. Deutsch was called to the rabbinate of Myslowitz, Prussia, in 1838, and that of Sohrau in 1845. David Deutsch, like his older brother Israel Deutsch, was a champion of Orthodoxy, and led the protest against the nomination of Abraham Geiger as rabbi of Breslau. Deutsch contributed articles to most of the Jewish periodicals. The following are his works: "Habakkuk Meturgam u-Me bo'ar" (Habakkuk Translated and Explained), a German translation with notes (Breslau, 1837); "Rücksprache mit Allen Gläubigen des Rabbinischen Judenthums" (Breslau, 1843), a reply, written in collaboration with his brother Israel Deutsch, to Abraham Geiger's pamphlet "Ansprache an Meine Gemeinde"; "Asof Asefah" (The Gathering of an Assembly), a protest against the rabbinical conferences at Brunswick in 1844 and at Frankfort in 1845 (Breslau, 1846);

"Die Orgel in der Synagoge," a refutation of the arguments of S. Löw in favor of the use of the organ in the synagogue; a German translation of Isaac Troki's "Ḥizzuḳ Emunah," with critical notes (Breslau, 1865). Deutsch's sermons had a felicitous combination of the older style with modern rhetoric, and some of those delivered on public occasions were published.

Bibliography: *Der Israelit*, 1873, pp. 803–805; Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael*, p. 232; *Jüdisches Literaturblatt*, 1902, No. 11; J. Norden, *David Deutsch, ein Lebensbild*, 1902.

J. M. Sel.

DEUTSCH (AARON), DAVID: Hungarian rabbi and Talmudic author; born in Raudnitz, Bohemia, about 1812; died at Balassa-Gyarmath, Hungary, April 26, 1878. He received his early education under his grandfather, Joseph Deutsch, who was rabbi in Raudnitz, and then frequented the yeshibot of Prague and Presburg, being one of the favored disciples of Moses Sofer. He lived subsequently in Irsa, where he married, and after the death of his wife moved to Budapest, where he lectured on Talmud to a small society. In 1846 he was called as rabbi to Sebes and in 1851 to Balassa-Gyarmath, where he officiated till his death.

In the Reform movement, which began with the Hungarian Jewish Congress of 1868, Deutsch was one of the most uncompromising leaders of Orthodoxy; and to his efforts the legal recognition of the autonomy of the Orthodox congregations in Hungary was largely due. He was a great ascetic, and was in sympathy with the Ḥasidim, although he did not adopt all their tenets. As typical of his views may be quoted the facts that he declared it sinful to pray in a synagogue in which the almemar was not in the center, and that he prohibited the winding up and setting of an alarm-clock on Friday so that it should ring on Saturday.

Of his works a collection of responsa, under the title "Goren Dawid" (David's Threshing-Floor), was published after his death by his sons (Pacs, 1885).

Bibliography: Preface to *Goren Dawid*.

S. D.

DEUTSCH, DAVID B. MENAHEM MANDEL: Hungarian rabbi and Talmudist; born about 1760; died in 1830 at Novo Mesto (Waag-Neustadtl), Hungary. He officiated first at Szerdahely, and subsequently, after 1810, at Waag-Neustadtl. One of the most prominent Hungarian rabbinical authorities of the early part of the nineteenth century, he was distinguished for his nobility of character. Stories on his high views of life are still current in many districts of Hungary. He was classed among the foremost of Jewish philanthropists. Deutsch often gave a poor applicant money without counting or even looking at it; and, if his purse was exhausted, he would give him any object of value that happened to be at hand. Deutsch was also celebrated for his wit and humor, of which he often made effective use in his capacity as preacher. His piety was such that he never raised his head, regarding it as inconsistent with true humility and the fear of God; and he never looked beyond his immediate surroundings —"the four cubits."

Deutsch was the author of the following works: (1) "Ohel Dawid" (Tent of David), Vienna, 1819–25, novellæ, in two volumes, to several Talmudic treatises, some of which appeared under the same title in 1822; (2) "Ohel Dawid," Presburg, 1836, novellæ to the treatises Shebu'ot and Yebamot; (3) halakic discussions in Aryeh Judah b. Samuel Żebi's "Heleḳ Rishon mi-She'elot u-Teshubot ha-Geonim Batra'e," Prague, 1861; (4) halakic discussions in Wolf b. Löb Lasch's "Ḳedushat Yisrael II." (Vienna, 1829). Eleazar Shemen Roḳeaḥ, an old friend of Deutsch, collected posthumously all the responsa which the latter had addressed to him in the course of many years, printing them as a memorial to his friend. It may be noted as a bibliographical peculiarity of the "Ohel Dawid" that all the copies contain manuscript glosses by the author. Deutsch revised his book after it had been printed, and noted the corrections on the margins before the book left his hands.

Bibliography: Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael*, p. 232; Münz, *Rabbi Eleazar, Genannt Schemen Rokeach*, pp. 106–109.

L. G.

DEUTSCH, EMANUEL OSCAR MENAHEM: Orientalist; born at Neisse, in Silesia, Oct. 28, 1829; died at Alexandria, Egypt, May 12, 1873. His early training was conducted by his uncle, David Deutsch of Myslowitz, to whom he owed his wide acquaintance with Hebrew literature. His education was completed at the University of Berlin, where, under Boeckh and Meineke, he became an accurate classical scholar. From Berlin he went to London to accept an appointment in the British Museum, to which he had been recommended by Asher Asher. Thenceforward he was known for his labors in the British Museum and for the efforts he made to promote Semitic studies in the outside world. His work in the library is, of course, not on record in a separate form; and his best official monument is to be found in the "Phenician Inscriptions" published by the trustees, in which the editor, W. S. A. Vaux, received invaluable aid from him.

Deutsch's literary work outside the museum was of two kinds: either purely scientific essays, acute in criticism and lucid in statement—like the article on the Targumim and on the Samaritan Pentateuch in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible"—or brilliant popular expositions of some learned work, like his famous essay on the Talmud in the "Quarterly Review" for Oct., 1867. This created probably a greater sensation than any other review article in England dealing with a purely literary subject, and caused that number of the "Quarterly" to be repeatedly reprinted. The article itself was translated into several languages, and contributed to create an interest in the Talmud wherever the essay was read. Though there was little that was new in the facts adduced—the literary history being derived from Wolf and the wise and witty sayings from Dukes—yet the skill with which the pertinent topics were grouped, the brilliancy of the style, and the underlying enthusiasm of the writer made it a striking performance. Some of its effect was due to the implied suggestion that the key to the life of the founder of Christianity was to be sought for in the surrounding ideas in Palestine. The renewed attention given to the Talmud in Christian circles, at any rate in England, was undoubtedly due to the article. The ambition

of his life to produce a more exhaustive work on the Talmud was thus shadowed forth; but the failure of his health compelled him to abandon the project.

This famous essay was succeeded some time afterward by an article in the "Quarterly Review" on "Islam," which was not so successful because not dealing with so novel a subject and because Deutsch was not a special student of Arabic. He also contributed the article on "Versions" to Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," and besides wrote more than 190 articles for "Chambers's Cyclopædia." Deutsch had an excellent faculty, cultivated by practise, of deciphering inscriptions. His letters to the "Times" respecting the discovery and contents of the Moabite Stone aroused considerable attention.

During the sittings of the Ecumenical Council at the Vatican, 1869–70, Deutsch acted as special correspondent of the "Times," and wrote a number of incisive letters on its deliberations.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. R. Haweis, in *Contemporary Review*, 1873; *Jewish Chronicle*, May, 1873; *Times*, and *Daily News*, May 14, 1873; *Athenæum*, May 17, 1873; Lady Strangford, memoir of Deutsch in *Literary Remains*, London, 1874; S. Lane-Poole, in *Dict. Nat. Biography*.

J. G. L.—J.

DEUTSCH, GOTTHARD: Theologian; born at Kanitz, Austria, Jan. 31, 1859. The descendant of a rabbinical family (see BRAUNSCHWEIG, JACOB ELIEZER) and the son of a Talmudist, he received an early training in rabbinical literature while he attended the school of his native city. In 1868 he entered the gymnasium of Nikolsburg, continuing his studies at home, and graduated in 1876. He subsequently attended the rabbinical seminary and the University of Breslau, where he remained until the year 1879. Continuing his studies in Vienna, he graduated from the university in 1881, receiving his rabbinical diploma from I. H. Weiss. Immediately thereafter he was called to teach the religious school of the congregation of Brünn, and upon the death of Daniel Ehrmann (1882) he was appointed by the state as teacher of religion in the German high schools of the Moravian capital. In 1887, simultaneously invited to the rabbinates of Boskowitz and Brüx, he chose the latter position, which he resigned in 1891 to accept the professorship of Jewish history and philosophy of religion in the Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati, which position he still (1903) occupies.

Deutsch has been a frequent contributor to the Jewish and to the secular press. Articles from his pen have appeared in "Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums," "Israelitische Wochenschrift," "Jüdisches Literaturblatt," and a great number of American periodicals, notably "Deborah," "American Israelite," "The Reform Advocate," "Jewish Comment," "The American Journal of Theology," "The New World," "The Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis," "New-Yorker Staatszeitung," and others. He has further published: "Symbolik in Cultus und Dichtung bei den Hebräern," Brünn, 1886; "Paradigmentafeln zur Hebräischen Grammatik," Brünn, 1886; "Gedenkrede an dem Sarge des Verewigten Dr. Aron Bärwald," Brüx, 1891; "Epochs of Jewish History," New York, 1894; "Theory of Oral Tradition," Cincinnati, 1896; "Philosophy of Jewish History," Cincinnati, 1897; "Andere Zeiten," a novel, Berlin, 1898; "Unlösbare Fesseln," a novel. He was the editor of the "Deborah," a German monthly, from the death of its founder, Isaac M. Wise, until the paper ceased publication (1903). S.

DEUTSCH DE HATVAN, ALEXANDER: Hungarian merchant and financier; born at Arad Nov. 17, 1852. He was educated in Budapest and Berlin. As the head of the firm of Ignatz Deutsch & Sons, he rendered great service to the sugar industry in Hungary, establishing beet-sugar factories at Nagy Surany, Hatvan, and Garamvölgye. In recognition of his services his family was raised to the nobility in 1879.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Pallas Lexicon*, iv.

S. M. W.

DEUTSCH, HEINRICH: Hungarian educator; born at Trencsen-Bán June 12, 1819; died at Budapest Dec. 18, 1889. After teaching in the elementary schools of the provincial communities of Lovasberény and Kecskemét, he was called to the Talmud Torah school of Budapest in 1859. Enjoying a high reputation as an educator and a scholar by virtue of his attainments in Jewish science and his literary activity, he was appointed in 1868 director of the reorganized Jewish Teachers' College, and in 1876 professor of the Bible and Talmud in the lower division of the newly founded Rabbinical Seminary. Deutsch was the first in Hungary to lecture in the Hungarian language on the Talmud.

His chief works are: "A Hebrew Grammar" (in Hungarian, 1859); Hungarian translation of the prayer-book (seven editions since 1864); "Beleuchtung der Dogmentheorie Leopold Löw," Leipsic, 1871 (under the pseudonym "David Nieto Redivivus"); "Meḳor Ḥayyim," text-book of the Jewish religion, in four parts, Budapest, 1878; Hungarian translation of the Pentateuch with comments, 1887–1890.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Pallas Nagy Lexicon*, s.v.

S. L. V.

DEUTSCH, ISRAEL: German rabbi; born in Zülz, Prussian Silesia, April 2, 1800; died in Beuthen June 7, 1853. From 1829 until his death he officiated as rabbi in Beuthen, achieving distinction as a preacher, Talmudist, and Hebraist. In the two treatises "Rücksprache mit Allen Gläubigen des Rabbinischen Judenthums, etc." (written in conjunction with his brother, David Deutsch), Breslau, 1843, and "Zur Würdigung der Braunschweiger Rabbinerversammlung," *ib.* 1845, he vigorously opposed the Reform movement. After his death his two brothers, Abraham, rabbi of Gleiwitz, and David, rabbi of Sohrau, published "Proben aus dem Literarischen Nachlasse des Israel Deutsch," Gleiwitz, 1855.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, 1853, No. 34.

S. M. Ko.

DEUTSCH, JOEL: Hebraist and teacher of deaf-mutes; born in Nikolsburg, Moravia, March 20, 1813; died in Vienna May 1, 1899. Deutsch is remembered as a close student of rabbinical literature, and was an energetic collector of Hebrew books. He took great interest in the instruction of deaf-mutes; and when the "Allgemeines Oesterreichisch-

Israelitisches Taubstummen-Institut" was founded at Nikolsburg in 1844, he entered it as teacher. In 1852 this institution was moved to Vienna, and Deutsch became director, retiring in 1888. In 1859 he was decorated with the "Goldene Verdienstkranz," and in 1869 received the title "Kaiserlicher Rath." Pupils of Deutsch have been called to become teachers in the asylums of New York, London, and Budapest.

He was author of the following works: "Religionslehre für Israel. Taubstumme," Vienna, 1863; "Biblische Geschichte für Israel. Taubstumme," *ib.* 1863; "Wörtersammlung zur Gedächtnissübung für den Ersten Anschauungsunterricht Taubstummer Kinder," *ib.* 1881; "Wörter- und Aufgabensammlung für den Ersten Unterricht Taubstummer Kinder," *ib.* 1881; "Vorlege-Blätter zur Einleitung der Unentbehrlichsten Grammatischen Formen," Teplitz, 1877.

Bibliography: Lippe, *Bibliographisches Lexicon.*

S. L. Y.

DEUTSCH, MORDECAI BEN ENOCH JUDAH: Rabbi of Kolin, Bohemia, and its subordinate communities; he flourished at the beginning of the eighteenth century. He was the author of a work called "Mor Deror" (Flowing Myrrh), novellæ on the following Talmudic treatises: Ketubot, Baba Ḳamma, Baba Meẓi'a, Ḥullin, Yoma, and Shebu'ot (Prague, 1738).

Bibliography: Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 1657; Zedner, *Cat. Hebr. Books Brit. Mus.* p. 208; Walden, *Shem ha-Gedolim he-Ḥadash*, ii. 43.

L. G. M. Sel.

DEUTSCH, NIETO REDIVIVUS. See Deutsch, Heinrich.

DEUTSCH, SIMON: Austrian Hebraist and revolutionist; died at Constantinople March 24, 1877. As a young man he devoted himself to Hebrew studies in Vienna, and catalogued in collaboration with A. Kraft the Hebrew manuscripts in the possession of the Vienna Imperial Library. In 1848 he sided with the revolution, escaping after its collapse to France. In Paris, through the assistance of Mme. Strauss, the friend of Börne, he entered upon a business career, in which he was successful. After the fall of the Commune Deutsch was denounced to the government as a Communist. He was arrested and thrown into the "Orangerie" prison of Versailles, and only the efforts of the Austrian ambassador saved his life. He died in Constantinople while there on business, but was interred in Paris.

Bibliography: Johannes Nordmann, *Von einem Achtundvierziger*, in *Neue Freie Presse*, 1883, reproduced in the *Allg. Zeit. des Jud.* 1883, pp. 293–296; Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* s.v.

S. A. R.

DEUTSCH-ISRAELITISCHER GEMEINDEBUND. See Gemeindebund, Deutsch-Israelitischer.

DEUTZ, ELIJAH BEN ISAAC: Rabbinical author; lived at Hamburg in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He was the author of "Pi Eliyahu" (Mouth of Elijah; Altona, 1735), a commentary on "Pereḳ Shirah."

Bibliography: Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 928; Zedner, *Cat. Hebr. Books Brit. Mus.* pp. 208, 638.

L. G. M. Sel.

DEUTZ, EMMANUEL (Menahem): Chief rabbi of the Central Consistory of the Jews of France; born at Coblenz, in Rhenish Prussia, 1763; died Jan. 31, 1842. After studying for some years at the yeshibah at Mayence, he was appointed rabbi in his native town. He was a member of the assemblies of 1806 and 1807 (see Sanhedrin), and, in conformity with the organization instituted by Napoleon I., he took his place in the Central Consistory beside David Sinzheim and Abraham de Cologna. From 1822 he was the only chief rabbi of the Consistory. He was a preacher of the old school, for, although he knew French, he never used it in the pulpit. His life was saddened by domestic sorrows, especially by his son's apostasy and unfortunate political rôle.

J. J. W.

DEVENISHKI: Village in the government of Wilna, Russia. The census of 1898 shows a population of 1,877, of whom 1,283 are Jews. Of the latter 277 are artisans. About 66 Jewish women and girls earn a livelihood by knitting stockings, which are sold in Wilna. About 93 people are employed as day-laborers. The remainder of the population are engaged in business. Among charitable institutions there are the poorhouse, the gemilut ḥasadim, the biḳḳur ḥolim, etc. The village possesses a Jewish library. There are a Jewish free school with 84 pupils, a Talmud Torah with 20 pupils, and 5 ḥadarim with 56 pupils.

H. R. S. J.

DEVIL. See Demonology and Satan.

DEVOTION (כונה): The state of religious consecration. It is the most essential element in worship; so that a divine service without it is "like to a body without a soul." To such as pray to God without the spirit of fervent devotion, the stern sentence is applicable: "With their mouth and their lips they honored me, but their heart they removed far from me" (Isa. xxix. 13). Devotion is the entire dedication of the worshiper to the service of God, the banishment of all other thoughts from the mind and heart, so that the whole inner life centers in the one idea of God's greatness and goodness (Ber. 29b, 30a; Maimonides, "Yad," Tefillah, iv. 16). Every fulfilment of a divine commandment ("miẓwah") requires devotion or consecration of mind and heart to the sacred work to be done ("miẓwot ẓerikot kawwanah"; Ber. 13a, b; Meg. 20a; Ḥul. 31a, b; Yer. Yeb. viii., 9a). Hence the cabalists enjoined men, before fulfilling any commandment, to expressly consecrate the mind to the work by certain formulas (see Kawwanah; Loria, Isaac).

The term "devotion" is also used for prayer itself, especially for the extra and occasional prayers added to the regular service (תחנה and בקשה, "supplication" and "petition"). Among pious Jewish people there is a strong craving for frequent communion with the Creator; the fixed and regular prayers and services can not satisfy such craving, and the recommendation of Rabbi Simeon (Abot ii. 18), "When thou prayest, do not make thy prayer a fixed reading, but let it be an appeal for divine mercy and grace," is understood to refer to this kind of devotion. Prayers are frequently compared to sacrifices (Ber. 26b), and as there were two kinds of sacrifices, "ḳorban

ḥobah" (obligatory sacrifice) and "ḳorban nedabah" (voluntary or free-will sacrifice), so also prayers are of two kinds, "tefillat ḥobah" (obligatory prayer) and "tefillat nedabah" (voluntary prayer; compare "Yad," Tefillah, i. 9). The ancient Ḥasidim are said to have spent in silent meditation a short time before and after the service (*ib.* 32b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 295.

K. M. F.

DEVOTIONAL LITERATURE: Aside from the regular prayers, which are treated under LITURGY, there exists a literature of private devotions, prayers offered on special occasions. Such devotions are strongly recommended in the Talmud, where private prayers composed by individuals on various occasions are to be found. R. Eliezer (Ber. iv. 4) says: "He who makes his prayer a fixed form ["ḳeba' "] has no true devotion." "This," say Rabbah and R. Joseph, "is because he fails to add thoughts or expressions of his own" (Ber. 29b). [Compare the so-called "Lord's Prayer," taught by Jesus (Luke xi. 2–4; Matt. vi. 9–13), and the parallels given in C. Taylor's "Sayings of the Jewish Fathers," pp. 128–129.—K.] Talmudic devotional prayers may be classified as: (1) general, (2) for forgiveness of sin, (3) when studying the Torah, (4) for the restoration of the Holy Temple. The following are examples of the several kinds:

1. R. Eliezer said: "May it be Thy will, O Lord our God, and God of our fathers, that no personal enmity or envy enter my heart or the hearts of others. May the Law be our occupation through the days of our life, and may our words of devotion come before Thee." R. Ḥiyyah b. Abba added: "May our hearts cleave to Thy Name in reverence. Keep us from things Thou hatest and bring us nearer to those that Thou lovest. O favor us for Thy Name's sake" (Yer. Ber. iv. 2).

2. "Lord of the worlds, Thou well knowest that our aim is to do Thy will. But what interferes? The leaven in the dough [bad inclinations] and the servitude of the ruling government. O may it be Thy will to save us from these, that we may do Thy will with a true heart."

3. R. Saphra: "O let peace reign between the heavenly and the earthly households, and between those who study the Torah for its own sake and those who study it for reward" (*ib.*).

4. "O let Him reveal and show His kingdom over us speedily. O let Him build His house in our days. O let Him grace the remnant of His people Israel with peace, loving-kindness, and mercy. For the sake of His great Name" (Massek. Soferim, xiv. 12). The morning devotion of the house of R. Jannai was as follows: "May it please Thee, O Lord my God, to grant me a good heart, a good lot, a good companion, a good name, a good [unbegrudging] eye, a humble soul, and a devout spirit. May Thy Name not be profaned through us, and let us not be a byword among the people. Let not our remainder be destroyed, nor our hope shattered. Let us not be under obligation to a human being, whose gift is insignificant and its humiliation great. Let our lot be with the Law and among those who do Thy will. O build Thy Holy City and Temple speedily in our days" (Yer. Ber. iv. 2, 7d).

Devotional prayers from various rabbis (*ib.* pp. 16, 17, 29, 60) are copied in the prayer-book, including a prayer against bad dreams, that they may presage good results (Ber. 55b), which was inserted in congregational responses to the priest's blessing on holidays.

In the geonic period private devotional prayers developed side by side with the liturgy; and private prayers were inserted in the prayer-book of Amram Gaon (846 C.E.), as well as in the siddur of Saadia Gaon. One of these is quoted in the collection of private prayers, "Ḳeri'ah Ne'emanah," by Samuel David Ottolengi (Venice, 1715), which contains also a prayer composed by R. Nissim to be recited before the morning prayer of Yom Kippur. Judah ha-Ḥasid and his pupil, Eliezer of Worms, composed devotional prayers which were published under the titles "Tefillot R. Jehudah Ḥasid" and "Yoreh Ḥaṭṭaim."

Midnight Devotion.

Regarding the midnight prayer, חצות, for the restoration of the Jewish state and the rebuilding of the Temple (see Zohar, Wa-Yaḳhel; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Oraḥ Ḥayyim, 1), recited especially in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, see ḤAZOT. Collections of such prayers were made by Ẓebi b. Ḥayyim of Wilmersdorf under the title "Likḳuṭe Ẓebi," Sulzbach, 1797; by David Tevele Posner, Hamburg, 1715; and by Aaron Berechiah Modena, author of the collection of devotional prayers for various occasions entitled "Ma'abar Yabbok," and of "Seder Ashmurat ha-Boḳer" (matins) for the society known as "Me'ire Shaḥar" (Early Risers or Vigilants), Mantua, 1624. This, under the title "Shomerim la-Boḳer," was translated by Mrs. Ellusch in 1724. Joseph Jedidiah Carmi is the author of "Kenaf Renanim" (The Singers' Wing; Venice, 1626), containing devotions and hymns for every day in the week and for holidays.

From a literary point of view, Carmi's devotions have no equal among the Hebrew collections, and yet, while they were approved by the Rabbis and adopted by several Early Risers' societies in Italy, they were contested as an innovation and a superfluity before a council of rabbis, who finally decided to allow them, not as an addition to the prayer-book but as an adjunct for voluntary devotionalists (see decisions in the Preface, 6a, 12b).

Some devotions are composed of words all of which begin with the same letter. Thus, א in the prayer "Elef Alafim" (A Thousand Alefs) by Joseph b. Sheshet Latimi, first published with the "Iggeret" of Isaac Akrish, Constantinople, 1570; a similar one by Moses Zacuto in his "Iggeret," Leghorn, 1870; the letter ה in the prayer "Baḳḳashat ha-Hehin" by David Ulma (Benjacob, "Oẓar ha-Sefarim," pp. 82, 329); י in a prayer composed of Biblical verses beginning with "Lord" ("Siddur" of Amram, ii. 3a); ל in the "Baḳḳashat ha-Lamedin" of Meïr Hesse, Altona, 1829; מ in the "Baḳḳashat ha-Memin" of Jedaiah Bedersi, published with his "Beḥinat 'Olam," Mantua, 1556 (see "Ha-Sharon" to "Ha-Karmel," i., No. 42); ש in Aaron Voltera's "Baḳḳashah Ḥadashah" (A New Petition) or ש"ש"ין ("300 Words Beginning with ש"), Leghorn, 1740. Some parts of these alphabetical devotions are in pure and fluent Hebrew, while the style of the others is cramped and forced.

Divers devotional prayers were composed for Friday night and for Saturday, day and night. They are known as "Zemirot." Regarding the Tashlik prayer on New-Year's Day, see TASHLIK; and for a prayer on entering the sukkah on the Feast of Tabernacles, see TABERNACLES, FEAST OF.

A petition before saying the Psalms reads: "May Thy mercy attend us in reading the Psalms, as if David himself—peace be to him!—had uttered them; to cleanse us of sin and to forgive us as even Thou hast forgiven David," etc.

There are prayers by Naḥmanides on crossing the sea, and for children ("Likḳuṭe Ẓebi," p. 97b, Wilna, 1817) and by Abraham Galicchi against epidemics

("Moshia' Ḥosim," p. 33b, Venice, 1587). The "Ma'aneh Lashon," by Jacob ben Solomon Darshan, published first at Prague, 1615, is a collection of prayers to be recited for the sick, also on visiting cemeteries, and on similar occasions, which is very popular in Russia and Poland. Among other devotional prayers mention may be made of the following: Moses Rieti, "Ma'on ha-Sho'alim," Venice, 1550; Isaiah Hurwitz, "Refu'at ha-Nefesh," Amsterdam, 1672; "Yoreh Ḥaṭṭa'im"; Pinchas Monselice, "Magen Ḥayyim," Mantua, 1657; Nathan Naṭa' Hanover, "Sha'are Ẓiyyon," 1662.

Raphael Solomon's prayer against an epidemic among cattle in Italy in 1712 is found in the collection of Matthew Levi ("Zebaḥ Todah," Leghorn, 1829). Others are: by Leon Modena, for a prisoner, in David Sabibi, "Mazzil Nefashot," Venice, 1743; by Moses Zacuto, the poor man's devotion, in Nathan Benjamin of Gaza, "Ḥemdat ha-Yamim," v. 29a, Leghorn, 1764; by David b. Ḥassin, "Tefillah le-Dawid," hymns 4, 7, Amsterdam, 1807; by Abraham Danzig, "Tefillah Zakkah," on the eve of the Day of Atonement; Naḥman Breslov, "Likḳuṭe Tefillot," Warsaw, 1873.

Eliezer Papu's "Bet Tefillah" (Hebrew and Ladino, Belgrade, 1860) includes the following prayers: by a learned man for those who support him; for a bar miẓwah; for a matrimonial suitor; on the marriage day; at a circumcision; for a teacher; for a shoḥeṭ; for a preacher to be able to deliver his sermons fluently and to please his audience. The prayers in a collection by Naḥman of Horodek ("Likḳuṭim," Korzec, 1809), all beginning with the words "Rab shel 'Olam" (Master of the World), are composed especially for Ḥasidim.

A modern Hebrew hymnal, "Zimrat Yah," by Moses Zele, Hamburg, 1857, intended to replace the old devotions, "which tend to degrade us in the eyes of the non-Jewish world," did not find recognition among the Jewish people, and is hardly known in devotional literature.

In the Vernacular: For those who could not read Hebrew, devotional works were composed in the vernacular. In the geonic period the Aramaic was the substitute (see Ber. 3a, Tosef.). A few of the Aramaic devotions are still in use in the seliḥot, such as "Raḥmana Eddekar Lanu," "May the Merciful remember us of the covenant of Abraham, the beloved," etc.; and the soliloquy "Maran de-bashamaya," "Our Master in heaven, to Thee we beg, even like a captive to his master. All captives are ransomed with money; but Thy people Israel, with mercy and supplication. O grant us our request and prayer, and let us not return from Thy presence in vain."

Most of the vernacular devotions are in the Judæo-German dialect, beginning with the seventeenth century, and were written mostly by women to supply the religious needs of their sex on various occasions. The earliest, "Teḥinnot u-Baḳḳashot" (Devotions and Petitions) was published at Basel in 1609 (Zedner, "Cat. Hebr. Books Brit. Mus." p. 448). A German pastor, Willemer of Gelnhausen, translated the "Teḥinnah," published at Amsterdam in 1650. The "Seder Teḥinnot," for week-days and holidays, published at Frankfort-on-the-Main in 1723, contains also prayers for removing the priests' share of the dough ("ḥallah"; p. 5); for baking the Sabbath cakes; for putting on Sabbath garments; before the immersion ("ṭebilah"); for the state of pregnancy, and before childbirth; for a rich woman seeking divine guidance in disposing of her fortune in good deeds (p. 12). Another teḥinnah, of Sulzbach, 1733, includes a petition for pious and scholarly children (p. 17b). A "Teḥinnah for Jewish Women," Vienna, 1838, for Sabbaths and holidays, includes a prayer to be recited on lighting the Sabbath candles, and a blessing on occasion of the approaching new moon.

Yiddish Teḥinnot.

The teḥinnot written in Yiddish are of late origin, and most of them have been published at Wilna from 1870 to date. The popular ones are: (1) "Teḥinnot Immahot" (The Matriarchs—Sarah, Rebekah, Rachel, and Leah), to be said during the month of Elul, composed by Seril, daughter of Jacob Dubno and wife of Mordecai Rapoport, Wilna, 1873. (2) "Teḥinnot Sheloshah She'arim" (Three Gates), by Sarah, daughter of Mordecai, former rabbi of Brest, Russia, for the following occasions: first gate, the precepts of חנ"ה, abbreviation of "ḥallah," "niddah," "hadlaḳah," for giving the priests' share of the dough, for observing the period of menstruation, and for lighting the Sabbath candles; second gate, for blessing the coming new moon; third gate, for the Penitential Days ("Yamim Nora'im"). The author's account of herself on the title-page reads: "Ich, Soreh, bass tovim, tuh es dem lieben Gott, boruch-hu wegen," etc. (I, Sarah, daughter of a good man, do this for the sake of the loving God, blessed be He) Wilna, 1873). (3) "Teḥinnot Sha'are Teshubah" (Gates of Penitence), for the month of Elul, by Mrs. Shifra, daughter of Judah Leib, rabbi of Lublin, Wilna, 1875. (4) "Erez Yisrael" Teḥinnah, Wilna, 1875, credited to Deborah, wife of R. Naphtali, formerly chief (nasi) of Palestine. In other editions it is called "The Jerusalem Teḥinnot at the Wailing Wall."

The names of the authors are nearly all fictitious and high-sounding, and have been affixed in order to make the teḥinnot salable. It is known that some of the teḥinnot were written by indigent students of the Rabbinical Seminary of Wilna or Jitomir (among others, Naphtali Maskil le-Ethon), and by Selekowitz, for nominal sums, and that the publishers stipulated that the writers should fashion the composition in tearful and heart-rending phrases to suit the taste of the women readers. This forced cultivation of devotional feeling rendered the teḥinnot exaggerated and over-colored, and this did not escape the criticism and ridicule of the men against the women who were such devotees of the teḥinnot.

The first attempt made to edit the teḥinnot in a modern language was by Joshua Heshel Miro in his collection "Gebetbuch für Gebildete Frauenzimmer Mosaischer Religion," Breslau, 1833. This was in Hebrew characters; a later edition was transliterated into German type by S. Blogg.

Letteris' "Taḥnune Bat Yehudah," translated from the German into Dutch ("Gebeden voor Israelitische Vrouwen," Amsterdam, 1853), was dedicated to Lady Judith Montefiore. S. Baer published "Ḳol Bat Ẓiyyon" (The Voice of the Daughter of Zion), Rödelheim, 1856, prayers for every day in the

year and for all circumstances of life, for married and unmarried women. Devotions in Hungarian have been written by Immanuel Löw, M. Stern, and A. Kiss.

A very popular compilation is that of Fanny Neuda (*née* Schmiedel), "Stunden der Andacht," Brünn, 1859, for girls and young women. It was translated into English by M. Mayer and published by L. H. Frank, New York, 1866. The best-known compilations in English are Ascher, "Book of Life," London, 1861; Bresslau, "Devotions for the Daughters of Israel," *ib.* 1861; Cohen, "Prayers for Family Use," *ib.* 1884; Miss Montagu, "Prayers for Jewish Working Girls"; Baroness L. D. Rothschild, "Prayers and Meditations," *ib.* 1869; Alice Lucas, "The Jewish Year," *ib.* 1898, 1903; Gustav Gottheil, "Sun and Shield," New York, 1898, taken chiefly from non-Jewish sources; Annie Josephine Levi, "Meditation of the Heart," New York, 1900 (also drawn from non-Jewish sources), with introduction by Gustav Gottheil.

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K. J. D. E.

DEW (טל).—Biblical Data: Moisture condensed from the atmosphere and gathered in small drops, specially upon the upper surface of plants. In Palestine dew "falls" in cloudless nights during the summer, and refreshes the vegetation, which without it would suffer. The westerly winds sweeping across the sea in the late summer months deposit this moisture in the form of mist like fine spray upon the summer crops; hence, "the dew of Hermon that cometh down upon the mountains of Zion" (Ps. cxxxiii. 2, Hebr.). Dew and rain are closely related to each other in Hebrew literature as sources of fertility and of regeneration of life (Micah v. 6 [7]). In the rainless season "the dew assuages the heat" (Ecclus. [Sirach] xviii. 16, xliii. 22); it is therefore as precious as rain (Gen. xxvii. 28; Deut. xxxiii. 13, 28; Zech. viii. 12), and the withholding of it, as of rain, is a curse (II Sam. i. 21; I Kings xvii. 1; Hag. i. 10). The summer dew is so copious as to saturate the fleece of wool (Judges vi. 37 *et seq.*) or the hair of the wanderer (Cant. v. 2). Suddenly it falls (II Sam. xvii. 12), and gently (Deut. xxxii. 2; Prov. xix. 12); it lies all night (Job xxix. 19), and rises and disappears in the morning (Ex. xvi. 14; Hos. vi. 4). Dew as the vivifying power is used as a simile of God (Hos. xiv. 6 [5]); it also symbolizes freshness (Ps. cx. 3: "the dew of thy youth") and resurrection: "A dew of herbs is thy dew, and the earth shall cast off the spirits of the dead" (Isa. xxvi. 19, Hebr.).

——In Post-Biblical Literature: According to Enoch lx. 20, "the spirit of the dew dwells at the ends of the heaven, close to the chambers of the rain, and its course is in winter and in summer." Winds coming from the middle of the twelve portals bring beneficial dew of prosperity; from other portals, hurtful dew accompanied by locusts and other calamities (Enoch lxxvi. 8 *et seq.*). This is also in accordance with rabbinical tradition: "In the sixth heaven, Makon, there are treasuries of hurtful dews and of beneficial dewdrops" (עליית טללים רעים וע' אנלים; Ḥag. 12b). "Between Pesaḥ and Shabu'ot a prayer is offered that God may preserve the people from the hurtful dews" (Lev. R. xxviii., with reference to Jer. v. 24). The two loaves of bread offered on Shabu'ot are waved to and fro in symbolical petition to the Ruler of heaven and earth and of the four winds to keep off the unpropitious winds and dews (Suk. 37b; Lev. R. *l.c.*).

Only on account of Israel does dew come as a blessing upon the world: on account of Jacob, who studied the Torah, or for the sake of Job, whose doors were kept wide open for the needy (Gen. R. lxvi.). "God promised Abraham under an oath never to let dew cease to bless his descendants, and therefore Elijah could not stop its fall by his words" (Yer. Ta'an. i. 63d; compare Bab. 3a, b). According to Samuel bar Naḥmani, dew comes as a heavenly gift and by the merit of no man (Yer. Ta'an. *l.c.*; Ber. v. 9b, after Micah vi. 6). On the other hand, the opinion is expressed that since the destruction of the Temple no dew of unmixed blessing falls (Soṭah ix. 12), and this on account of the cessation of the heave-offering and the tithes (Shab. 32b).

Dew of the Resurrection.

But the "dew of the Resurrection" is also stored up in 'Arabot, the highest heaven (Ḥag. 12b). By this dew the dead are revived (Yer. Ber. v. 9b; Yer. Ta'an. i. 63d, with reference to Isa. xxvi. 19). In Ḥag. 12b, Ps. lxviii. 10 (9) is referred to: "Thou didst send a plentiful rain to revive thine inheritance" (Hebr.). This verse is construed to allude to an incident at the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai. "When God appeared amidst the trembling of the earth on Sinai, life fled from the people of Israel and from all the living people in the land of Israel; and the angels said: 'Dost Thou desire to give Thy Law unto the dead or unto the living?' Then God dropped the dew of Resurrection upon all, and they revived." Regarding the Prayer for Dew and the liturgical poetry of Kalir for the first day of Passover, which contains many allusions to the dew of Resurrection, see Ṭal, Prayer for.

Bibliography: Cheyne and Black, *Encyc. Bibl.* s.v. *Dew*.

E. G. H. K.

DEW, THE PRAYER FOR. See Ṭal.

DEZA, DIEGO DE: Second inquisitor-general; Bishop of Salamanca, and professor of theology at the university of that city; subsequently Archbishop of Seville, in which city he died 1506; friend and protector of Christopher Columbus. After Tomas de Torquemada's death Deza was appointed inquisitor-general of all Spain (Sept. 1, 1499). While he held office, 1,664 persons were burned alive, and various penances and punishments were inflicted upon 52,456 persons. Deza was of Jewish descent, and in spite of the cruelty with which he persecuted his kindred, the Maranos, he was, toward the end of his life, publicly accused of being a Jew at heart.

He was buried in Seville Cathedral. Compare Inquisition.

D. M. K.

DHU NUWAS, ZUR'AH YUSUF IBN TUBAN AS'AD ABI KARIB: Jewish King of Yemen, 515–525. According to the Arabian historians the name "Dhu Nuwas" was given him on account of his curly hair (Ibn Khaldun, "Prolegomena," p. 311; Ḥamzah of Ispahan, "Annals," i. 133). Von Kremer connects the name with a fortress "Nuwash" in southern Arabia ("Süd-Arab. Sage," p. 90); but the Arabic derivation is substantiated by the name "Masruk," given him in the Syriac translation of John Psaltes. In Greek sources he is known as Δουναάν (acc.) or Δουναάς (nom.); while the name אכסונדרן found in John of Ephesus has been explained by Von Gutschmid as the Greek τῶν ἔξω Ἰνδῶν. In Ethiopic accounts he is called "Phineas." If the contradictory and sometimes legendary accounts of the personality of Dhu Nuwas given by the Arabian writers can be trusted, he was not a Jew by birth, but embraced Judaism after ascending the throne, taking the name of "Joseph." Having killed the debauched usurper Khani'ah Yanuf Dhu Shanatir, who endeavored to maltreat him, Dhu Nuwas successfully propagated Judaism in Yemen.

Name and Religion.

His zeal for Judaism brought about his fall. Having heard of the persecutions of the Jews by the Byzantine emperors, he retaliated by putting to death some Byzantine merchants who were traveling on business through Himyara. This destroyed the trade of Yemen with Europe and involved Dhu Nuwas in a war with the heathen king Aidug, whose commercial interests were injured thereby. Dhu Nuwas was defeated (521), but succeeded in reestablishing his kingdom. Soon, however, he entangled himself in a new difficulty. He made war against the Christian city Najran, in Yemen, which was a dependency of his kingdom; and on its capitulation, in spite, it is said, of his promise of immunity from punishment, he offered the citizens the alternative of embracing Judaism or being put to death. As they refused to renounce their faith, he executed their chief, Ḥarith (Aretas) ibn Kaleb, and three hundred and forty chosen men.

This event caused a great stir among the Christians; and the Roman emperor Justin I. requested the Negus Elẓbaa of Ethiopia to march against the Jewish king. Accordingly an Ethiopian army crossed the Red Sea to Yemen. Dhu Nuwas endeavored unsuccessfully to prevent its landing. The ensuing engagement terminated disastrously for Dhu Nuwas. His city of Zafora (Thafar), together with his queen and the treasure, fell into the hands of the enemy. Preferring death to capture, Dhu Nuwas rode into the sea and was drowned.

Attacked from Abyssinia.

The chief authority for these facts is the Syriac letter of Simeon of Bet-Arsham, which is found in the histories of John of Asia, Pseudo-Denys of Telmaḥre, and Zacharias, the best edition of which is that of Guidi ("Reale Acad. dei Lincei," 1881). Grätz, Pretorius (1870), George (1883), Halévy, and Pereira have thrown doubts upon the authenticity of the narrative, which has also found its way into the "Martyrium Arethæ." Halévy, especially, has tried to prove the apocryphal character of this letter, because of certain contradictions which it contains, and has endeavored to show that it was written at the time of Justinian and not of Justin. The consolatory epistle written in 519 to the Himyaritic Christians by Jacob of Serug ("Z. D. M. G." xxxi. 402 *et seq.*) merely speaks of their persecution, and says nothing about the conversion of the king. John Psaltes, Abbot of Beth Afthonius (d. 538), wrote a Greek hymn, which was afterward translated into Syriac, in which he speaks of the persecutions, but does not in any way mention the Jews. Neither Cosmas Indicopleustes, who was at Adulis when the Christian King of Aksum, Elẓbaa, was preparing his expedition against the Himyarites, nor Procopius, the historian of Justinian's wars (d. 565), mentions the events at all. L. Duchesne, while accepting Halévy's criticism of the letter of Simeon, still holds to the historicity of the general facts, as do also Nöldeke and Dillmann. Glaser ("Skizze," p. 534) suspects that the stories told in regard to Dhu Nuwas' cruelties are pure fictions. Mohammed knew the story (sura 85); it is mentioned in the celebrated South Arabian "Ḳaṣidah" (see the ed. of Von Kremer, p. 20, Leipsic, 1865), and by the Himyarite Nashwan ibn Sa'id in his "Shams al-'Ulum" (D. H. Müller, "Süd-Arab. Studien," p. 8, Vienna, 1877). The unanimity of Arabian tradition, and the presence of Jews in Yemen as attested by the Jewish inscriptions found there by Glaser, lead to the belief that the account of the Jewish king may be in the main historical, though the particulars regarding his cruelty toward the Christians are probably largely exaggerated.

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G. I. Br.—G.

DIA, EL (= "The Day"): Title of a Jewish periodical written in Judæo-Spanish and printed in rabbinical characters. It was published at Philippopolis, Bulgaria, from June, 1897 until 1900; in 1903 its publication was begun again at Sofia.

G. M. Fr.

DIABETES MELLITUS: A constitutional disorder of nutrition, characterized by the persistent elimination of grape-sugar in the urine. It is considered to be a disease of the wealthier classes, and is more common in cities than in the country. Dr. Bertillon has demonstrated that the mortality from diabetes is higher in all the wealthy districts. Persons of a nervous temperament are very often affected, and it is not uncommon to find a history of insanity, consumption, and gout among the relatives of diabetics. Sudden emotional excitement, grief, terror, worry, and anx-

A Disease of Civilization.

iety may each and all be followed so closely by diabetes that there is no room for doubt as to their having occasioned it. It is well known as a result of commercial disaster. "When stocks fall, diabetes rises in Wall Street," says Dr. Kleen. It has also been noticed that engine-drivers are especially subject to this disease; this fact is presumably due to the excessively anxious nature of their occupation.

Diabetes is met with, in varying degrees of frequency, in every country. It is stated to be extremely common among the educated classes of natives in India and Ceylon. The disease is almost unknown among the Chinese, the Japanese, and the negroes of Africa; but many cases have been observed among negroes in the United States. Many competent and reliable observers show that diabetes is more common among the Jews than among any other European races; and statistics prove conclusively that the disease occurs among Jews from two to six times as frequently as it does among non-Jews, as can be seen from an examination of the following tables:

Locality.	Period.	Percentage of Deaths Due to Diabetes.		Authority.
		Jews.	Gentiles.	
Frankfort-on-the-Main.	1876–90	1.9	0.4	Wallach, in "Med. Wochenschrift," 1893, p. 779.

Observer.	No. of Cases.	No. and Percentage of Jewish Patients.		Authority.
F. T. Frerich.	400	103	25	"Ueber den Diabetes," p. 185, Berlin, 1884.
Külz.....	692	123	17.8	"Klinische Erfahrungen über Diabetes Mellitus," pp. 2, 3, Jena, 1899.
Carl v. Noorden	650	252	38.8	"Die Zuckerkrankheit und Ihre Behandlung," p. 44, Berlin, 1901.
	328	119	36.3	

Other observers have given statistics showing that the German Jews are more liable to diabetes than non-Jews. On the other hand, these statistics have been objected to as valueless, because most of them relate to German bathing-resorts and sanitariums, where well-to-do patients from every country are apt to flock for relief. It is further shown that Jews are attracted to these resorts in relatively greater numbers than other races, because they more often seek relief of celebrated physicians and specialists. Thus, Dr. Arnold Pollatschek ("Zur Aetiologie des Diabetes Mellitus," in "Zeitschrift für Klinische Medizin," xxxii. 478–482, Berlin, 1901) shows that in the course of ten years (1891–1900) he treated 4,719 persons, of whom 2,381 were Christians, 2,333 Jews, and 5 Mohammedans. Of these patients 653 suffered from diabetes—289 Christians and 364 Jews. Of his entire clientele 13.8 per cent were diabetics, and there were 124 diabetic Christians per 1,000, as against 155 per 1,000 of Jewish origin. The slight relative excess of the Jewish diabetics is, according to Pollatschek, only apparent. He believes that the circumstance that Jews apply oftener than Christians to the sanitariums for treatment is due to their greater wealth, and that, consequently, as a bath physician in Carlsbad, he saw more patients of Jewish origin. He finally draws attention to the fact that the mortality from diabetes in England is quite high, although there are comparatively few Jews there, and claims that it is questionable whether Thomas, Willis, Dobson, and Rollo, who first observed and described diabetes, had Jewish material for their researches.

Both of these views—(1) that the Jews suffer more frequently from diabetes than other races, and (2) that they are not more often affected—are probably well founded. It is only a question of the nativity of the Jews: the Jews in Germany, for example, are decidedly more diabetic than those in Russia, England, and France; and the difference of opinion among physicians of experience is simply due to the fact that they usually neglect to consider the question of the nativity of the Jews under consideration. In the United States, where Jews arrive from various countries, diabetes is found to be extremely frequent among the German and Hungarian Jews; while among the Russian Jews it is certainly no more—perhaps it is even less—frequent than among other races.

Dr. Heinrich Stern ("The Mortality from Diabetes Mellitus in the City of New York During 1899," in "The Medical Record," lviii. 766–774), who has carefully analyzed the death-certificates of diabetics in New York, has found that of 202 deaths due to diabetes 54 were those of Jews, or over 25 per cent; of these, 21 were males and 33 females. New York city (Manhattan and the Bronx) in 1900 had a population of over 2,050,000, of which the Jews constituted 20 per cent. This would indicate that in these boroughs there were over 400,000 Jews, and 1,650,000 non-Jews. The following table shows the relative death-rate from diabetes in New York (Manhattan and Bronx) in 1899:

Race.	Population (Census of 1900).	Number of Deaths Due to Diabetes (1899).	Death-Rate of Diabetes per 100,000 Population.
All races.....	2,050,000	202	9.85
Non-Jews (80 per cent)	1,650,000	148	8.95
Jews (20 per cent).	400,000	54	13.50

From this table it is evident that the mortality from diabetes of the Jews in New York is relatively more than double that of the rest of the population of the city.

The morbidity of New York Jews from this disease has been investigated by Dr. Julius Rudisch ("Mount Sinai Hospital Report," 1898–99, pp. 26–29); and the following table gives his statistics of the cases of diabetes which were treated in Mount

Sinai Hospital during the years 1890–1900, compared with those of four other New York hospitals for the same period:

Hospital.	Total Number of Hospital Cases.	Percentage of Diabetics.	No. of Diabetics.	Race.		Sex.	
				Jews.	Gentiles.	Males.	Females.
Mt. Sinai..	29,166	.0021	62	52	10	43	19
Lebanon...	3,953	.0027	11	10	1	4	7
German...	24,811	.0023	59	19	40	45	14
New York.	50,429	.0005	28	3	25	20	8
Roosevelt..	28,402	.0014	36	2	34	25	11
Total....	136,761		196	86	110	137	59

It will be seen that the total number of cases treated in the five hospitals in question during the ten years mentioned amounted to 136,767, of which 196 were diabetics, or 1 diabetic to 697 general cases. "If we assume," says Rudisch, "that upon the basis of population [of New York city] 15 per cent of the total number of patients were Jews, we find that 20,500 were treated. The whole number of diabetics was 196, and of these 86 were Hebrews—a matter of 43 per cent. If we now assume 20,500 as the total number of Jewish patients, we find that diabetes is nearly three times as prevalent among Hebrews as among any other race or creed."

Jews Endure Diabetes Better than Others.

It has been observed by many clinicians that the Jews bear diabetes better than other races; thus, Van Noorden (*l.c.* p. 176) states that it is remarkable how some patients will endure glycosuria for years without much discomfort, succumbing at last—perhaps after decades—to what is supposed to be heart-failure. This peculiar type of diabetes, and this remarkable endurance by the human body of the anomalous metabolism of diabetes, are more frequently met with among women than among men, and almost exclusively among Jews.

Dr. Stern has pointed out another peculiarity; viz., that Jews dying of diabetes succumb through coma more frequently than non-Jews. Thus, while the ratio of fatal coma cases occurring in New York city in 1899 to the total mortality from diabetes was as 60 to 202, or 29 per cent, coma occurred in 43 per cent of the cases of diabetes among Jews.

Not a Racial Disease.

It has also been shown that diabetes is not a racial disease of the Jews. Sée has observed that it is no more frequent among the Jews in France than among the rest of the population of that country. Rudisch says that while the total number of patients admitted into the Mount Sinai Hospital in New York is three times as large as that of patients who are natives of Germany, the striking feature is that the diabetic patients among the latter outnumber in the proportion of 6 to 1 those among the patients who are Russians. He attributes this to the circumstance that the Russo-Jewish patients of the hospital belong to the poorer laboring classes and are insufficiently nourished, whereas the majority of the German Jews represent the better classes of workmen as well as persons engaged in mercantile and professional pursuits.

The same fact is evidenced in the "Report on Vital Statistics of New York City" of the Eleventh Census, wherein the deaths for the six years ending May 31, 1890, are recorded. During the period in question the average mortality from diabetes per 100,000 population is seen to be as follows:

Native Country of Mothers of Patients.	Average Mortality (per cent) from Diabetes per 100,000 Population.	Native Country of Mothers of Patients.	Average Mortality (per cent) from Diabetes per 100,000 Population.
France.....	12.91	Ireland	4.58
England and Wales.	14.30	Russia (mostly Jews) and Poland	3.28
Germany.....	8.79	Bohemia.....	3.01
Scotland.....	8.45	Italy	1.28
Canada	7.70		
United States	7.18		

The Russian and Polish Jews in New York show a lower mortality from diabetes than many of their non-Jewish neighbors. Of the 54 Jewish diabetics who died in that city during 1899, as shown by Stern (*l.c.*), 17, or 31.48 per cent, were born in Russia; and it is well known that at least 65 per cent of the Jews in New York are natives of Russia or of Poland. These data tend to show that diabetes is most frequently met with among German Jews, and that Jews from other countries are not more liable to contract the disease than are the other inhabitants of the city.

Reasons Given.

Many reasons have been given for the excessive predisposition of Jews to diabetes. Consanguineous marriages, more frequent among the Jews than among most other races (see Anthropology and Consanguinity), have been thought by some (Van Noorden, Stern, Frerich, and many others) to be the cause. Van Noorden ("Ueber Diabetes Mellitus," in "Berliner Klinische Wochenschrift," 1900, p. 1117) even thinks that the frequent intermixture of Jewish with Indo-Germanic blood has a great deal to do with the frequency of diabetes among Jews. These views are, however, untenable, because most modern authorities deny that consanguineous marriages, provided they are contracted between healthy individuals, are in any way detrimental to the offspring; and it is not known that racial intermixtures, which are frequent in modern civilized countries, have any etiological relation to the disease.

The alleged sedentary habits of the Jews are assigned by some authors (Saundby, Kleen, and others) as a predisposing cause. Diabetes is a disease brought about by high living, overfeeding, lack of proper exercise, etc., and most of the rich Jews who apply to the sanitariums for treatment are precisely of the class among which these conditions are most prevalent. This is disproved by Stern's statistics of the mortality from diabetes in New York city during the year 1899, which conclusively show that nearly 70 per cent of the deaths from that disease

occurred in tenement-houses, 15 per cent in coroners' cases, and only 15 per cent in private houses, which would indicate that high living has practically little to do with diabetes (Stern, in "Jour. Am. Medical Assoc." Jan. 26, 1901).

With the present knowledge of the pathogenesis of diabetes, the only reasonable explanation of the frequency of the disease among Jews is their extreme nervousness, the Jews being known as the most nervous of civilized peoples.

It remains to be mentioned that throughout the world the Jews are principally town-dwellers, two-thirds of them living in large centers of population; and that diabetes seeks most of its victims among the people who live under the strain, hurry, and bustle of modern city life. "The Jews are the children and grandchildren of town-dwellers," says Bouchard. "In the long run the unfavorable hereditary influences are not rectified for them by the frequent intermarriage of the urban with the country people, as is the case with the rest of the population. The Jews marry exclusively among themselves; first cousins from the paternal or maternal side find no barrier to marriage, and immediately on being born the young Israelite receives the accumulated unfavorable (hereditary) influences, which he further develops during his lifetime, and which tend to the diseases that are generated by disturbed nutrition, particularly diabetes" ("Leç. sur les Maladies par Ralentissement de la Nutrition," Paris, 1892).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The monographs on diabetes mellitus by Frerich, Van Noorden, Külz, and Pollatschek, cited above; Wallach, *Notizen zur Diabetissterblichkeit in Frankfort-am-Main*, in *Deutsche Medizinische Wochenschrift*, 1893, p. 779; Lagneau, *Sur la Race Juive*, in *Bulletin de l'Académie de Médecine*, Sept. 8, 1891.

J. M. Fi.

DIADEM. See Crown.

DIAL: Device for displaying the time by means of the shadow of a gnomon or style thrown by the rays of the sun on a graduated disk. It is generally agreed that by the "steps of Ahaz" (II Kings xxi. 9, 10; Isa. xxxviii. 8, Hebr.) some device for measuring time, in the form of a sun-clock, is intended. The expression was so understood by some of the old versions (Targ. אבן שעיא; Sym. ὡρολόγιον; Vulg. "horologium"); but there are no means of determining with certainty the nature, shape, and construction of the contrivance. The view that a dial in the stricter sense of the term—that is, a plane with a graduated scale and a vertical style or gnomon—is meant, is not supported by the text, since the usual and natural meaning of מעלות is "steps," not "degrees."

Following the literal and usual meaning of the words, most exegetes assume that the מ were actual steps; that is, a circular staircase leading up to a column or obelisk, the shadow of which, falling on a greater or smaller number of the steps, according as the sun was low or high, indicated the position of the sun, and thus the time of day. Such an obelisk was erected during the reign of Augustus, on the Campus Martius in Rome. As, according to the account in II Kings, the shadow could go forward or recede ten steps, the step-clock of Ahaz must have had at least twenty steps, each of which, therefore, did not mark a full hour of the day, but some smaller period of time. Herodotus (ii. 109) ascribes to the Babylonians the invention of the pole (*i.e.*, the concave dial) and the gnomon, and the division of the day into twelve parts. As Ahaz had intercourse with the Assyrians (compare II Kings xvi. 10), it is likely that he obtained from them a Babylonian model for his clock.

In 'Eduy. iii. 8 the stone-clock and its style (properly "nail") are mentioned (מסמר של אבן שעות). Maimonides, in his commentary, describes it as a circle on a broad, smooth stone set into the ground, and marked with straight lines, which bore the numbers of the hours. The style, the height of which was usually less than one-fourth the diameter of the disk, cast a shadow upon the lines and indicated the number of hours passed.

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E. G. H. I. M. C.

DIALECTIC, THE. See Periodicals.

DIALECTICS, RABBINICAL. See Pilpul.

DIALECTS: Under this heading are considered the various forms of those languages, other than Hebrew, which have been spoken or written by the Jews, and which have been modified by them, either through the introduction of Hebrew words, usages, and syntax, or by the conservation of older forms of speech which have gone out of use in the lands where the languages to which they belong were originally spoken. When the Jews lost their home and became a race without a country, they were naturally forced to adopt the languages of the peoples among whom they came to dwell; but Hebrew continued to be their language of prayer and of literary composition. They started out almost as bilinguists; for Aramaic is found not only in the Bible, but also in many of the oldest prayers (compare the use of the expressions "leshon hedyoṭ" [B. M. 104a] and "leshon ḥol" [Ber. 40b] to denote "Aramaic"). In a short time they became polyglots, while Hebrew, because of the Bible and their ritual, remained their holy language. Thus Judah ha-Levi refers to Abraham as using Hebrew as a sacred language and Aramaic as a profane tongue ("Cuzari," ed. Cassel, p. 175).

According to Abraham Abulafia, the Jews of Sicily used not only Italian and Greek, but also Arabic, which language they had adopted at the time when that island was under the dominion of the Arabs ("Rev. Etudes Juives," ix. 149). The first Jewish settlers in Corfu came from Greece: to these were added emigrants from Apulia, and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries others from Portugal; so that in the synagogues of Corfu the hymns are sung in Hebrew, Greek, Italian, and Portuguese ("Abhandl. des Fünften Intern. Orient.-Congresses," p. 228, Berlin, 1882).

Benfey's dictum, "The Jews have always spoken a jargon" ("Z. D. M. G." xxxvii. 606); Nöldeke's remark that wherever Jews live together in large

numbers they peculiarly color the language they speak ("Alttest. Lit." p. 248); and Wellhausen's saying in regard to the Jews of northern Arabia, "The Jews spoke among themselves a gibberish which the Arabs found it difficult to understand" ("Skizzen," iv. 13), are only partially true, as in many communities in Europe Hebrew was spoken down to the eleventh century (Zunz, "Z. G." p. 187). And where the Jews of Europe wrote the languages spoken in the countries in which they dwelt, they wrote them, up to the fifteenth century, with remarkable exactness, though often using Hebrew characters (Abrahams, "Jewish Life in the Middle Ages," p. 359). Curious instances of what Steinschneider calls the "linguistically amphibious life of the Jews" ("Monatsschrift," xlii. 34) are: the macaronic verses written in Hebrew and Arabic by such South Arabian poets as Shibẓi; some poems of Leo de Modena, veritable "tours de force," which can be read either as Hebrew or as Italian; the Hebrew-Arabic-Romance glossaries called "Maḳre Dardeḳe" (Schwab, in "Rev. Etudes Juives," xvi. 253 *et seq.*); and the Hebrew-English-Spanish "Vocabulary" by Jacob and Ḥayyim Moreira (Perles, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Hebräischen und Aramäischen Studien," p. 143).

Characteristics.

Jewish dialects are characterized by foreign words treated as Hebrew; or by Hebrew words treated as foreign words; or by the use of words which have long since disappeared from the ordinary speech of the country; or by the retention of the ancient pronunciation of the language. Any one of these peculiarities will give a definite character to a Jewish dialect without its becoming of necessity a jargon, though some of the later developments of Judæo-German almost deserve that name. The Hebrew words introduced into the newly acquired language came largely from the Bible (which was the starting-point and foundation of all Jewish studies), from the liturgy as used in the synagogue and the home, and from peculiar Jewish social customs.

The earliest non-Hebrew language with which the Jews became acquainted was the Aramaic; but there is no information as to how far they modified that language in the course of time. The Aramaic portions of the Old Testament show some peculiarities, which are possibly due to the Masorites. The Aramaic which the Jews spoke in Babylon, and which Arabic writers are wont to call "Nabaṭæan" ("Jew. Quart. Rev." xii. 517), is proved by the Mandean dialect to have been similar to the language spoken by other peoples in that neighborhood; and the later development of a distinct Western Judæo-Aramaic in Palestine and Syria was due largely to the rivalry between Church and Synagogue. The Aramaic spoken by the Jews in New Testament times, as well as the dialect represented in the Palestinian Talmud and in some of the Targumim, probably differed little from the language of the non-Jewish population. How small these differences were, may be gaged from a study of the modern Aramaic dialects spoken in northern Mesopotamia. The Jews living near Lake Urmi, in western Persia, and even those across the Turkish border, still speak a form of Aramaic which is only differentiated from the other modern Aramaic dialects by the introduction of Hebrew words and phrases. This dialect is called by the Jews "Lishanah shel Ibrani" (Hebrew Tongue), or "Lishanat Jabali" (Mountain Tongue), or "Leshon Galut" (Tongue of the Exile; see Gottheil in "Jour. Amer. Or. Soc." xv. 297 *et seq.*). The language written and spoken by the Samaritans around Nablus, formerly believed to be a mixture of Aramaic and Hebrew, has been proved by later investigation to be a Western Aramaic dialect interspersed with a number of Hebrew words (compare Nöldeke in Cheyne and Black, "Encyclopædia Biblica," i. 284b).

Use of Greek by Jews.

From the time of Alexander the Great the Jews came largely under the influence of Hellenism, which affected not only the thought and the practises, but also the language of the Jews; and many Greek words and phrases found entrance into their vocabulary. In how far the Jews adopted Greek speech in the mother country, it is difficult to say; but in the Greek cities along the coast they must have heard that language spoken and must in many cases have used it. In the Diaspora, however, Greek soon succeeded in ousting Hebrew and Aramaic, and it became the vernacular of the Egyptian Jews. In former times it was held that Hellenistic Greek, which lived down to about the year 600, was the dialect of the Greek-speaking Jews in the Orient; but the study of Greek dialectology and the numerous finds of papyri and ostraka within recent years have convinced scholars that the Greek spoken by the Jews in Egypt and found in their literary productions is part and parcel of the general Hellenistic *κοινή*. Philo and the Jewish Alexandrian philosophers and poets differ as little in point of language from their non-Jewish neighbors as does Josephus from the other historians of his time who wrote in Greek. Even the translation of the Old Testament into Greek does not represent any special Jewish dialect of this *κοινή*. It is, of course, full of Hebrew words, expressions, and syntactical constructions; but these new elements are due, in the largest measure, to the attempt of the translators to adhere slavishly to the original Hebrew; and Blass is probably right in asserting that "no one ever spoke in this manner, not even the Jewish translators" ("Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch," p. 2, Göttingen, 1902).

This is true of the New Testament also. Though Jewish theological ideas and even individual expressions have left their mark on the Greek where in some cases the books were translated from a Hebrew or Aramaic original, the language has in no measure the character of a Jewish dialect. Blass (*ib.* p. 3) calls it a moderated Attic Greek. Deissmann has very properly pointed out that the difference between a translation and an original in this Hellenistic Greek may be seen if the prologue to the Greek Book of Ecclesiasticus be compared with the body of the book itself (Herzog-Hauck, "Real-Encyc." vii. 638). It is therefore entirely wrong to speak of a Biblical Greek, a Septuagint Greek, a New Testament Greek, or a Judæo-Greek dialect. The same is true of later times, when Jews settled again in Greece and Constantinople. The Greek found in the

Bible translations published during the sixteenth century (see JEW. ENCYC. iii. 185–197), though written in Hebrew letters, does not differ from the ordinary spoken Greek of the day ("Hebr. Bibl." xv. 40; "Rev. Etudes Juives," xxii. 258; "Jew. Chron." July 26, 1901, p. 25).

When the Jews came under the influence of Arabic culture, they readily accepted the language of their masters, and, from Morocco in the west to Bagdad in the east, they spoke and wrote Arabic in all its various forms. The language of the old Jewish poets in Arabia differs in no respect from that of their heathen and Mohammedan contemporaries. But in course of time Arabic became a second mother tongue to the Jews of the Orient, such as

Use of Arabic.

only the Judæo-German became for the Jews in eastern Europe. In contradistinction to the latter, however, Arabic was also the literary language of the Oriental Jews; into which they not only translated their theological and religious books, but in which they also wrote upon all conceivable topics. It might, therefore, be proper to speak rather of Judæo-Arabic dialects than of one particular dialect. The term must not, however, be misunderstood. Saadia, in his Bible translation, uses many Arabic words in the sense of their Hebrew equivalents; but this is no criterion. In his philosophical work he writes, as did Judah ha-Levi, Maimonides, Ibn Ezra, and others, a pure Arabic; a degree more "vulgar" than that of his Mohammedan neighbors, but "Jewish" only in the introduction of Hebrew technical terms and Hebrew quotations (Friedländer, "Sprachgebrauch des Maimonides," p. x., Frankfort, 1902).

It has been customary to look down upon Judæo-Arabic as merely the "Middle Arabic" of the day interspersed with Hebrew words and phrases. But here again, as is the case with Judæo-German, many of the peculiarities observed are survivals of older forms of the spoken Arabic dialects (see Kampffmeyer in "W. Z. K. M." xiii. 247). Thus some of the peculiarities in the Arabic dialect of the Moroccan Jews may be survivals of the Arabic spoken in Spain, which the Jews carried with them at various times when they were banished from the peninsula; and this may explain what Talcott-Williams says of this dialect, that it "comes near being the worst and most obscure patois spoken anywhere and dignified by the name of Arabic" ("Beiträge zur Assyriologie," iii. 572).

The Jews in Persia also have developed a distinct form of Judæo-Persian. Wilhelm Geiger speaks of it as "jargon used as a vernacular" ("Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie," i. 408); but here again, although Hebrew theological and religious terms have crept in, older forms of Persian have been preserved which make the dialect an interesting one. It is in reality only a development of the New High Persian with local dialectic peculiarities. It occasionally shows striking coincidences with the Pazend; and Horn thinks that some of the translations of the Biblical books which have come down were made in neighborhoods in which Parsees lived.

Thanks to the labors of Bacher, Horn, Salemann, and others, renewed attention has of late years been paid to the Judæo-Persian. There are even various subdialects to be recognized. The mountain Jews in the Caucasus speak what they themselves call "Farsi-Tat," which differs in few respects from the Tat spoken in the province of Baku and the peninsula of Apsheron (see "Seventh Report of the Thirteenth International Oriental Congress," p. 12). The language of the Jews of Bokhara, which is also spoken by the Bokharan Jews in Jerusalem, has its origin in the Tadshiki spoken by the Iranians in central Asia. Quite an extensive literature exists in Judæo-Bokharan; and not a few books have been printed in this dialect. If Salemann is right ("Litteraturblatt für Orientalische Philologie," i. 187), there are two dialects to be distinguished in Bokharan, because the Jews of that place came originally from Tus and from Meshed. Of the Judæo-Persian, Nöldeke says ("Z. D. M. G." li. 70) that "the imitation of Hebrew has caused the most barbaric distortion of the Persian." J. de Morgan speaks of the language of the Jews of Siḥne ("Jour. Asiatique," 8th series, xix. 197); but further details have not been published.

Judæo-Persian.

Of the European dialects, in addition to the Greek, spoken by the Jews, mention must first be made of Judæo-Spanish. It had its origin in the Spanish peninsula itself; for Francisco Fernandez y Gonzalez published in 1884 ("Boletin Acad. Hist." v. 299; compare "Rev. Etudes Juives," x. 243) three letters written in Judæo-Spanish and in Hebrew characters by Jews living in Spain before the expulsion. As generally understood, however, the term signifies the Spanish language as used by the exiles from Spain in northern Africa, in the East, and in certain parts of Europe, where they settled. It is called also "Ladino," "Espanol," and "Spaniolic." A very large literature has grown up in this dialect, which does not differ from the regular Spanish except in the fact that occasional Arabic words are to be found, and older forms which have gone out of use in the modern developments of the language in the peninsula. According to Ticknor, a modern Judæo-Spanish newspaper could be read with perfect ease by a Spaniard of the time of Alfonso the Wise. It is interesting to note that parallel to the Judæo-Spanish there is an Arabic-Spanish literature, that of the Moriscos, descendants of the former masters of Spain (Grünbaum, "Neue Beiträge zur Semitischen Sagenkunde," p. 245; *idem*, "Jüdisch-Spanische Chrestomathie," pp. 1 *et seq.*).

Ladino.

The Jews were driven out of France in 1306; but before that time they had settled in large numbers both in the north and in the south. It was especially in Provence that during the early Middle Ages they developed a large literature, and evidently adopted the Provençal dialect which they heard spoken around them. Remnants of this Provençal are to be found not only in the 2,500 glosses in the commentaries of Rashi, Joseph Caro, Samuel ben Meïr, Eleazar of Beaugency, and the Tosafists (Schwab, "La Transcript. des Mots Europ. en Lettres Hebr." in "Mélanges Havet," p. 317, Paris, 1895), but also in original poems (*e.g.*, "The History of Esther" by Israel Caslari of Avignon, which was

read on the Feast of Purim; "Romania," 1892) and in prose works and liturgies (*e.g.*, the elegy on the auto da fé at Troyes, 1288, by Jacob ben Judah of Lorraine; "Romania," iii.; "Rev. Etudes Juives," i.). These Provençal works are written in Hebrew script; and the Judæo-Provençal represented in such writings is a faithful reproduction of the Provençal language of the time, modified by the introduction of Hebrew words and by its transliteration into Hebrew characters (see Güdemann, "Geschichte des Erziehungswesens," i. 26, Vienna, 1880; Oesterreicher, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Jüdisch-Französischen Sprache im Mittelalter," Czernowitz, 1896).

Strange to say, there are no traces of a Judæo-Italian dialect, even though some macaronic poems, as mentioned above, may be read as either Hebrew or Italian. The Jews in Italy very seldom wrote Italian in Hebrew characters; the "Tefillot Latine," Mordecai Dato's sermons, and Moses Catalano's poem being among the few cases in which they did (comp. "Rev. Et. Juives," x. 137). Italian literature began with Dante in the thirteenth century; and as it grew up under their very eyes, the Jews soon took part in its development, and did not mix the language with Hebrew (see Steinschneider, in "Monatsschrift," xlii. 116, 420; Güdemann, "Geschichte des Erziehungswesens . . . der Juden in Italien," p. 207).

Judæo-German.

The most important Jewish dialect is of course the Judæo-German. The name by which it was formerly known, "Iwri-Teitsch," shows at once that it is a more mixed dialect than any of those already mentioned. The Jews in the Rhine provinces originally used French for their daily intercourse (Güdemann, "Geschichte des Erziehungswesens . . . in Frankreich," pp. 114, 275). Whatever the character of this French may have been, it certainly influenced the German that was spoken by them during the period from the eleventh to the fourteenth century; for the frontier between France and Germany was open, and the persecution in the former country drove many to seek homes across the Rhine. With the exception of this French influence, the German Jews in the early Middle Ages were characterized by the purity of the German they spoke and wrote, though they transcribed it in Hebrew characters. This transcription arose from the desire to make it possible for women, young people, and the unlettered to read and enjoy literary productions ("Hebr. Bibl." viii. 15). The Hebrew script used for this purpose was the same as that employed for the commentaries on the Bible; and from the name of the chief commentator it soon became known as the "Rashi script."

This Middle High German of the Rhine provinces was carried eastward, especially into Poland, when the Jews were driven into the Slavonic lands after the Black Death (fourteenth century). The Jews came to Poland from all parts of Germany; and though High German was at the base of the language which they carried with them, there were also introduced many peculiarities of other dialects, both northern and southern. In Poland the Jews preserved their German dialect; and when they returned to Germany in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they brought with them their old Middle High German, modified not only by other German dialects, but also by a surprisingly large element of Hebrew. During the last two centuries Judæo-German has been carried over the world wherever the movement out of eastern Europe has brought the Jews from Slavonic lands. In its journey over the globe Judæo-German has suffered changes in various ways: in Poland, Polish words were incorporated; in Holland, Dutch words; in Turkey, Turkish; and, lastly, in English-speaking countries many English words have found their way into the vocabulary.

The introduction of words and phrases from so many different tongues makes Judæo-German appear to the superficial observer to be a language which knows neither grammatical rules nor lexicographic standards. It has therefore been customary to speak of it as "Mauschel-Deutsch," and those who use it have contributed to this misunderstanding by adopting the appellation "jargon" in place of the more correct and modern term, "Yiddish." See JUDÆO-GERMAN; JUDÆO-SPANISH.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Neubauer, *On Non-Hebrew Languages Used by Jews*, in *Jew. Quart. Rev.* iv. 9 *et seq.*; Steinschneider, *Hebr. Uebers.* pp. xv. *et seq.*

G.

DIAS, FÉLIX: French painter; born at Bordeaux 1794; died May 29, 1817. From his earliest youth he betrayed marked talent for painting. Accordingly he was sent to the Academy, where he carried off several academic honors and took the first prize for composition in 1817. The few productions of his brush which he has left show a skilful blending of colors, a fine taste in arrangement, and great vigor of design.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Carmoly, in *Arch. Isr.* 1862, p. 696.

S. A. R.

DIAS (DIAZ), MOSES B. ISAAC: Author, publisher, and bookseller of Amsterdam. In 1695 he published Joseph Franco Serrano's Spanish translation of the Pentateuch, and, between that date and 1715, a number of Hebrew books. He is the author of "Meditaciones Sobre la Historia Sagrada del Genesis, con Ponderaciones Fundadas en las Explicaciones, y Comentos Diferentes de los Antiguos y Modernos Expositores" (Amsterdam, 1697), dedicated to Samuel Cohen Nasi. A second and enlarged edition, dedicated to the Cavallero Selomo de Medina, appeared at Amsterdam in 1705.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Jüdische Typographie*, in Ersch and Gruber, *Encyc.* section ii., part 28, p. 69; Kayserling, *Bibl. Esp.-Port.-Jud.* pp. 41 *et seq.*

L. G. M. K.

DIASPORA: * The Jews in their dispersion through the Greco-Roman world. In the present article the Jewish race is considered in its relations to the Hellenic and the Roman peoples. The geographical distribution of the race; the civil government to which it was subjected; its juridical system; the social and economic condition of its communities; the success of its propagandistic efforts,

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which prepared the way for Christianity; and, finally, the first effect upon its legal situation of the triumph of the new religion—these are the points to be summarily dealt with.

The Diaspora.

I. The first and most remarkable phenomenon presented by Judaism during the Greco Roman period is its dispersion along the shores of the Mediterranean. This dispersion was due to numerous causes, and those in part obscure; but one of the most important must be sought in the many vicissitudes, crowned by a final catastrophe, which Judaism encountered in the country of its origin.

After the overthrow in 588 B.C. of the kingdom of Judah by the Chaldeans, and the deportation of a considerable portion of its inhabitants to the valley of the Euphrates, the Jews had two principal rallying-points; viz., Babylonia and Palestine. But though a majority of the Jewish race—especially the wealthy families were to be found in Babylonia, the existence it led there, under the successive rules of the Achæmenidæ, the Seleucids, the Parthians, and the Neo-Persians, or Sassanians, was obscure and devoid of political influence. The poorest but most fervent element among the exiles returned to Palestine during the reigns of the first Achæmenidæ. There, with the reconstructed Temple at Jerusalem as its center, it organized itself into a community, animated by a remarkable religious ardor and a tenacious attachment to the Bible, which thenceforth constituted the palladium of its nationality, and it enjoyed, under the direction of its high priests, a tolerably broad autonomy.

No sooner had this little nucleus increased in numbers with the accession of recruits from various quarters, than it awoke to a consciousness of itself, and strove for political enfranchisement. A tentative effort in this direction, under Artaxerxes Ochus, led to fresh deportations. In South Syria, however, the rule of the Persians passed first to the Macedonians (332 B.C.), who were succeeded by the Ptolemies in the third century B.C.—a period in which Syria was the theater of incessant wars -and finally, in the second century, by the Seleucids. The Ptolemies treated the sentiments and customs of the Jews with the same delicacy and consideration that they showed toward those of their other subjects. Thanks to their tolerance, the Hellenic civilization took root in Judea, and made there considerable advances. The Seleucids, on the contrary, under Antiochus Epiphanes, wished to force prematurely upon the Jews a transformation which could be achieved only in the course of centuries. Their ill-advised policy gave rise to violent reactions, both religious and political, culminating in the revolt of the Maccabees (167 B.C.).

The Maccabees.

After numerous vicissitudes, and especially owing to internal dissensions in the Seleucid dynasty, on the one hand, and to the interested support of the Romans, on the other, the cause of Jewish independence finally triumphed. Under the Hasmonean princes, who were at first high priests and then kings, the Jewish state displayed even a certain luster, and annexed several territories. Soon, however, discord in the royal family, and the growing disaffection of the pious, the soul of the nation, toward rulers who no longer evinced any appreciation of the real aspirations of their subjects; made the Jewish nation an easy prey to the ambition of the Romans, the successors of the Seleucids. In 63 B.C. Pompey invaded Jerusalem, and Gabinius subjected the Jewish people to tribute.

Many years, however, passed before Judea became definitely incorporated into the Roman empire. In Judea the Romans pursued the same vacillating and changeful policy as throughout the Orient. First they granted the Jews an ethnarch; then a king —a foreigner, it is true—the Idumean Herod, under whose rule the Jewish state attained its greatest material prosperity. After the death of Herod (4 B.C.), the dissolution of his dynasty, and the deposition of his son Archelaus (6 C.E.), Judea proper became a mere department of the province of Syria, governed by a special procurator residing in Cæsarea.

Vicissitudes of Roman Rule.

During this period the Jewish community possessed special privileges, both religious and juridical: in short, it constituted, as under the Achæmenidæ and the Lagides, a hierocracy under the protection of a foreign master. This régime, interrupted for several years (41-44) by the restoration of the Herodian dynasty in favor of Herod Agrippa, could be upheld only by dint of tact and precaution. The agents of Rome, like the Seleucids before them, were unable to satisfy a people at once so impressionable and turbulent. Repeated blunders brought about the formidable insurrection of 66-70, terminating in the capture of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple, the center of the national and religious life of the Jews throughout the world.

After this catastrophe, Judea formed a separate Roman province, governed by a legate, at first "pro prætore," and later, "pro consule," who was also the commander of the army of occupation. The complete destruction of the Holy City, and the settlement of several Grecian and Roman colonies in Judea, indicated the express intention of the Roman government to prevent the political regeneration of the Jewish nation. Nevertheless, forty years later the Jews put forth efforts to recover their former freedom. With Palestine exhausted, they strove, in the first place, to establish upon the ruins of Hellenism actual commonwealths in Cyrene, Cyprus, Egypt, and Mesopotamia. These efforts, resolute but unwise, were suppressed by Trajan (115-117); and under Hadrian the same fate befell the last and glorious attempt of the Jews of Palestine to regain their independence (133-135). From this time on, in spite of unimportant movements under Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, and Severus, the Jews of Palestine, reduced in numbers, destitute, and crushed, lost their preponderance in the Jewish world. The Jews no longer had reason to cling to a soil where the recollection of their past grandeur only helped to render more bitter the spectacle of their present humiliation, where their metropolis had become, under the name "Ælia Capitolina," a Roman colony, a city entirely pagan, to enter which was forbidden the Jews, under pain of death.

Dispersion.

II. The vicissitudes just described exerted a decisive influence upon the dispersion of the Jewish people throughout the world. Successive revolutions in Cœle-Syria had caused, century after century, the emigration of Jews in great numbers, who, having combined with one of the competitors, chose to follow him in his retreat rather than to expose themselves to the vengeance of the conqueror. Thus, as far back as Jeremiah, a small diaspora was formed in Egypt (Jer. xxiv. 8, xxvi. 22, xlii.–xliv.). When Ptolemy I. evacuated Syria many of the Jews voluntarily followed him to his kingdom (Hecatæus, of Abdera, 14, cited by Josephus, "Contra Ap." i. 22; *idem*, "Ant." xii. 1). A similar thing occurred in 198 (Jerome, "Ad Dan.," xi. 708); and under Ptolemy VI. Philometor, the son of the high priest Onias, disappointed in his expectations, betook himself with a considerable number of followers to Egypt, and there set up a rival temple to that of Jerusalem ("Ant." xiii. 3). On the other hand, during the wars of the third and second centuries B.C., thousands of Jews were made captives and reduced to slavery, passing from owner to owner and from land to land until their enfranchisement. This enfranchisement indeed usually occurred very soon, it being precipitated by the fact that, through their unswerving attachment to their customs, they proved inefficient servants. Besides, owing to the close solidarity which is one of the lasting traits of the Jewish race, they had no difficulty in finding coreligionists who were willing to pay the amount of their ransom. The inscriptions of Delphi have preserved an instance of these enfranchisements of Jewish slaves by payment of money (Collitz, "Griech. Dialektinschr." ii. 2029; the amount paid was 4 minas, or about $80). The celebrated rhetorician Cecilius of Calacte was originally a Jewish slave (Suidas, *s.v.*); he was confounded by Plutarch with the questor of Verres, Cecilius Niger, who was perhaps his patron.

The Jews thus freed, instead of returning to Palestine, usually remained in the land of their former slavery, and there, in conjunction with their breth-

ren in faith, established communities. According to the formal testimony of Philo ("Legatio ad Caium," § 23), the Jewish community in Rome owed its origin to released prisoners of war. The political importance which it had already acquired in the proceedings against Flaccus (59 B.C.) shows that it did not consist merely of a few captives brought by Pompey (63 B.C.), but rather of prisoners made in earlier wars—in Asia Minor, for instance. The great Jewish insurrections under Vespasian, Trajan, and Hadrian, terminating, as they did, so disastrously, threw upon the market myriads of Jewish captives. Transported to the West, they became the nuclei of communities in Italy, Spain, Gaul, etc. Among these captives was the historian of the Jewish people, Flavius Josephus. Under Domitian the Jewish slaves in Rome were sold at very low prices. Even the poet Martial, whose purse was never well filled, possessed one ("Epig." vii. 35; the interpretation, however, is uncertain). The names of many Jews found in the tumulary inscriptions in Rome betray their servile origin. To these sales of prisoners of war must be added, as further sources of the Diaspora, the deportations, more or less voluntary, effected by the various governments, either to chastise the rebels or to populate the uninhabited parts of their territories. Not to mention the great Babylonian exile, and the transportation of Jews to Hyrcania by Ochus (Syncellus, i. 486; Orosius, iii. 7), Ptolemy I., according to tradition, took with him to Egypt 30,000 (?) Jews, in order to garrison the frontiers (Pseudo-Aristæus, ed. Schmidt, p. 255; "Ant." xii. 1). The same king compelled Jews to settle in Cyrenaica ("Contra Ap." ii. 4). Antiochus the Great, it is said, transferred to the sparsely populated districts of Phrygia and Lydia 2,000 Jewish families drawn from Mesopotamia ("Ant." xii. 3, § 4). Tiberius sent 4,000 Jews of Rome to wage a war in Sardinia (Tacitus, "Annales," ii. 85), many of whom perished, while the survivors must have formed the nucleus of a Jewish community in that country. Many rulers, without resorting to violent measures, made successful efforts to attract Jewish colonists to the newly founded cities by conceding to them important privileges. Such was the policy, if not of Alexander, at any rate of Seleucus Nicator, Ptolemy Philadelphus, the successors of Antiochus Epiphanes (in Antioch), etc.

Deportations.

Nor must it be forgotten that the Jews were a prolific race. Their law made it their duty to rear all their children. Judea, a land by no means fertile, must quickly have become overpopulated. The need thus arose of spreading to the adjacent districts (Galilee, Peræa), which soon became Judaized; then to the neighboring countries (Egypt, Syria); and, finally, to places beyond the sea, and this upon the slightest hope of meeting there with coreligionists. This phenomenon is not a characteristic of the Jews alone; it is seen in the colonies of Egyptians, Syrians, and Phenicians in Greece, in Rome, and in the important commercial centers of Italy; and they, like the Jews, spread their national cults. But the Jew emigrates more readily, since his creed is linked to a book, not to a place.

Fecundity of the Jews.

Besides, owing to the barrier which their deeply rooted religious observances formed around them, the Jews never became absorbed in the surrounding populations. On the contrary, an active religious propaganda, to be treated more fully later on, caused each small group of Jewish families to become the center around which numerous proselytes of other races clustered. Many of these adherents afterward fully embraced the Jewish faith. It may be said that if proselytism was not the conscious design of the Diaspora, it at all events powerfully contributed toward its consolidation and expansion.

Thus, as early as the middle of the second century B.C. the Jewish author of the third book of the Oracula Sibyllina, addressing the "chosen people," says: "Every land is full of thee and every sea" (Sibyllines, iii. 271; compare I Macc. 15); and if these words contained some exaggeration, the prophecy became true in the subsequent century. The most diverse witnesses, such as Strabo, Philo, Seneca, the author of the Acts of the Apostles, and Josephus, all bear testimony to the fact that the Jewish race was disseminated over the whole civilized world (Strabo, frag. 6, cited by Josephus, "Ant." xiv. 7, § 2; Philo, "In Flaccum," 7; Seneca, frag. 41–43, in Augustine, "Civ. Dei," vi. 10; Acts ii. 9–11; Josephus, "B. J." ii. 16, § 4; vii. 3, § 3). King Agrippa, in a letter to Caligula, enumerates among the provinces of the Jewish Diaspora almost all the Hellenized and non-Hellenized countries of the Orient (Philo, "Legatio ad Caium," § 36); and this enumeration is far from being complete, as Italy and Cyrene are not included. The epigraphic discoveries from year to year augment the number of known Jewish communities.

The following table, which is doubtless incomplete, attempts to summarize modern knowledge concerning the geography of the Diaspora, according to the literary texts and the inscriptions:

Asia.

Palestine: Ascalon, etc. *Arabia*: Yemen, Island Iotaba (Procopius, "Pers." i. 19). *Phenicia*: Aradus, Berytus (Le Bas-Waddington, No. 1854C). *Cœle-Syria*: Damascus (Josephus, "B. J." ii. 20, § 2; vii. 8, § 7). *Syria*: Antioch ("B. J." vii. 3, §§ 3 *et seq.*), Palmyra ("C. I. G." No. 4486; Le Bas-Waddington, Nos. 2619 *et seq.*), Tafas ("Bull. Corr. Hell." 1897, p. 47). *Mesopotamia*: Nisibis ("Ant." xviii. 9, § 1), Callinicum (Ambrosius, "Ep." xl.). *Babylonia*: Sura, Pumbedita, Nehardea ("Ant." xviii. 9, § 1), Seleucia (*ib.* xviii. 9, § 9), Ctesiphon (*ib.*). *Elam* (*Susiana*) (Acts ii. 9–11). *Parthia. Hyrcania* (Syncellus, i. 486; Orosius, iii. 7). *Media. Armenia* (Faustus of Byzantium, ed. Langlois, iv. 55)

Asia Minor.

Pontus (Philo, "Legatio ad Caium," § 36; Acts ii. 9–11, xviii. 2). *Bithynia* (ib.). *Mysia*: Adramyttium (Cicero, "Pro Flacco," 28), Pergamos (*ib.*; "Ant." xiv. 10, § 22), Parium (?) (*ib.* xiv. 10, § 8; read Παριανοί, not Πάριοι). *Ionia*: Smyrna ("C. I. G." No. 9897; "Vita Polycarpi," 12 *et seq.*; "Rev. Etudes Juives," vii. 161), Ephesus ("Ant." xiv. 10, §§ 25 *et seq.*; Acts xviii. 19 *et seq.*), Phocæa ("Bull. Corr. Hell." x. 327 = "Rev. Etudes Juives," xii. 236), Miletus ("Ant." xiv. 10, § 21), Samos (I Macc. xv.). *Lydia*: Sardes ("Ant." xiv. 10, §§ 17 *et seq.*), Thyatira ("C. I. G." No. 3509 [doubtful]; Acts xvi. 14; compare Schürer, "Abhandlungen . . . Weizsäcker," pp. 39 *et seq.*), Tralles ("Ant." xiv. 10, § 21), Hypæpa ("Rev. Etudes Juives," x. 74), Magnesia of Sipylus (*ib.* 76), Nysa ("Ath. Mitth." xxii. 484). *Caria*: Iasus (Le Bas-Waddington, No. 294), Halicarnassus ("Ant." xiv. 10, § 23), Cos (I Macc. xv.; "Ant." xiv. 7, § 2; 10, § 5), Myndos (I Macc. xv.; inscription in "Rev. Etudes Juives," xlii. 1), Cnidus (*ib.*), Rhodes (*ib.*). *Phrygia*: Apamea ("Pro

Flacco," 28; Ramsay, "Cities," i. 538, No. 399a; coins symbolizing the Ark of Noah), Laodicea ("Pro Flacc." 28; "Ant." xiv. 10, § 20), Acmonia (Ramsay, "Cities," i. 649 *et seq.*), Hierapolis (Ramsay, *ib.* i. 545, Nos. 411, 118, 28 [?]), Eumeneia (Ramsay, *ib.* i., No. 232, p. 386 [doubtful]). *Lycia*: Limyra ("Reisen in Lykien," ii. 66), Tlos ("Eranos Vindob." 99), Phaselis (I Macc. xv. 23), Corcyus ("Rev. Etudes Juives," x. 75). *Pisidia*: Antioch (Acts xiii. 14). *Pamphylia*: Side (I Macc. xv. 23). *Galatia*: Germa ("Bull. Corr. Hell." vii. 24 = "Rev. Etudes Juives," x. 77). *Lycaonia*: Iconium (Acts xiv. 1), Lystra (*ib.* xvi. 1). *Cappadocia*: Mazaca (Cæsarea). *Cilicia*: Tarsus, Elaioussa (?) ("Jour. Hell. Stud." xii. 234 [College of Σάββατισταί?]). *Cyprus*: Salamis (Acts xiii. 5), Paphos (*ib.* verse 6).

Europe.

Cimmerian Bosporus: Panticapeum (Latyschew, "Inscr. Euxini," Nos. 52, 53), Gorgippia (*ib.* Nos. 400, 401; a combination of pagan and Jewish formulas), Tanais (*ib.* Nos. 449, 450, 452, 456 *et seq.*; fraternities of ἀδελφοὶ σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὕψιστον). *Scythia*: Olbia (Stephani, in "Bull. Acad. Petersb." 1860, i. 246; "C. I. G." No. 2079?). *Thrace*: Constantinople ("Rev. Etudes Juives," xxvi. 167 *et seq.*), Philippi (Acts xvi. 13). *Macedonia*: Thessalonica (Acts xvii. 2; "Rev. Etudes Juives," x. 78), Berœa (Acts xvii. 10). *Continental Greece*: Thessalia (Philo, "Legatio ad Caium," § 36; Acts xviii. 1 *et seq.*), Etolia (*ib.*), Bœotia (*ib.*), Athens (Acts xvii. 17; "C. I. A." iii. 2, Nos. 3545-3547), Corinth (Philo, *l.c.* § 36; Acts xviii. 1), Argos (*ib.*), Laconia ("Inscr. Brit. Mus." No. 149 = "Rev. Etudes Juives," x. 77), Mantinea ("Bull. Corr. Hell." 1896, p. 159, No. 27 = "Rev. Etudes Juives," xxiv. 148), Patras ("C. I. G." No. 9896). *Archipelago*: Eubœa (Philo, *l.c.* § 36; Acts xviii. 1), Ægina ("C. I. G." No. 9894), Syros (De Rossi, in "Bull. Crist." 1876, p. 116), Melos ("Ant." xvii. 12, § 1), Delos (*ib.* xiv. 10, § 14). *Crete*: Gortyna (I Macc. xv. 23). *Sicily*: Syracuse ("C. I. G." No. 9895), Messina (Gregory the Great, "Letters"), Agrigentum (*ib.*), Panormus (*ib.*). *Italy (South)*: Apulia and Calabria ("Cod. Theod." xii. 1, 157), Venusia ("C. I. L." ix. 6195 *et seq.*, and Ascoli's monograph), Tarentum ("C. I. L." ix. 6400-6402), Fundi (*ib.* x. 6299), Capua (*ib.* 3905), Naples (*ib.* 1971). *Italy (Central)*: Rome, Terracina (Gregory the Great, *l.c.*), Faleria (Rutilius Namatianus, v. 377 *et seq.*). *Italy (North, and Istria)*: Ravenna (Anon. "Val." 81.), Bologna (Ambrose, "Exh. Virgin." 1), Milan (Cassiodorus, "Var." v. 37; "Rev. Archéologique," 1860, p. 348), Brescia ("C. I. L." v. 1, 4411), Genoa (Cassiodorus, *l.c.* ii. 27), Aquilea (Garrucci, "Cim. Randanini," p. 62), Pola ("C. I. L." v. 1, 88; a "metuens"). *Pannonia* ("C. I. L." iii. 1, 3688; "Eph. Epigr." ii., No. 593). *Gaul* (first mentioned in "Vita Hilarii" [d. 366]; Sidonius Apollinaris, iii. 4). *Germany*: Colonia Agrippina ("Cod. Theod." xvi. 8, 4). *Spain* ("Concil. Ilib. Can." 49, 50, 78): Adra ("C. I. L." ii. 1982), Minorca ("Epist. Severiani," in ed. Migne, xx. 730), Tortosa ("Inscr. Trilingual," in Chwolson, "C. I. H." No. 83).

Africa.

Egypt: Alexandria, Leontopolis, Athribis ("Bull. Corr. Hell." xiii. 178 = "Rev. Etudes Juives," xvii. 235), Arsinoite Nome ("Rev. Etudes Juives," xxxvii. 220), Oxyrhynchus (*ib.*), Thebaid. *Ethiopia*. *Cyrenaica*: Cyrene, Berenice ("C. I. G." No. 5361), Boreum (Procopius, "De Ædif." vi. 2). *Proconsular Africa* (Zeugitana, Byzacum, Tripolitene [Monceaux, in "Rev. Etudes Juives," xliv. 1 *et seq.*]): Carthage (Tertullian, "Adv. Jud. Init."; P. Delattre, "Gamart ou la Necropole Juive de Carthage"; "C. I. L." viii. 1091 [Addit. p. 929], Supp. 14,097-14,114), Naro (Hammam Lif; "C. I. L." viii., Supp. 12,511), Utica (*ib.* viii. 1205 [Addit. p. 931]), Simittæ (Shemton; "Migne Patrologia," xlvi. 881), Œa (Tripolis; Augustine, "Epist." 71, 3, 5), Locus Judæorum Augusti (Iscina, "Medinat al-Sultan" [Tab. Penting.]). *Numidia*: Hippo Regius (Augustine, "Serm." 196, 4), Cirta ("C. I. L." Nos. 7150, 7155, 7530 [Addit. p. 965], 7710), Henshir Fuara (*ib.* viii., Suppl. 1670; a "metuens," viii. 4321 [Addit. p. 956]). *Mauretania*: Sitifis ("C. I. L." viii. 8423, 8499), Cæsarea ("Acta Marcianæ," 4), Tipasa ("Passio Sanctæ Salsæ," 3), Volubilis (Berger, "Bull. Arch. Com. Trav. Hist." 1892, p. 94), Auzia ("C. I. L." viii., Suppl. 20,760).

There is only scant information of a precise character concerning the numerical significance of these diverse Jewish conglomerations; and this must be used with caution. After Palestine and Babylonia, it was in Syria, according to Josephus, that the Jewish population was densest; particularly in Antioch, and then in Damascus, in which latter place, at the time of the great insurrection, 10,000 (according to another version 18,000) Jews were massacred ("B. J." ii. 20, § 2; vii. 8, § 7).

Comparative Density of Jewish Populations.

Philo ("In Flaccum," § 6) gives the number of Jewish inhabitants in Egypt as 1,000,000; one-eighth of the population. Alexandria was by far the most important Jewish community, the Jews in Philo's time inhabiting two of the five quarters of the city (*ib.* § 8). To judge by the accounts of wholesale massacres in 115, the number of Jewish residents in Cyrenaica, at Cyprus, and in Mesopotamia must also have been large. In Rome itself, at the commencement of the reign of Augustus, there were over 8,000 Jews: this is the number that escorted the envoys who came to demand the deposition of Archelaus. Finally, if the sums confiscated by the propretor Flaccus in 62 represented actually the tax of a didrachma per head for a single year, the inference may be safely drawn that in Asia Minor the Jewish population numbered 45,000 males, or a total of at least 180,000 persons (Cicero, "Pro Flacco," 28, § 68 [the sums confiscated amounted to more than 120 pounds of gold]).

III. This diffusion of Judaism throughout the Greco-Roman world could not but call forth vigorous resistance, especially in those parts where the Greek language and Greek civilization prevailed. Speaking broadly, the middle classes in the Greek cities were not favorably disposed toward the Jews.

Unfriendly Attitude of Greeks.

Their religious and racial peculiarities; their undisguised contempt of the Hellenic cults, pageants, and gymnastic displays—in short, of all that constituted the very essence of a Grecian city; perhaps, also, a secret apprehension that they might develop into commercial competitors; and, finally, the efficacy of their religious propagandism—all contributed toward the unpopularity of these newcomers. In certain cities, such as Parium and Tralles, the exercise of the Jewish cult and rites was prohibited by express decrees ("Ant." xiv. 10, § 8 [not "Paros"]). The cities of Ionia were several times on the point of expelling the Jewish inhabitants. At Seleucia in Babylonia, on one occasion, the Greeks together with the Syrians massacred more than 50,000 Jews (*ib.* xviii. 9, § 9). Throughout Syria they were attacked by the Greeks from the beginning of the war of 66; and when the war was terminated Antioch demanded their banishment.

The butcheries that almost at the same moment were perpetrated under Trajan in Mesopotamia, Cyprus, and Cyrene, show the high pitch to which the antagonism between the races had risen. In Cyprus especially it was simply a war of extermination; the Jews massacred all the Greek inhabitants of Salamis; and when the uprising was suppressed, residence on the island was forbidden to Jews under pain of death (Dio Cassius, lxviii. 32). Nor were the relations more amicable in Alexandria, although Josephus maintains that they became strained only after the Grecian and Macedonian element of the middle class had been supplanted by the native. At times it was a silent rivalry and a desperate literary combat; at times a redoubtable popular outburst

that caused blood to flow in torrents, as in the days of Caligula, Nero, and Trajan. As a result of one of these conflicts, the Roman prefect of Egypt, in conjunction with the leading Alexandrians, decided to shut off the Jews in a ghetto admitting of easy surveillance, "whence they could not burst forth suddenly, and fling themselves upon the illustrious city and make war upon it" (Louvre Papyrus, No. 2376 *bis*, col. vi. 15).

Attitude of the Rulers.

Against this attitude of revengeful intolerance on the part of the Greek middle class, the Jews found effective supporters, first in the Macedonian monarchs, and then in the Romans. It may be said that, without the broad and cosmopolitan views of the diadochi who favored, in the interest of their own power, the mingling and amalgamation of the various races, the Jewish Diaspora could neither have originated nor maintained itself. Apart from a few exceptions (Antiochus Epiphanes, Ptolemy Physcon), the Seleucids and the Lagids pursued a friendly policy toward the Jews, and met with a grateful attachment in return. Thus Seleucus Nicator granted them the privilege of settling in all his new colonies, with the rights of citizens; Ptolmey Soter entrusted them with the charge of the custom-house on the Nile; and Antiochus the Great installed them as planters and tax-gatherers in Lydia and Phrygia, while granting to them the free exercise of their customs ("Ant." xii. 3, § 4 [doubtful]). There is reason to believe that the kings of Pergamos were actuated by similar principles; otherwise it would be hard to account for the rapid growth of the Jewish communities in the cities of Ionia.

Roman Attitude.

At first the Romans showed little disposition to receive the Jews among them. In 139, at the time of their first appearance, they were expelled by the pretor Hispalus, in order to check their proselytizing endeavors (Val. Max. i. 32). Eighty years later, however, Rome possessed a large Jewish colony. Julius Cæsar, who prohibited foreign "collegia" in Rome, made a distinct exception in favor of the Jews, to whom he felt indebted ("Ant." xiv. 10, § 8), and who sincerely lamented his death. Augustus showed them similar good-will. Under Tiberius, in consequence of various scandals that attracted the attention of Sejanus, the Jews in 19 were expelled from Rome ("Ant." xviii. 3, § 5); while a "senatus consultum" ordered them to evacuate Italy if within a stated time they had not abjured their rites (Tacitus, "Annales," ii. 85; Suetonius, "Tiberius," 36); and, under the pretext of military service, 4,000 Jews were deported to the deadly climate of Sardinia. The edict of expulsion, however, was not long enforced; and after the death of Sejanus the Jews reappeared in Rome. Under Caligula these disgraces were wiped out. Claudius used the disorders occasioned by a certain Chrestos as a pretext for interdicting Jewish gatherings in Rome (Dio Cassius, lx. 6). It may indeed be the case that the whole account is inaccurate, and that a simple police measure is here represented as an edict of expulsion (Acts xviii. 2; Suetonius, "Claudius," 25; Orosius, vii. 6, 15). From that time on, the legal status of the Jews of Rome was never again disturbed, even at the height of the terrible insurrections under Vespasian, Trajan, and Hadrian.

Influence of Cæsar.

At every period the Roman government kept their anti-Judaism for "home consumption." As far back as 161 B.C. (?) Rome formed an alliance with the Jews of Palestine—the first made by it with Orientals—and by virtue of this alliance, renewed several times and maintained at great cost, it incurred the moral obligation to defend the religious liberty of all the Jewish emigrants wherever it possessed influence. As early as 139 a circular note of the Roman government was issued to the friendly monarchies and republics on behalf of their new allies (I Macc. xxv. 16-24).

With the inheritance of Macedonia and Pergamos from the Seleucids and the Lagids, the duty devolved upon Rome of protecting the Jews, scattered in the various Greek cities now passing under its domination, against the malevolence of their inhabitants. It was, in particular, after Julius Cæsar that Rome took this duty to heart. Though undoubtedly the services which John Hyrcanus and Antipater rendered to the dictator during his campaign had something to do with his friendly attitude toward the Jews, still the latter was largely the result of his broad and humanitarian views rising above all distinctions of race and religion.

His successors were actuated by similar sentiments; and as soon as an organized Jewish state came into existence, its rulers, Hyrcan, the Herods, and the Agrippas—personal friends of the triumvirate and of the successive emperors—were enabled to intercede successfully on behalf of their persecuted coreligionists. Thus it was that, upon the "invitation" of the Roman governors or emperors, several cities of Asia Minor (Laodicea, Miletus, Halicarnassus, Sardes, and Ephesus) issued decrees in behalf of the Jews, which Josephus has preserved ("Ant." xiv. 10); and thus, too, it was that Alexandria was compelled to perpetuate their rights by means of a bronze stele (Josephus, "Contra Ap." ii. 4; "Ant." xiv. 10, § 1). When, under Augustus, the cities of Ionia wished to expel the Jews on account of their refusal to abandon their rites, Agrippa, chosen as arbiter, gave a decision in favor of the latter ("Ant." xii. 3, § 2; xvi. 2, §§ 3-5).

Tiberius himself issued a circular letter to the local authorities (Philo, *l.c.* § 24); and, after the momentary crisis provoked by the monomania of Caligula, Claudius, immediately upon his accession, vouchsafed to the Jews a writ of tolerance covering the whole empire, which thenceforth constituted the unassailable charter of their privileges. It had only one condition attached to it; namely, that they should content themselves with exercising their own rites without showing contempt for those of others ("Ant." xix. 5, §§ 2-3). Even after the great insurrection of 66-70 the imperial government persevered in its policy of toleration, and turned a deaf ear to the supplications of the Greeks in Alexandria and Antioch, who demanded the expulsion of the Jews, or, at least, the abolition of their privileges. These were, on the contrary, formally confirmed by Alexander Severus ("Vita," xxii.). Altogether, Judaism, during the entire duration of the Roman

empire, remained a recognized religion ("religio licita"); and, what is more, as will shortly be seen, a religion exceptionally privileged.

IV. These privileges were as follows:

Right of Residence.

1. From localities where they were legally established, the Jews could not be expelled except by means of a formal decision issued by the supreme authority (king or emperor)—a procedure followed under Tiberius with regard to Rome, under Trajan with regard to Cyprus, and under Hadrian with regard to Ælia. Occasionally at the time of their establishment in a city the Jews had special quarters assigned to them; thus, in Alexandria, the quarter called the "Delta," situated near the royal palace ("B. J." ii. 18, § 7; "Ant." xiv. 7, § 2; in Sardis, *ib.* 10, § 24); and, in Rome, the quarter "Trastevere." It does not appear, however, that their confinement to special quarters was strictly enforced; and there is evidence that in Alexandria—at all events up to the reign of Hadrian—they moved about freely.

Synagogues.

2. In the quarters inhabited by them the Jews possessed the privilege of erecting association halls for purposes of common worship and for the reading of the Law. These halls were, in fact, their synagogues, also termed *προσευχαί* and *σαββατεία* (the word *ἀνδρών* seems to denote a sort of synagogue reserved exclusively for the males; "Ant." xvi. 16, § 4), for the principal day of meeting was the Sabbath. The pagans, under certain conditions, could obtain admission to those halls (Acts xiii. 44; "Ant." xix. 6, § 3). The synagogues served also for purposes of manumission, or enfranchisement of slaves (Latyschew, ii., No. 52); and it is this fact that gave birth to the "manumissio in ecclesia" ("Cod. Theod." iv. 7). Each Jewish community of any importance whatever had its synagogue: some, as Damascus, Salamis in Cyprus, and Alexandria, had several. The synagogue in Antioch eclipsed all others by its magnificence ("B. J." vii. 3, § 3). Rome appears to have had as many synagogues as Jewish communities (viz., eight), all of which—at least up to the third century—were located outside of the "pomœrium." At times the authorities themselves designated the plot on which the synagogue was to be erected, in which cases the ground was doubtless given gratuitously (in Sardis, for instance, "Ant." x. 10, § 24). In maritime cities the custom seems to have been to build the synagogues near the sea (as in Halicarnassus, *ib.* § 23: *τὰς προσευχὰς ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος*).

Certain synagogues are said to have had the right of sanctuary, like that which has been recently discovered in Lower Egypt. In this case the right granted by one of the Ptolemies (Euergetes, I. or II.) had been ratified by Zenobia ("C. I. L." iii., Suppl., 6583; compare Derenbourg in "Jour. Asiatique," 1869, p. 373; "Eph. Epig." iv. 26, No. 33). The synagogues were places of assembly and of prayer (as well as libraries; Jerome, "Epistolæ," 36), but not of sacrifice, as is erroneously stated in the decree of the Sardians. With the exception of Jerusalem, the sacrificial cult obtained only in the temple of Leontopolis in Lower Egypt, founded under Ptolemy Philometor (about 160 B.C.), and destroyed in 73 C.E. The cult there was conducted by priests who had emigrated from Palestine, and was always looked upon with suspicion by the orthodox.

Cemeteries.

Besides their synagogues, the ruins of some of which still exist, notably that of Hammam Lif, Tunis ("Rev. Et. Juives," xiii. 48), with its beautiful mosaic (see, also, the curious inscription of Phocæa [*ib.* xii. 237], and Renan, "Mission de Phénicie," p. 761), the Jews had special cemeteries, built in the same style as the Christian catacombs. The best known are those of Venusia in Apulia, of Gamart near Carthage, and the five cemeteries in Rome: three in the vicinity of the Via Appia (Vigna Randanini, discovered in 1859, inscriptions published in 1862 by Garrucci; Vigna Cimarra, discovered in 1867, inscriptions published by Rossi and Berliner; Vigna Pignatelli, discovered in 1855 by N. Müller, "Römische Mittheilungen," i. 49 *et seq.*); one in the Via Labicana for the Suburan quarter (discovered in 1883, inscriptions published in 1887 by Marucchi); and one, the earliest discovered (by Bossio in 1602), but lost to sight again a century ago, outside the Porta Portuensis, for the Jews of Trastevere. To these must be added the cemetery in Portus. The Jewish graves are of extreme simplicity, and contain nothing but lamps and a few vases of gilded glass. Some more elaborate sepulchers ("cubicula") are decorated with paintings, from which the figures of animals are not always excluded (cemetery of the Vigna Randanini, cemetery of Carthage). There are also some sculptured sarcophagi. The epitaphs, usually in faulty Greek, are accompanied by characteristic symbols; *e.g.*, chandelier with seven arms, palm and citron, oil-vases, trumpet ("shofar"), etc.

Both the synagogues and the cemeteries were placed under the protection of the laws. The synagogues, after the prevalence of Christianity, were frequently in danger from incendiaries, and energetic penal measures were needed to preserve them. An edict of Augustus places a theft of the sacred books of the Jews in the class of sacrilegious offenses. As for the graves, the Jews, in certain countries, borrowed from the pagans an efficacious device to protect them: an inscription apprised the violator that a heavy fine would be imposed upon him, to be paid altogether or in part either to the municipal or to the imperial treasury.

The Jewish Cult.

3. The cult, besides the daily meetings in the synagogue, embraced the celebration of the Sabbath and the other festal days, some of which latter were attended by banquets; the observance of the dietary laws and the laws of chastity; the rite of circumcision—in short, all that constituted "the customs of the fathers." The free exercise of these customs was legally assured to the Jews. In Halicarnassus, a decree, while recognizing the community, fixed a fine for any attempt, private or municipal, to obstruct the course of the law ("Ant." xiv. 10, § 23). For a deed of this character in Rome, the future pope, Calixtus, was condemned by the prefect of the city to forced labor in the Sardinian mines (Hippolytus, "Philosophumena," ix. 12). The observance of only one custom, circumcision, was for a

short time prohibited by Hadrian; and this prohibition was one of the causes of the revolt in 132 (Spartian, "Hadrian," 14). To the period of this interdiction the Smyrniot inscription, "C. I. G." No. 3148, may be assigned, where the Jews participating in a subscription term themselves (l. 30) *οἱ ποτὲ Ἰουδαῖοι*. Later the interdiction was confined to the circumcision of non-Jews—a measure that was the outcome of another order of ideas. To the guaranties surrounding the religious liberty of the Jews may be added exemption from the worship of the emperors—which exemption was seriously menaced only under Caligula—and certain special decisions destined to reconcile their interest with their "superstition." Thus, Augustus decided that, in case the distributions of grain and money in which the Jews participated should fall on a Sabbath, their shares should be distributed among them on the following day (Philo, *l.c.* § 23). Likewise, in cities where the inhabitants were entitled to rations of oil—Antioch, for instance—the Jews received money instead, as the use of pagan oil was unlawful to them ("Ant." xii. 3, § 1).

4. Every Jewish community was authorized, at least tacitly, to form for itself an autonomous organization, administrative, financial, and judicial. From this, however, it must not be hastily concluded, as has sometimes been done, that in Greek countries the Jewish agglomerations were on the same level with the pagan religious associations (*θίασοι, ἔρανοι*), which enjoyed important juridical privileges. These privileges resembled those possessed in certain commercial centers by corporations of Oriental merchants—Egyptians, Sidonians, Tyrians, and Syrians—grouped around a national cult; but there was a great difference between this cult, associated closely with those in Greece and Rome, and the exclusive cult of the God of Israel. No official document furnishes the slightest ground for the assumption that, in Greek territories, the Jewish communities were classed with the thiasi. At the best this designation might be extended to those fraternities devoted to the cult of the *Θεὸς ὕψιστος*, in the Cimmerian Bosporus (notably in Tanais) and elsewhere—fraternities some of which seem to have been disguised synagogues, and some pagan "sodalicia" more or less impregnated with Jewish elements (Schürer, "Die Juden im Bosporischen Reiche," in "Sitzungsber. Akad." xiii., Berlin, 1897; compare Cumont, "Hypsistos," in "Rev. de l'Instruction Publique en Belgique," 1897, Supplement).

These thiasi were the predecessors of the Judæo-pagan sect of the Hypsistarians, who were spread over Cappadocia in the fourth century (Greg. Naz. "Or." xviii. 5). But in many localities, even outside of Syria, *Θεὸς ὕψιστος* did not mean YHWH; the name designated rather Helios or the Phrygian Sabazios, whom the Romans for a long time confounded with the God of the Jews (Valerius Maximus, i. 3, 2; Lydus, "De Mens." iv. 38). The status of the recognized Jewish colonies in Greek countries was comparable rather to that of groups of Roman citizens in Greek cities, in that they formed a small state within the state, and had their own constitution, laws, assemblies, and special magistrates, while enjoying the protection of the general laws. In this way the community in Alexandria is designated *πολιτεία αὐτοτελής*, while the Jews of Berenice (Cyrenaica) called themselves a *πολίτευμα*. Only one text, of Roman origin, seems to refer to the Jewish communities as "thiasi"; but here the word stands for the Latin "collegia" ("Ant." xiv. 10, § 8). Even so, they were but imperfect collegia, enjoying neither a corporate personality nor, in consequence, the privilege of possessing capital or real estate. A rescript of Caracalla declared void a legacy bequeathed to the "universitas" of the Jews of Antioch ("Cod. Just." i. 9, 1; compare i. 20, "Dig." xxxiv. 5).

Interior Organization.

The internal organization of these little Jewish colonies was modeled upon that of the Greek communes, and it remained faithful to the type, at least in appearance, even after the catastrophe of 70 C.E. had destroyed the national existence of the Jews. The influence of this catastrophe upon the autonomy of the Jewish communities has been exaggerated (Mommsen, in "Historische Zeitschrift," 1890, pp. 424 *et seq.*). It could have been only temporary, like that exerted by the edicts of Hadrian. Almost everywhere existed, side by side with the general assembly of the faithful ones (*σύνοδος, σύλλογος, συναγωγή*), which was often of a periodic character, a council of elders (*γερουσία, γέροντες, πρεσβύτεροι*). At Hypæpa there were *Ἰουδαῖοι νεώτεροι* ("R. E. J.," x. 74). The president of the council of elders was called *γερουσιάρχης, γερουσιάρχων*, in one instance even *ἐπιστάτης τῶν παλαιῶν* (*ib.* xxvi. 168, Constantinople; the meaning is contested). The number of the elders was proportioned to the importance of the community; at Alexandria they numbered at least 38 (Philo, "In Flaccum," § 10).

Synagogue Officers.

At the head of the administration was a single *ἄρχων* (at Antioch, for instance, "B. J." vii. 3, § 3), or an assembly of *ἄρχοντες*; at Berenice these officials numbered nine ("C. I. G." No. 5361). The community of Alexandria had for a long time a single chief, styled the "ethnarch" or "genarch," who united the functions of supreme judge and administrator (Strabo, cited in "Ant." xiv. 7, § 2). Beginning with Augustus, these functions were divided between a gerusia and a committee of archons (Philo, "In Flaccum," §§ 10, 14; compare "Ant." xix. 5, § 2). Only in Rome, and probably as a simple police regulation, the Jewish population was broken up into a number of small communities or synagogues named after their patrons, or their quarters, or the native place of their members, etc. Of such communities eight are known: *Αὐγουστήσιοι, Ἀγριππήσιοι, Βολύμνιοι* (after Volumnius, prefect of Syria under Augustus?), *Καμπήσιοι* (from the Field of Mars), *Σιβουρήσιοι* (Subura), *Ἑβραῖοι* (Samaritans? Palestinians?), *Ἐλαίας* (Velia? Elea?), *Καρκαρήσιοι*, to which must perhaps be added the synagogue of the Rhodians (inscription in Garrucci, "Diss. Arch." ii. 185, No. 37). Juvenal, in a celebrated passage (iii. 10 *et seq.*), seems to allude to a synagogue situated in the wood of Egeria, outside the gate of Capene. Each of these little communities had its gerusia, its *γερουσιάρχης*, its archons, one or more. The *γερουσία* is not mentioned in the inscriptions, but its existence is implied in that of the *γερουσιάρχης*, who

must not be taken as the head of the "assembly of archons." The language of the inscriptions would seem to favor the hypothesis that each community had one archon. At all events, it would hardly be safe to generalize the words of St. Chrysostom ("Hom. in S. Joh. Natal.") on the election of the archons in September and the annual duration of their functions. With reference to the nomination of the archons, the statement of the "Vita Alex. Sev." 45 is perhaps trustworthy; namely, that the names of the candidates were publicly posted, to invite objections. As a rule, the archon was not elected for life, as is shown in the mention of *δὶς ἀρχων* in the funeral inscriptions. This title was sometimes honorary, and extended to the children (*νήπιος ἀρχων*, *μελλάρχων*). Nevertheless, the *διὰ βίου* seems to have meant an archon for life.

Associated with the archon, chief of the administration, one finds in many communities one or probably several *ἀρχισυνάγωγοι*, chiefs of the synagogue (rabbis?). Sometimes the same person combined the functions of archon and archisynagogue ("C. I. L." x. 1893). The archisynagogue preached on the Sabbath (Justin, "Dial. cum Tryph." cxxxvii.). This title, however, did not always indicate an actual office-holder: in Smyrna and Myndus it was borne by a woman. The *ὑπερέτης* (ḥazzan) was an employee of the synagogue. The designation *γραμματεύς* was that of the official clerk; but occasionally this title, which was the equivalent of the Hebrew "sofer," seems to have been a merely honorary one. Persons versed in the Law were called *διδάσκαλος*, *νομομαθής*, *μαθητὴς σοφῶν*, etc. Probably these also were but honorary appellations, like the titles of *προστάτης*, *πατὴρ λαοῦ*, "pater" and "mater synagogæ" or "pateressa." A certain woman in Rome was "mater" of two synagogues. Another, in Phocæa, obtained the privilege of *προεδρία*, that is, of sitting on the foremost bench ("Bull. Corr. Hell." x. 327; "R. E. J.." xii. 237).

The large number of scattered Jewish communities were unconnected by any hieratic or administrative bond, unless the collecting of the didrachma (to be mentioned later) and the moral protectorate exercised over the Diaspora by the representatives of the Jewish state, as long as that was in existence, be so considered. After the dissolution of the commonwealth and the destruction of the Temple, the moral center of Judaism, the need was felt of a new center, at least for the maintenance of religious solidarity and of uniformity of legal practises. Such a center was the patriarchate of Tiberias, which was established toward the end of the second century, and became hereditary among the descendants of Hillel. Origen, with manifest exaggeration, compares the patriarch to a king ("Ep. ad Afric." 14). It would seem that in the fourth century, besides the patriarch of Palestine, there were in the Diaspora other dignitaries bearing the same title (compare, for example, "Cod. Theod." xvi. 8, 1, 2, where the plural is otherwise inexplicable; in *ib.* xvi. 8, 29, if the text is correct, there is mention of Occidental patriarchs). During the same period there are found religious functionaries designated "hiereis," whose precise functions are not known. In the inscription "C. I. G." No. 9906, the title *ἱερεύς* is equivalent to "kohen": the deceased was an "Aaronide." In a general way the propounders of the Law and the dignitaries of the Jewish cult bore the official appellations of "primates," "maiores," or "proceres."

"Fiscus Judaicus."

5. The Jewish communities possessed the right to levy taxes upon their members (this is the meaning of the word *αὐτοτελής* as applied to the Jewry in Alexandria) to defray the common expenses, especially in connection with the maintenance of the synagogue. Details as to the character of these taxes are wanting; but they seem to a large extent to have served the purpose of supplementing the voluntary contributions, as is attested by numerous inscriptions. The principal levy, dictated by the demands of the community, was that of the didrachma, an annual poll-tax of a Tyrian half-shekel (=2 Greek drachmas), payable by each adult male member, and destined to sustain the treasury of the Temple in Jerusalem. The amounts collected from the several communities were then combined, and, through special confidential envoys, were sent, either in the original coins or in a converted form, to Jerusalem (Philo, "Legatio ad Caium," § 23). This practise, which in time involved a considerable export of gold to Palestine, met with a vigorous opposition on the part of the Greek cities; while the Roman government also at first assumed a hostile attitude toward it. Under the republic the Senate, alarmed at the annual amount of gold sent by the Italian communities, several times prohibited all exportation of this metal, and the propretor Flaccus confiscated the sums collected in Asia Minor for the Temple (Cicero, "Pro Flacco," xxviii.). Later, edicts of Cæsar, confirmed by Augustus, again authorized the practise, both as to Rome and the provinces; and when the cities of Asia Minor and of Cyrene attempted to oppose it, Agrippa intervened in favor of the Jews, while a series of edicts broke the resistance of the Greek cities (14 B.C.; "Ant." xiv. 6, §§ 2–7; Philo, *l.c.* § 40).

After the fall of the Temple (70), the Roman government, instead of simply abolishing a tax which had no further object, decided to impose it for the benefit of the treasury of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome ("B. J." vii. 6, § 6; Dio Cassius, lxvi. 7). This was the origin of the "fiscus Judaicus," a tax doubly irksome to the Jews; and the collection of which by the procurators *ad hoc* ("procuratores ad capitularia Judæorum"), according to the registers containing the names of those circumcised, was accompanied by the most odious vexations, notably under Domitian (Suetonius, "Domitian," 12). Nerva abolished the abuses and delations (there are still extant bronzes bearing the legend FISCI IVDAICI CALVMNIA SVBLATA), but not the tax itself, which was still collected in the time of Origen ("Epistola ad Afric." 14). There is reason to believe that it was gradually replaced by indefinite exactions, often levied without notice—a system of assessment which was finally abolished by Julian (Julian. Ep. 25; the text is obscure and doubtful). On this occasion, Julian destroyed the fiscal registers in which the names of the Jews were inscribed.

6. The Jewish communities possessed the privilege of settling their own legal affairs: they had

their own judges and their own code. This code—which was simply the Mosaic law, sedulously commented on by the Rabbis—was the sole study of the Jews and the Judaizers, to the exclusion of the Roman law—a fact mentioned with indignation by Juvenal ("Sat." xiv. 100 *et seq.*). In Alexandria the Jewish tribunal consisted for a long time of a single supreme judge, the ethnarch (Strabo, in "Ant." xiv. 7, § 2, *διαιτᾷ κρίσεις καὶ συμβολαίων ἐπιμελεῖται*). In Sardis, at the order of the Roman proquestor, the Jews were granted a court of their own (*ib.* xiv. 10, § 17).

Autonomy.

All these are but special instances of a general fact (Sanh. 32). In civil suits the autonomy of the Jewish courts applied only in cases where both parties were Jews; otherwise, even if the defendant was a Jew, the general local tribunal was alone competent, as is evident from the edict of Augustus restraining any court from ordering Jewish litigants to appear before it on the Sabbath ("Ant." xvi. 6, § 2). In penal cases, at the commencement of the common era, the Jewish magistrates exercised a wide disciplinary jurisdiction, including the right of incarcerating and flogging (Acts ix. 2, xviii. 12–17, xxii. 19, xxvi. 11; II Cor. xi. 24). It does not appear, however, that their jurisdiction extended to offenses against the common law: at any rate they did not have the right to inflict capital punishment.

The judicial autonomy of the Rabbis was kept up even after the admission of the Jews as Roman citizens. It was at this time that the supreme jurisdiction of the patriarch of Tiberias was at its height. Origen affirms that he pronounced death-sentences and had them executed ("Epistola ad Afric." 14); but such decisions, of course, had no legal force; and if they were carried out, it was in secret, like the decisions of the Vehmgericht in the Middle Ages. Origen himself avers that in Judea the criminal jurisdiction had passed into the hands of the Romans ("C. Cels." ed. Spencer, vii. 349). The "Theodosian Code" made of the rabbinical tribunals little more than courts of voluntary arbitration ("Codex. Theod." ii. 1, 10).

7. The Hellenistic monarchies had compelled the Jews to perform military service; and this measure was productive of good results. Service in the field, however, was not compatible with a rigorous observance of the dietary laws and the Sabbath rest. On the Sabbath, according to the interpretation of the scholars, the faithful could neither carry arms nor traverse a distance of more than 2,000 ells (1,200 meters). Hence inconveniences frequently arose; as when the army of Antiochus Sidetes, which contained a contingent of Jewish soldiers, had to rest for two days because the festival of Pentecost fell on a Sunday (Nicolaus of Damascus, cited in "Ant." xiii. 8, § 4). Accordingly, the Romans, notwithstanding the effectual assistance which Cæsar obtained from the Jews, exempted them from military service, possibly in consideration of the payment of a pecuniary indemnity. This principle was proclaimed by the Pompeians in the year 49. At the commencement of the civil war, when the consul Lentulus raised two legions of Roman citizens in Asia, the Jews, at their own request, were exempted from the conscription; and instructions to this effect were forwarded to the local authorities ("Ant." xiv. 10, §§ 13 *et seq.*). In 43 Dolabella, proconsul of Asia, decided to the same effect; and his decisions were thereafter looked upon as precedents. The only levy of Jewish soldiers effected under the Roman empire was one under Tiberius, and that had a penal character (Suetonius, "Tiberius," 36).

Exemption from Military Service.

V. Such, then, in their essential provisions, were the privileges granted to the Jews in the Greco-Roman world—privileges important enough to induce more than one Christian to embrace the Jewish faith in order to shield himself in times of persecution. Nevertheless, the medal had its reverse. If the Jews were privileged "peregrini," they were still "peregrini"; that is to say, they were deprived of all the rights and honors to which a citizen, in the cities of Greece and in the Roman state, was entitled. Furthermore, besides the regular taxes, the Jews were subjected to the payment of special taxes, from which the citizens were exempt. Mention has already been made of the didrachma. Besides this tax, the Jews of Palestine had to pay a very heavy land-tax (Appian, Syr. 50; text obscure and probably corrupted), against which they vainly made complaints to Emperor Niger ("Vita," ch. vii.). Very likely, too, in the Greek cities they were required, as a matter of principle, to pay a tax imposed upon foreign residents, the *μετοίκιον* (a Jew is expressly classed among the *μέτοικοι* in the inscription of Iasus; Le Bas-Waddington, No. 294). All these encumbrances naturally inspired the Jews with the ambition of obtaining the privilege of citizenship, which alone could assure to them equality of treatment. This pretension, however, involved a contradiction: not that people in ancient times doubted that a man could be a citizen of two states at the same time, but because the Jews wished to combine the right of citizenship with the maintenance of their special prerogatives, their fiscal and judicial autonomy, their exemption from military service, etc. Moreover, the corporate life of the city in those days reposed essentially upon the worship of the deities common to all the inhabitants; and to this the Jews manifestly could not consent without surrendering their raison d'être.

Disabilities.

In the Greek cities possessing republican institutions—and these were the only places where the right of citizenship had any value—the aspirations of the Jews remained unsuccessful—at any rate up to the time of the Roman conquest. The contrary assertions of Jewish historians have to be received with extreme caution. A typical instance of the kind is the affirmation of the Jews of Ionia, in the days of Augustus, that they had been granted by the diadochi the right of citizenship in the cities which Antiochus Theos (261–246) had enfranchised ("Contra Ap." ii. 4). It is true that the Jews won before Agrippa the case against the municipalities that wished to expel them; but, although they succeeded in having their right of residence and their other liberties recognized, this does not furnish any evidence that they possessed citizen's rights, nor even those of "indigeni" (native-born; "Ant." xii. 3, § 2; xvi. 2, §§ 3–5). The words *οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν τῇ πόλει Ἰουδαῖοι* [?] *πολῖται* in the decree issued at

Sardis in the time of Cæsar (*ib.* xiv. 10, § 24), must not be taken to mean that the Jewish residents of Sardis were considered citizens of that place, but only of Judea.

Right of Citizenship.

Likewise in Cyrene the Jews affirmed that they had obtained the "isonomia" of the Ptolemies ("Ant." xvi. 5, § 1); but this vague term must be construed in the sense of "isoteleia"; that is, equality in matters of taxation, which privilege had, in point of fact, been assured to them by Agrippa (*ib.* 6, § 5). The term certainly could not have indicated the right of citizenship in the proper sense. Strabo, in enumerating the four classes of inhabitants of the country, expressly separates the Jews from the citizens ("Ant." xiv. 7, § 2). There is more likelihood in the assertion of Josephus that Seleucus Nicator, in the cities founded by him, Antioch included, had granted to the Jews the rights of citizenship (*πολιτεία*) and social equality (*ἰσοτιμία*) along with the Greeks and the Macedonians ("Ant." xii. 3, § 1; "Contra Ap." ii. 4, § 39). However, as far as Antioch is concerned, this assertion is elsewhere qualified by Josephus himself, to the effect that it was only the successors of Antiochus Epiphanes who permitted to the Jews of Antioch *ἐξ ἴσου τῆς πόλεως τοῖς Ἕλλησι μετέχειν* ("B. J." vii. 3, § 3).

The privileges of the Jews of Antioch were engraved upon bronze steles, which Titus refused to destroy (*ib.* vii. 5, § 2); and the Jews continued to designate themselves as *Ἀντιοχεῖς* ("Contra Ap." *l.c.*). The question concerning the *Ἀντιοχεῖς* of Jerusalem under Antiochus Epiphanes (II Macc. iv. 9) is still unsettled. Be this as it may, these privileges do not seem to have included a participation in the government of the city—supposing that Antioch did actually have free institutions. The same assumption applies to the other foundations of Seleucus. So, likewise, in Alexandria, the fact that the Jews, with the express authorization of the Ptolemies, called themselves "Macedonians" and "Alexandrians" ("Contra Ap." ii. 4; "B. J." ii. 18, § 7; "Ant." xix. 5, § 2), does not imply the possession of the right of citizenship (a right which, in a city not having an elective assembly and council, was of little advantage), but simply testifies to the equality of the Jews with the Greeks before the courts, the boards of taxation, etc.—an equality formally confirmed by Cæsar (Josephus, "Contra Ap." *l.c.*; "Ant." xiv. 10, § 1) and then by Claudius ("Ant." xix. 5, § 2).

In short, the Jews in a certain number of Greek cities, particularly in those founded by the king, had been placed upon a footing of perfect equality with the Greeks in matters of taxation, the exercise of civil rights, the participation in the distributions, etc.; without, at the same time, possessing the privilege of full citizenship. Philo, with an affectation easily understood, declares that the Jews consider as their "real fatherland" the country they inhabit ("In Flaccum," 7); and it is possible that the rights of citizenship were accorded to individual Jews—St. Paul, for example, called himself a citizen of Tarsus (Acts xxi. 39 [the text is doubtful])—but no instance is known of a collective grant of this character.

In default of the right of Greek citizenship, the Jews fell back upon their right of Roman citizenship, which carried with it, even in Greek cities, numerous advantages. Altogether, in Roman cities they fared much better. From the time of Cicero there had been in Rome a compact group of Jewish citizens and electors. These were, no doubt, ancient slaves, enfranchised by one of those solemn ceremonials which conferred upon them the rights of citizenship in its plenitude (Philo, "Legatio ad Caium," § 23; Cicero, "Pro Flacco," 28; the *λιβερτῖνοι* of Jerusalem [Acts vi. 9] belong doubtless to the same category). In the same period there were in Ephesus, Sardis, and throughout Asia Minor, a considerable number of Jews who possessed the rights of Roman citizenship. By what means they obtained it is not known ("Ant." xiv. 10, §§ 13, 14, 16–19). In Tarsus, Paul was both a Roman citizen and a citizen of the town (Acts xvi. 37–39). In Jerusalem, in 66 C.E., there were Jews who were Roman knights ("B. J." ii. 14, § 9). The number of Jews admitted into Rome during the first two centuries of the empire can not be estimated; but it must have been considerable in view of the number of Jewish slaves that passed through Roman hands as the result of the three great insurrections. Still, the Jew who had become a Roman citizen does not appear to have possessed the "jus honorum," unless, indeed, he abjured, like Tiberius Alexander, nephew of Philo, his national customs; and the same thing held good of a Roman who embraced the Jewish faith. The law was not modified in this respect except by the constitution of Severus and Caracalla, which imposed upon the Jews certain contributions in forced labor ("necessitates") of a kind and degree compatible with their creed. From this time on the idea of local citizenship became greatly eclipsed by the wider conception of a Roman nationality—somewhat corresponding to a citizenship of the empire (Ulpian, L. 3, Dig. L. 2, § 3). Not long after this Caracalla's constitution made its appearance, which, for financial reasons, forced Roman citizenship upon all the subjects of the empire (L. 17, Dig. i. 5). By virtue of this constitution, the Jews obtained thereafter without difficulty the "jus honorum," and the exercise of all civil rights, "connubium, commercium, testamenti factio," and even the guardianship of non-Jews (Modestin, L. 15, § 6, Dig. xxvii. 1). Nevertheless, as formerly they had been privileged "peregrini," they were now in certain respects privileged "cives": they had all the rights of citizens, but they exercised only those which did not conflict with their religious liberties. This may be inferred especially from the text already cited, according to which Alexander Severus "confirmed the privileges of the Jews." Among these privileges there was for some time, besides the exemption from military service, relief from service, more burdensome than honorary, to the curia.

Roman Citizenship.

VI. Having thus sketched the legal position of the Jews in the Greek states and in the Roman empire, it remains now to describe their social and economic condition, their occupations, and their relations with the pagans. On all these points save those which relate to Palestine and Babylonia and which do not come within the scope of the present

Social Condition.

article, information is singularly defective, even as regards the two most important communities, those of Alexandria and Rome.

In nearly every part of the Diaspora the Jews lived clustered together in the cities. They doubtless possessed farms and orchards in the suburbs; but agriculture was no longer, as in Judea, their almost exclusive occupation. In Alexandria they were engaged in commerce and navigation (compare a Jewish horse-dealer, Danooul, mentioned in one of the Grenfell papyri from Fayum), and especially in the mechanical trades (Philo, "In Flaccum," *passim*). At the gatherings in the synagogue it was by their respective handicrafts that the faithful were grouped. In Rome the Jewish population, mostly of slavish origin and living in wretched quarters, followed the humblest callings, which drew upon them the sarcasm of the satiric poets. These overdrawn pictures, however, should not lead to the belief that all the Jews of Italy and Greece were mendicants (Martial, xii. 57; compare Cleomedes, "Theor. Cycl." ii. 1; but the expression "Bohemian Jews" is derived only from a false interpretation of Juvenal, iii. 10 *et seq.*; compare Rönsch, "Neue Jahrbücher," 1881, p. 692, and 1885, p. 552), or fortune-tellers (Juvenal, vi. 542; compare Procopius, "Bell. Goth." i. 9), or venders of matches (Martial, i. 41; interpretation doubtful). The texts and the inscriptions refer to weavers, tent-makers, dealers in purple, butchers (Garrucci, "Cimitero Randanini," No. 44), tavern-keepers (Ambrose, "De Fide," iii. 10, 65), singers, comedians (Josephus, "Vita," § 3; Martial, vii. 82; sarcophagus of Faustina [Munk, in Breslauer's "Jahrbuch für Israeliten," ii. 85]), painters (Garrucci, "Diss. Arch." ii. 154), jewelers ("Rev. Etudes Juives," xiii. 57 [Naron]), physicians (Celsus, "De Medic." v. 19, 22; "C. I. L." ix. 6213 [Venusia]), and even poets (Martial, xi. 94) and men of letters (Cecilius, Josephus), without counting the preachers, lawyers, and theologians (Mattathias ben Heresh, etc.). At the end of the fourth century, in certain provinces of southern Italy, the "ordo" (highest class of citizens) of some cities seems to have been composed entirely, or at least principally, of Jews, a proof of their prosperity ("Cod. Theod." xii. 1, 158). In Egypt under the Ptolemies, from the ranks of the Jews came forth soldiers, farmers of the revenue (not only the famous Tobiad Joseph, but a certain Simon, son of Eleazar, mentioned on an ostrakon of Thebes [Willrich, "Jud. und Griech." p. 151]), civil functionaries (as the alabarchs Alexander and Demetrius), and generals (Onias, Desitheus, Helcias, Ananias). Later, however, Hadrian could or, perhaps, would find among them only "astrologers, soothsayers, and charlatans" ("Vita Saturnini," viii.). The days of glory for Judaism in Alexandria, which produced a Philo and indirectly a Josephus, were past (but compare Hippolytus, "Philosoph." ix. 12). It is worthy of remark that scarcely ever before the Middle Ages are the Jews referred to as money-lenders, bankers, or usurers. These, their imputed callings, seem to have been forced upon them much later by circumstances and as a result of special legislation.

Occupations.

VII. Theoretically the intercourse of the Jews with the pagans was confined to commercial relations merely, and even these were greatly trammeled through the "laws of purity." The Jews lived apart, most frequently in separate quarters, grouped around their synagogues. The pious Jew could neither dine at the table of a pagan nor receive him at his own table. He was not permitted to frequent the theaters, the circuses, the gymnasia, nor even to read a secular book, "unless it be at twilight." Mixed marriages were prohibited under severe penalties. These rules were not, however, always and everywhere observed with the same rigor. Evidence of this fact appears in the Judæo-Alexandrian literature with its strong Hellenic infusion; in some of the professions pursued by the Jews; in the general and almost exclusive employment of Greek by the Jews of the Diaspora, even for religious services. In Rome the tumulary inscriptions are first in Greek—faulty enough, it is true—then in Latin. The Hebrew words are limited to a few hallowed formulas; almost all the proper names are Greek or Latin. But above all it is by the activity of the religious propagandism that the intimate contact and the reciprocal penetration of the two civilizations manifest themselves.

Jewish Propagandism.

The fervor of proselytism was indeed one of the most distinctive traits of Judaism during the Greco-Roman epoch—a trait which it never possessed in the same degree either before or since. This zeal to make converts, which at first sight seems to be incompatible with the pride of the "chosen people" and with the contempt which the orthodox Jew professed for the foreigner, is attested by numerous documents (Esther viii. 17; Judith xiv. 10; Matt. xxiii. 15; Horace, "Sat." i. 4, 142), and, better still, by facts themselves. Various methods were employed to increase the flock of Israel. The most brutal was that of forced conversion—that is to say, circumcision—such as had been imposed by John Hyrcanus on the Idumeans ("Ant." xiii. 9, § 1; "B. J." i. 2, § 6; Ammonius, *s.v.* 'Ιδουμαῖοι), and by Aristobulus upon a portion of the Itureans (Galileans) ("Ant." xiii. 11, § 3). Next was the conversion of slaves owned by Jews as their individual property (Yer. Yeb. viii. 1). But it was especially the moral propaganda, by word, example, and book, which was most productive of success throughout the whole extent of the Diaspora. It must be admitted that Judaism lacked certain of those attractive features which drew the multitude to the cult of Mithras and of the Egyptian deities. Its physical exactions repulsed those wanting in stout courage; its cult, devoid of imagery and sensuous rites, presented only an austere poesy separating its adepts from the world, and cutting them off to some extent from communion with the cultured. But the practical and legal character of its doctrine, furnishing a rule of life for every occasion, could not but appeal to a disorganized society. The purity and simplicity of its theology captivated the high-minded; while the mystery and quaintness of its customs, the welcome Sabbath rest, the privileges enjoyed at the hand of the public authorities, recommended the Jewish faith to those more materialistically inclined. More-

over, it knew how to insinuate itself by a very clever literature, in part pseudepigraphic, in part apologetic, claiming as its allies and forerunners the greatest geniuses of ancient Greece, the poets, the thinkers, and the sibyls. It also called into play the famous oracles (Oracle of Claros, in Macrobius, "Sat." i. 18, 19 *et seq.*), and took on a Grecian aspect, while extenuating or concealing under the mantle of allegory and symbol those dogmas and observances that were shocking to rationalism. In brief, it was a religion essentially supple and elastic under an appearance of rigidity, and one which knew how to be at once authoritative and liberal, idealistic and materialistic, a philosophy for the strong, a superstition for the weak, and a hope of salvation for all.

Finally, Judaism possessed the prudence and tact not to exact from its adepts at the outset full and complete adoption of the Jewish Law.

Grades of Proselytes.

The neophyte was at first simply a "friend" to the Jewish customs, observing the least enthralling ones—the Sabbath and the lighting of a fire on the previous evening; certain fast-days; abstention from pork. His sons frequented the synagogues and deserted the temples, studied the Law, and contributed their oboli to the treasury of Jerusalem. By degrees habit accomplished the rest. At last the proselyte took the decisive step: he received the rite of circumcision, took the bath of purity (Arian, "Diss. Epict." ii. 9), and offered, doubtless in money, the sacrifice which signalized his definitive entrance into the bosom of Israel. Occasionally, in order to accentuate his conversion, he even adopted a Hebraic name ("Veturia Paula . . . proselita ann. XVI. nomine Sara," Orell. 2522 ["C. I. L." vi. 29,756]; she was converted at the age of seventy). In the third generation, according to Deut. xxiii. 8, there existed no distinction between the Jew by race and the Jew by adoption, unless the latter belonged to one of the accursed races; before the period now under discussion, however, these had long been extinct. Aquila, whose Greek translation of the Bible superseded in the synagogues that of the Septuagint, and Bar Giora, chief of the insurgents in Jerusalem, were proselytes or sons of proselytes.

This gradual entrance into the fold of Judaism must have been a frequent occurrence in the first and second centuries. Juvenal refers to it in his famous words: "Quidam sortiti metuentem sabbata patrem. Nil præter nubes et cæli numen adorant," etc. ("Sat." xiv. 96 *et seq.*; compare Persius, v. 179; Tertullian, "Ad Nat." i. 13). The term "metuens" itself is technical, being a translation of the Greek *φοβούμενοι*, *σεβόμενοι* (*i.e.*, *τὸν θεόν*), by which the Greek texts usually designate the proselytes (Acts xiii. 16, 26, 43; xvii. 4; "Ant." xiv. 7, § 2; compare "Eph. Epigr." iv., No. 838, and Schürer, "Juden im Bosporischen Reiche," p. 20). Efforts have been made to establish a sharp distinction between the *σεβόμενοι* or *φοβούμενοι* and the proselytes proper, the "gerim" of the Hebrew texts (in this sense so early as II Chron. xxx. 25). It would seem more accurate to consider all these terms as synonymous, while admitting various degrees in proselytism. The simple Judaizers (*Ἰουδαΐζοντες*, "B. J." ii. 18, § 2; in Phenicia and in Palestine some autonomous communities of *θεοσεβεῖς* organized themselves [Cyril of Alexandria, in "Patrologiæ," lxviii. 282]; the "cælicolæ" of the fourth century are of the same class), the "improfessi" (Suetonius, "Domit." 12), were naturally more numerous than the newly circumcised inscribed upon the register. The number of female proselytes by far exceeded that of the males, a circumstance which is sufficiently accounted for by the fear of circumcision on the part of the latter.

It can not be doubted that Judaism in this way made numerous converts during two or three centuries; but the statements of Josephus, Philo, and even of Seneca, who represent the whole world as rushing toward Jewish observances, must be regarded as fanciful exaggerations ("Contra Ap." ii. 39; Seneca, in "Aug. Civ. Dei," vi. 11; Philo, "De Vita Moysis," § 2 [ed. Mangey, ii. 137]). At the same time, it is an indisputable fact that proselytes were found in large numbers in every country of the Diaspora. The pagan authors, struck by this phenomenon, carefully distinguish the Jews by race from the Jews by adoption (Suetonius, "Tib." 36: "gentis eiusdem vel simila sectantes"; Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 17). In Antioch a large portion of the Greek population Judaized in the time of Josephus ("B. J." vii. 3, § 3); and although they turned Christians in the days of Chrysostom, they had not forgotten the way to the synagogues. The same holds true of certain districts in Spain. In Damascus "almost all the women" observed the Jewish usages (*ib.* i. 20, § 2). Paul met with proselytes in Antioch of Pisidia, in Thyatira, in Thessalonica, and in Athens. The coins of Apamea representing the Ark of Noah, and the numerous associations of *σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὕψιστον*, attest the diffusion of Jewish ideas and legends in Asia Minor. These associations (as in Gorgippia) may even represent veritable synagogues under a pagan mask, assumed for prudence' sake. In Rome, where the Jewish propaganda had taken the first step at the time of the embassy of Numenius (139 B.C.), its efforts and successes are indicated by Horace, Persius, and Juvenal.

Extent of Proselytism.

The enormous growth of the Jewish nation in Egypt, Cyprus, and Cyrene can not be accounted for without supposing an abundant infusion of Gentile blood. Proselytism swayed alike the upper and the lower classes of society. The great number of Jews passing through the state of slavery must, of course, have catechized their comrades rather than their masters. Yet one hears also of distinguished recruits, and even illustrious ones: in the Orient, the chamberlain of Queen Candace (Acts viii. 26), the royal family of Adiabene, and the kings of Emesa (Azizus) and of Cilicia (Polemo), united by marriage with the family of Herod ("Ant." xx. 7, §§ 1,3); in Rome, the patrician Fulvia ("Ant." xviii. 3, § 5), Flavius Clemens and Flavia Domitilla, cousins of Domitian (Dio Cassius, lxvii. 14; the text, read without preconception, leaves no doubt as to their conversion), and a page of Caracalla (Josephus, "Vita," § 1). The empress Poppea herself is termed *θεοσεβής* ("Ant." xx. 8, § 11); and if Heliogabalus was not a Jew, he had at least adopted several Jewish usages, and intended to include Judaism in that strange amal-

gam in which he said all the existing cults should be reconciled under the auspices of the deity of Emesa.

The Jewish propaganda in the East did not meet with any other resistance than the attachment of the populations to their national religions. Thus Syllæus, minister of Obodas, king of the Nabatæans, when pressed to become a convert, declared that the Arabians would stone him ("Ant." xvi. 7, § 6). No Greek law can be cited designed to repress Jewish proselytism; but the Roman government showed less indulgence, especially after the great uprisings which laid bare the implacable hatred of the Jews toward their conquerors. While the religious liberty and the national customs of the Jews were scrupulously respected, severe measures were taken to prevent them from securing recruits, whom the Romans, in their patriotism, looked upon as real deserters. Under Domitian the crime of Judaizing, held to be identical with that of impiety or atheism, occasioned numerous forfeitures and condemnations to death or exile (Dio Cassius, lxvii. 14).

Nerva put an end to these proceedings, which often occasioned scandal (*ib.* lxviii. 1); but though thereafter a partial adoption of Jewish customs was overlooked, a complete conversion continued to be prohibited. A rescript of Antoninus Pius, modifying a too general order of Hadrian, authorized the Jews to circumcise none except their own sons. The circumcision of a non-Jew, even if a slave, was punished with the same penalty as castration (L. ii .pr. Dig. xlviii. 8 [Modestin]); namely, death for the "humiliores," deportation to an island for the "honestiores," and confiscation for all (L. iii. § 5, iv. § 2; Paulus, "Sent." v. 22, § 4). Both the Roman citizen who submitted himself or who submitted his slave to this operation, and the surgeon who performed the operation, were punished: the one with deportation and confiscation; the other with death (Paulus, *ib.* § 3). This relentless legislation was again enforced by Septimius Severus ("Vita," ch. xvii.), and was maintained in full vigor up to the time of Origen ("Contra Cels." ii. 13).

Prohibition of Circumcision.

The effect of these laws was far-reaching, but in a direction different from that purposed by their authors. It is true the increase of the Jewish sect was checked; all the more so since in Talmudic circles the tendencies hostile to proselytism gained decidedly the upper hand. The enfeebling of Judaism, however, did not work to the profit of the pagan religions, which no longer had any hold upon the population. The half-proselytes, having no chance of becoming complete Jews, lent a readier ear to the evangelical preaching; and it was among these that Christianity made its first and its most numerous conquests (as early as the time of Paul; Acts xvii. 17).

The manifest success of the Jewish propaganda, and the stringent laws which were necessary to check it, biased the judgments of the ancient writers upon the Jews. To read them one would believe that Judaism had been to nearly all antiquity simply an object of horror and contempt. Its religious particularism, represented as atheism; its social particularism, represented as unsociability (ἀμιξία), and even as a hatred of mankind; its origin, disfigured by absurd legends; its creed and usages, placed in a most malevolent light, often highly mendacious—all this presents a picture in which the ridiculous and the odious vie with each other. At the most, a few philosophic minds showed admiration for the monotheism of Israel, its rejection of idols, and its family virtues (see Reinach, "Textes d'Auteurs Grecs et Romains Relatifs au Judaïsme," Paris, 1895, especially the Preface; and Classical Writers and the Jews). On closer examination it becomes clear that this opinion of men of letters, almost unanimously unfavorable, derived its origin mainly from the Alexandrian controversy; and that the Alexandrian pamphleteers themselves were to a large extent under the influence of their Egyptian environment, where the hatred of the Jew had become a secular tradition. The truth is that, if Judaism lived in a continual antagonism to the champions of ultra-Hellenism and those of the old-school Romanism, it met, on the other hand, with wide-spread sympathy on the part of the masses, and of those of the élite who were free from national prejudices. It would have found even more appreciation if it had divested itself of its purely ethnic spirit; had sacrificed the accessary element (the manifold and vexatious usages) to the essential element (the religious and moral instruction); and had consummated at the proper time the transformation from a race to a religion—a transformation which is at once the program of its history and the problem of its destiny.

Popular Views About the Jews.

VIII. Failing to follow resolutely in this direction, Judaism did not succeed, any more than the religions sprung from Persia, Syria, and Egypt, in gathering up within itself the heritage of pagan classicism. Refusing to be absorbed in the new creed that sprang out of its own loins (the Romans perceived clearly this filiation from the time of Tacitus [in "Sulpicius Severus," ii. 30] up to that of Rutilius Namatianus [i. 389]), Judaism found itself, after the recent triumph of Christianity, in the precarious situation of a minority not yielding to coercion while suspected of a spirit of propagandism. The ancient exclusions based upon national differences were not resuscitated against Judaism. A century after the edict of Caracalla, there could be no question of diverse nationalities in the face of the all-embracing unity of the "orbis Romanus." The Jews were simply considered as a dissident sect, and classed in the same category as the heretics, the "cælicolæ," and even the pagans themselves. Such being the case in a society founded in an increasing degree upon the union of the Catholic Church with the state, Judaism could not fail to be the object of severe restrictions at the hands of the legislators. The progressive course of this severity can be traced through the numerous constitutions issued by the Christian emperors and preserved by the codes of Theodosius and Justinian: from the constitutions of Constantine, which still bear the imprint of a genuine spirit of tolerance and religious neutrality, to the measures, almost Draconian, of the sons and grandsons of Theodosius.

Relation to Christianity.

Naturally, account must also be taken of the individual dispositions of the emperors. Thus, against the attitude of the sons of Constantine must be set the humanity of Jovian and of Valentinian, not to mention Julian. The language went through the same process of evolution as the thought: it took on a tone increasingly contemptuous. Soon the very name of Judaism was not pronounced without the accompaniment of the most insulting epithets. The Jews were described as a sect which was baleful, disreputable, sacrilegious, perverse, abominable, whose assemblies were lacking in piety, etc. Only in rare instances was the word "sect" replaced by "nation"—an interesting proof that in the fourth century Judaism was on the point of putting off its national character, which it has only gradually reassumed under the pressure of restrictive legislation.

There is no need to enter into the details of this legislation, many points of which would call for an elaborate critical discussion, and which, moreover, no longer belong strictly to the period sketched in this article. A recapitulation of its principal provisions will suffice, grouped under three heads:

1. Measures Destined to Protect the Jewish Religion and Its Clergy: Judaism was a recognized religion ("Codex Theodosianus," xvi. 8, 9). Starting from this principle, which was never called into question, the emperors, even the least tolerant, ordered that Judaism be respected, and strove to shield its followers from insults on the part of the fanatics, particularly converts from Judaism, the most intractable of all. Of course, the Jews, in their turn, were required to respect the Christian religion and not to turn it into ridicule, even by indirect reference or by symbol—as, for example, at the Purim festival by burning a picture of Jesus under the name of Haman (*ib.* xvi. 8, 18 [in 408]; compare 21 [in 412]). On this condition the Jews could freely celebrate their festivals and Sabbaths. On these days they could not be made to appear in court; nor, conversely, could they require Christians to do so (Constitutions of the years 400 ["Codex Justinianus," i. 9, 13] and 412 ["Cod. Theod." xvi. 21]; compare "Codex Theodos." viii. 8, 8 and 20). Their assemblies were not to be disturbed (Law of 393, "Cod. Theod." xvi. 8, 9), nor their houses and synagogues pillaged and burned. The frequent renewal of this prohibition (*ib.* xvi. 8, 12 [in 397], 20 [in 412], 21, 25, 26) shows how laxly it was observed. This was the period when the Greeks, fanaticized by the bishop Cyril, drove the Jews out of Alexandria; when the violent actions of the Roman garrisons, under Constantius, provoked an alarming revolt in Palestine; and when Severus, Bishop of Minorca, forcibly converted the Jews of his diocese (418). Valentinian I. and Valens expressly conceded to the synagogues the character of "loca religiosa," and declared them exempt from military billeting (Law of 365, "Cod. Just." i. 9, 4 = "Cod. Theod." xvi. 8, 11).

Protection of Judaism.

The complement of these protective measures was the privileged situation accorded to the dignitaries and the employees of the synagogues. Placed on the same level with the members of the Catholic clergy, they were exempted from all burdensome services, from all contributions of forced labor, and particularly from the heavy responsibilities of the curia (Law of 397, "Cod. Theod." xvi. 8, 13). Their right to expel from their communities the "false brothers" who did them the most harm, was acknowledged (Law of 392, *ib.* xvi. 8, 8, and that of 416, *ib.* 23).

The patriarchate, particularly, was the object of most deferential treatment, the patriarch receiving a rank in the official hierarchy as "vir spectabilis." Insults addressed to him were severely punished (Law of 396, *ib.* xvi. 8, 11). For a long time he was authorized to collect through special envoys (Apostoli) a tax of "joyous accession" ("aurum coronarium"), which enabled him to display an almost royal pomp. However, the Apostolé, as the tax was called, already disadvised by Julian ("Epistola," xxv.), was interdicted, and its proceeds confiscated for the benefit of the imperial treasury by Arcadius and Honorius, in 399 ("Cod. Theod." xvi. 8, 24). It was reinstituted in 404 (*ib.* 17; in the same year the privileges of the Jewish dignitaries were again confirmed [ch. xv.]), but not for long.

The arrogance of the patriarch Gamaliel dealt a fatal blow to the institution of the patriarchate. In 415 Gamaliel was deprived of his rank and honors (*ib.* 22); and not long after—at his death, doubtless—the patriarchate was abolished. The apostolé, however, was continued; but in 429 it was converted into a tax for the benefit of the public treasury (*ib.* 29). Its history, it will be observed, strangely resembles that of the didrachma.

2. Civil and Political Status: After being for a long time privileged "peregrini," the Jews, by an edict of Caracalla, had become "cives," enjoying all the rights attaching to this title, and, in addition, certain special privileges by virtue of their religion. The Christian emperors respected this status in principle, opposing, for instance, the local attempts to impose special "governors" and a system of fixed sale-prices upon the Jewish merchants (Law of 396, "Cod. Theod." xvi. 8, 101), and likewise the attempts to compel the Jews of Rome to enter en bloc the burdensome corporation of the "naviculariі" (*ib.* xiii. 5, 18; in the year 390).

Status Under the Christian Emperors.

But although no injury was done to the civil rights of the Jews—except, as will presently be seen, in regard to slavery and matrimony—the same was not the case with their political rights. The idea that Jews could legally give orders to Christians—that they could hold a particle of the sacred authority of the emperor—soon came to be intolerable. As early as the year 404 it had been decided that Jews could not be employed as "agentes in rebus"; that is to say, as functionaries of the police and of the treasury (*ib.* xvi.; the word "militia" in this text has been misunderstood: it in no way designates the military career, which never had been open to the Jews). In 418, in a general manner, they were shut out from all public employments ("Cod. Theod." xvi. 8, 24; compare "Constitutio Sirm." 6), while at the same time permitted to become advocates (this until the year 425 only) or decurions. This interdiction was renewed in a more explicit fashion

in 438, and was extended to the judiciary offices and to the municipal dignities, particularly that of "defensor civitatis" ("Nov. Theod." ii. 3, 2="Cod. Just." i. 9, 19).

Moreover, the Jews were required to hold curial offices, more onerous than honorable, and which, in the pagan epoch, had been considered incompatible with their religion. This last measure, already attempted by Septimius Severus, met, it appears, with vigorous resistance. Beginning with the year 321, Constantine ordered that all the municipal councils could press into this service those Jews whose fortunes rendered them liable, excepting "two or three" in each community, "ad solacium pristinæ observationis" ("Cod. Theod." xvi. 8, 3). Later constitutions stated this exemption more precisely, while at the same time extending its range to priests, archisynagogues, chiefs, and functionaries of the Jewish synagogues (*ib.* xvi. 8, 2 [in the year 330], 4, 13; xii. 1, 99; "Cod. Just." i. 9, 5). But a law promulgated in the Orient—the date and author of which are unknown—reconsidered the reform, and exempted once again all the Jews from the curia. This law, in its turn, was abrogated, at least for the Occident, in 398 ("Cod. Theod." xii. 1, 158; compare "Cod. Just." i. 9, 5, as regards the first abrogation, in 383). The property of the Jews liable to the curia was formally alienated to the curia ("Cod. Just." i. 9, 10 [in 403]). It is worthy of note that even the curial Jews were considered as people of the lowest condition (*ib.* i. 9, 19). It is hard to explain, therefore, that in the time of Pope Gelasius (492–496) there were still Jewish "clarissimi" (Mansi, "Concil." viii. 131). Judicial autonomy disappeared at the same time as the curial privilege.

Liability to the Curia.

As early as the year 393, the Jews were required to conform in their marriages to the Roman laws, and polygamy was forbidden ("Cod. Just." i. 9, 7). A law in 398 ordained that in all matters not strictly religious in character the Jews were amenable thereafter to the Roman law and to the judge of the common law. No doubt the parties concerned were also entitled to submit their case to the decision of their rabbi, if they wished to do so; but this decision, in case it conflicted with that of the governor, the superior judge, had only the value of a simple arbitrament ("Cod. Theod." ii. 1, 10; this constitution is reproduced in "Cod. Just." i. 9, 8, with an omission, which seems to have attributed to the Roman judge jurisdiction even in litigations of a religious nature; but this omission can not be considered intentional). It must be assumed that, either through superstition or through respect for the judicial knowledge of the rabbis, many Christians in litigation with Jews consented to submit their contentions to the Jewish elders. This practise was forbidden by a constitution of 418 ("Cod. Just." i. 9, 15).

3. Measures of Defense and Attack of a Religious Character: Two principles are here dominant: (1) the prevention of the Jews from spreading their religion, especially to the detriment of Christianity; and (2) the encouragement of apostasy. To the first category belong the prohibition, under a penalty of a fine of 50 pounds in gold, of the erection of new synagogues, the preservation and maintenance of the old ones being, however, permitted ("Cod. Theod." xvi. 8, 25 [in 423], 27; "Nov. Theod." ii. 3, 3; "Cod. Just." i. 9, 19); the prohibition, under the death-penalty, of marriage with Christian women ("Cod. Just." i. 9, 6 [in 388]; "Cod. Theod." iii. 7, 2; ix. 7, 5), or even of having any contact with the women of the imperial gyneceum ("Cod. Theod." xvi. 8, 6 [in 339]; the sense is somewhat doubtful); and, finally, the prohibition, also under penalty of death, aggravated by confiscation, of the conversion of free Christians to the Jewish religion ("Cod. Just." i. 9, 16, 19 [in 439]; the convert, also, was punished with confiscation, "Cod. Theod." xvi. 8, 7 [in 357]; compare *ib.* xvi. 8, 1 [the date 315 is inaccurate]). A very delicate question, and one in regard to which legislation varied, concerned the detention by Jews of non-Jewish, especially Christian, slaves. Here the danger of seduction, or even of forcible circumcision, was a thing which was regarded as particularly to be dreaded. At first it was thought sufficient to renew the ancient law of Antoninus prohibiting the circumcision of even pagan slaves ("Const. Sirm." 4 [in 335], a renewal of a former constitution). The penalty for the master, it would appear, was only his loss of the slave, who was set free. But soon after, the emperor Constantius added thereto the death-penalty for the master, and in a general way forbade even the acquisition by Jews of slaves of another religion, under the penalty of their confiscation for the benefit of the treasury. In cases where the slaves were Christians, the confiscation of the owner's entire fortune was ordered ("Cod. Theod." xvi. 9, 2 [in 339]). This law, truly exorbitant, although renewed in 384, could not be enforced (*ib.* iii. 1, 5).

Converts and Slaves.

In 415 the Jews were formally authorized to own Christian slaves on the condition of not converting them (*ib.* xvi. 9, 3); but in 417 the influence of the clergy led—at least in the future—to the abrogation of this indulgent law. Christian slaves in actual detention by Jews could be retained by the latter, the death-penalty being applied to cases of attempted circumcision only (*ib.* 4; confirmed in 423 [*ib.* 5]); but even this provision was modified in 439 to exile and confiscation ("Cod. Just." i. 9, 16).

In the same manner that the legislation opposed all expansion of the Jewish religion, it encouraged, and no less energetically, the conversion of the Jews to Christianity. The Church, however, had no right to receive such apostates as desired, in invoking its right of asylum, simply to escape the payment of their debts ("Cod. Theod." ix. 45, 2 [in 397]). In the first place, of course, the newly converted were protected with the whole rigor of the law against the malice and cruelty of their former coreligionists ("Const. Sirm." 4; "Cod. Theod." xvi. 8, 1; "Cod. Just." i. 9, 3; this constitution, the date of which as handed down [315] is certainly false, threatens delinquents with the penalty of being burned alive). Still worse, the converted Jewish child could not be disinherited by its parents, nor even be curtailed in its portion; while a provision singularly odious was added, viz., the fourth part of the residue was assured to it, even though it might have been convicted of a capital crime

against the "de cujus"; without prejudice, however, to the legal penalties ("Cod. Theod." xvi. 8, 28 [in 426]).

By means of these measures and others of the same kind, confirmed by the novellæ of Justinian (45 and 146), it became possible, if not to induce numerous conversions (compare Procopius, "De Æd." vi. 2), at all events to check definitively the spread of Judaism; to pen it up, both physically and morally, within the confines of Christian society; and, finally, to stamp upon it the seal of humiliation and terror which it was to bear, as a token of infamy, throughout the Middle Ages. The legislation of the councils that inspired most of the medieval laws concerning the Jews was but a reflection of the legislation of the Christian emperors. In Constantinople (Leo vi., "Constit." 55 [between 886 and 911]), as well as in the greater part of the Occidental states, such an attitude could not but bring about, sooner or later, a complete proscription of Judaism and its followers.

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G. T. R.

DIATHESIS: A predisposition to certain forms of disease. It has been observed by physicians at all times that some races are more prone to be affected by certain diseases than are other races. These peculiar tendencies have sometimes been due to somatic characteristics, and in such cases the diseases are designated as "racial." But in the majority of cases these diatheses are due to certain habits of life, diet, or environment, or to social causes; and the diseases which result from the diatheses can not be called "racial," because when the social conditions are changed the liability to the disease disappears.

The nervous diathesis has been universally observed by medical men to be peculiar to the Jews. Some physicians have even gone so far as to state that the majority of Jews are hysterical or neurasthenic—neuropathics or psychopathics. How far this is true will be found in the articles on Insanity and Nervous Diseases.

French writers like Charcot, Lancereaux, and Féré have said that rheumatic and gouty diathesis is more wide-spread among Jews than among any other European race. The groups of diseases recognized by the French under the names "arthritism" and "herpetism" are by some writers said to be common among the Jews. By "arthritism" they understand a certain group of diseases, usually due to disturbances of the normal metabolism, which manifest themselves primarily as chronic rheumatism and gout, but which also include other morbid processes, such as diabetes, gall-stones, stone in the kidneys, obesity, and some diseases of the skin. By "herpetism" is understood a group of diseases which manifest themselves in various forms of vasomotor disturbances, as some skin-eruptions, neuralgia, migraine, gastralgia, and nervous dyspepsia; various forms of trophoneurosis, pulmonary emphysema, and arteriosclerosis, with their sequelæ, apoplexy, softening of the brain, paralysis, etc.

These disease conditions are not so prevalent among the Jews as some French physicians assert. Some, as the functional neuroses, are actually very wide-spread among them; others, such as arteriosclerosis, apoplexy, etc., are no more common among Jews than among other civilized races. The diseases which are most often met with among Jews are not racial in the full sense of the word. In the majority of cases they are due to their mode of life, to the fact that Jews are almost exclusively townd wellers, and to the anxieties of their occupations. See Apoplexy; Epilepsy; Insanity; Nervous Diseases; Medicine.

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J. M. Fi.

DIAZ (DIAS) DE SORIA: A family of Bordeaux which derived its name from the Spanish town Soria. There is nothing to definitely warrant the belief, held by Féret, that this family went to France as early as 1492. It is found for the first time, with the full patronymic "Dias de Soria," in 1756; although there were bearers of the name "Dias" and others of the name "Soria" in France long before. The family Diaz de Soria enjoys a great reputation, especially for the musicians it has produced.

Jacob de Soria: Born at Bordeaux April 27, 1762; died there Jan. 17, 1831. He was the leader of the choir of the synagogue in that place. He was also a captain of infantry, a rank with which he retired after serving in forty-four campaigns, especially in that of Saint Dominique, and receiving four wounds on various battle-fields.

His two grandsons, **Jacob-Frédéric** and **Julius,** both born at Bordeaux, the former Feb. 13, 1841, the latter April 28, 1843, are well known as singers and musicians. Gounod composed several pieces for Julius.

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G. C. de B.

DIBBUḲIM: Transmigrated souls. "Dibbuk" (lit. "something that cleaves unto something else") is a colloquial equivalent, common among the superstitious Jews in eastern European countries, for a migrant soul. It represents the latest phase in the development of the belief in the transmigration of souls; namely, that the soul of a man who has lived a wicked life will enter the body of a living person and refuse to leave it. The exorciser, in such a case a "ba'al shem," or a wonder-working rabbi, is alone

able to cast out this evil spirit, which usually goes out through the small toe, where a little orifice from which blood oozes marks the exact point of its exit. Full descriptions of such successful acts of exorcism, where, however, the dibbuḳ is still called by its older name "ruaḥ," are given in Manasseh b. Israel's "Nishmat Ḥayyim" (part iii., ch. 14; part iv., ch. 20). Another detailed description of a similar incident is reproduced in "Ha-Shaḥar" (vi. 459, 697) from Moses Prager's (Graf) "Zera' Ḳodesh" (Fürth, 1696), and is curious from the fact that R. David Oppenheim, the celebrated book-collector, who was then rabbi of Nikolsburg, Moravia, is one of the signatories to the narrative.

The first who wrote of the dibbuḳ under that name in modern Hebrew literature was P. Ruderman, but his "Ha-Dibbuḳ," of which the German title is "Uebersicht über die Idee der Seelenwanderung" (Warsaw, 1878), is of little value. The most interesting part of the book is the description of one of the dibbuḳim, which, according to his statement, were very common in Poland in those days. It proves that the manifestations of the dibbuḳ, and the belief in the power of practical cabalists to exorcise it, have undergone little change in the two centuries which have elapsed since the Nikolsburg incident referred to above. Dr. S. Rubin, in his "Gilgul Neshamot," the German title of which is "Die Metempsychose in Mythus und Kultur Aller Völker" (Cracow, 1898), points out the connection between the ancient belief in the transmigration of souls and in possession by evil spirits, and that in the dibbuḳim of modern times. He says at the end of his work (p. 29) that the belief in the wanderings of the soul "has come down to our time among the ẓaddikim and saints of the Ḥasidim, who cast out 'gilgulim' and 'dibbuḳim' from insane people." See Exorcism; Metempsychosis.

A. P. Wi.

DIBLAH: According to the Masorah and Septuagint, which the R. V. follows, "Diblah" is the name of a place mentioned in Ezek. vi. 14. No place of this name corresponding with the requirements of the passage is known. J. D. Michaelis conjectured that it was a misreading for "Riblah," since in Jer. lii. 10 the Septuagint has the same misreading, though the Masorah is there correct. See Riblah.

E. G. H. G. A. B.

DIBON (דיבון): 1. A very ancient town, situated from three to five miles (Baedeker, "Palestine," p. 193) north of the River Arnon (Tristram, "The Land of Moab," pp. 132 *et seq.*). The true pronunciation seems to be "Daibon" (according to the Greek transliterations, Δαιβων, Δηβων; see Dillmann, on Num. xxi. 30, and Mayer, "Z. A. T. W." i. 128, note 2). It is the modern Diban, where in 1868 the Mesha Inscription was found, upon which the name of the town itself occurs (lines 21, 28). It is from Dibon that King Mesha derives his epithet הדיבני ("the Dibonite"; Mesha Inscription, line 1).

The town, originally under the dominion of Moab, was conquered by Sihon, king of the Amorites (Num. xxi. 27–30), but then wrested from his control by the Israelites. It appears to have been fortified by Gad (Num. xxxii. 3, 34); hence its description as "Dibon-gad" in Num. xxxiii. 45, 46, though it is possible that the second part of this compound refers to a local deity only. It was assigned to Reuben (Josh. xiii. 9, 17). In the tenth pre-Christian century it is again found under Moabite domination, and as the residence of King Mesha. According to his inscription the Moabites called it "Ḳarḥa," meaning a bald (untimbered) plateau. This was

Plan of Ancient Dibon.
(After Schick, in "Zeit. Deut. Pal. Ver.")

due to the fact that the town occupied two elevations; the higher one, this Ḳarḥa, had been surrounded by a wall, and constituted the "new city," containing a water reservoir and many cisterns, as well as the royal palace and a "height" ("bamah") for the god Chemosh. In Isaiah's prophecies (Isa. xv. 2) it is menaced as a Moabitish city before other towns, the writer playing upon the name "Dibon" (="Dimon," from "dam" = blood; Isa. xv. 9; "Madmen" in Jer. xlviii. 2 is a variant, if not a corruption) to predict its bloody fate. Dillmann, Duhm, and others reject the identification. Cheyne makes "Dimon" a corruption of "Nimrim" (compare "Zeitschrift des Deutsch. Palästina Vereins," ii. 8). Eusebius calls it a "large market-place" ("Onomasticon," 249, 43); but it is not mentioned by later medieval writers. Even now fragments of columns and ornaments strewn about witness to the town's former importance.

2. A settlement of returning exiles in the Negeb (the South), in the tribal territory of Judah (Neh. xi. 25), in all likelihood identical with "Dimonah" in Josh. xv. 22, and represented by the modern Al-Dib (or Al-Dhaib; according to Robinson, Al-Daib; see Buhl, "Geographie des Alten Palästina," p. 182).

K. E. G. H.

DICE. See GAMBLING.

DICK, ISAAC MAYER: Russian Hebraist and novelist; born in Wilna 1808 (of the various dates the one given by "Aḥiasaf" is probably most nearly correct); died there Jan. 24, 1893. His father, who was a ḥazzan, gave him the usual Talmudical education, and he was also instructed in the Bible and Hebrew. He married when very young, and while living with his wife's parents in Nishvezh, near Wilna, became acquainted with a Catholic priest who clandestinely taught him the German language. He also acquired a knowledge of Russian and Polish, and on his return to Wilna acted as private teacher of Hebrew and German, having for one of his pupils Mattathias Strashun, who remained his lifelong friend. In 1841 Dick became teacher of Hebrew in the newly founded government school for Jewish boys in Wilna.

The visit of Sir Moses Montefiore to Wilna in 1846 was the occasion of a great outburst of literary productions in his honor. Dick described the visit in "Ha-Oreaḥ" (The Guest), published at Königsberg 1860. He was one of the founders and for many years the "shammash" of the Synagogue Ṭohorat ha-Ḳodesh, modeled after the Shoḥare ha-Ṭob of Berlin of Mendelssohn's time, and known in Wilna as "Berliner Schul," because it dared introduce some slight reforms in accordance with the ideas of the Mendelssohnian "maskilim," who were called "Berliner." He was interested in the uplifting of the Jews of Russia by various means, and corresponded on that subject with Count Ouvaroff, minister of education under Nicholas I. Dick declared himself in favor of enforcing the ordinance compelling the Jews of Lithuania to dress in German or European fashion, though in his own dress and manners he remained an old-style Jew to the last, believing that he could thus do more good than if he broke with old associations and boldly joined the new generation.

Dick was a most pleasant conversationalist, his fame as a wit spreading far outside of Wilna, and innumerable humorous anecdotes being told in his name and about him to this day. In later years he was employed by the publishing house of ROMM at a small weekly salary to write Yiddish stories; and his productions of that nature, of various sizes, are said to number nearly three hundred. In the chaotic condition of the Yiddish publishing trade in Russia, even an approach to a bibliography of works of that nature is an absolute impossibility. In his old age Dick lived comfortably, and was one of the most respected and popular men in the community.

In addition to that mentioned above, Dick wrote three Hebrew works: "Maḥazeh Mul Maḥazeh," a Purim story (Warsaw, 1861); "Siprono," a description of Jewish life in small cities (Wilna, 1868); and "Masseket 'Aniyyut" (Tractate Poverty), considered one of the best Talmudical parodies ever written. But his fame rests on his Yiddish novels, a field in which he was the first professional and the founder of a school. As he himself asserted many times, he wrote only for the purpose of spreading knowledge and morality among his readers, and in many cases he permitted this purpose to overshadow the story. Most of the modern critics condemn his style; his constant use of High-German words, explained, often wrongly, in parenthesis; his quotations from the Talmud and Midrashim with his own commentaries, retarding the flow of the narrative; and his pausing at a dialogue or other interesting point to insert a long sermon on the moral lesson to be drawn from incidents described in the story. But in spite of all verbosity and deviation, Dick was an excellent storyteller, having a power of description, an insight into human character, and a sympathetic humor which are given to few. His longer works are chiefly translations, and are the least worthy of his writings; but among the shorter ones are many original stories, some of which, if divested of superfluous matter, could well bear an English translation. "Der Yiddischer Posliannik" (The Jewish Ambassador), Wilna, 1880; "Note Ganaf" (Life of Nathan the Thief), *ib.* 1887; and "Die Schöne Minka," *ib.* 1886, have considerable merit; while some of his characters, such as "Shemaya Gut Yom-Ṭob Bitter" (the holiday visitor), "Chaitzikel Allein," or "Der Moiziter Bachur," rank among the best efforts of the present Yiddish writers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Obituaries in *Ha-Asif* and *Aḥiasaf*, Warsaw, 1894; Wiener, *History of Yiddish Literature*, pp. 169–172, New York, 1899; Zolotkoff, in *Stadt-Anzeiger*, Oct. 15, 1893; *Ha-Shaḥar*, v. 349 *et seq.*; *Hausfreund*, 1894, vol. iii.; Winter and Wünsche, *Die Jüdische Litteratur*, pp. 585–603.

H. R. P. WI.

DICK, LEOPOLD: German artist and professor of engraving; born 1817; died June 23, 1854. He studied art at the Royal Academy of Munich, and became well known through his lithographic illustrations of the Old Testament after Raphael. In 1848 he was appointed professor of the art of engraving at the Royal District Industrial School of Kaiserslautern in the Palatinate. He taught with great success, and was highly spoken of by the board of examiners in their annual reports.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Allg. Zeit. des Jud.* 1854, p. 376.

S. A. R.

DICKENS, CHARLES: English novelist; born Feb. 7, 1812, at 387 Mile End Terrace, Commercial Road, Landport, Portsea; died June 9, 1870, at Gadshill, near Rochester, Kent. Dickens is of interest to the Jewish world principally through two of his novels: "Oliver Twist" (Jan., 1837 to March, 1839) and "Our Mutual Friend" (May, 1864 to Nov., 1865). These two works are characterized by a decided difference in the attitude of Dickens toward Jews. Few Jews in fiction are blacker and more repugnant in body and soul than *Fagin*, the thief, the coward, the all but murderer, and few bits of descriptive writing are more graphic than the narration of *Fagin's* last night on earth and his well-deserved punishment. Yet the name was derived from a Christian friend of Dickens' youth, the whole character from a well-known Christian "fence" of the period.

Fagin became the generally accepted type of the Jew; and "Oliver Twist" was considered as a direct hit at the Jew. Dickens evidently realized this, either through criticism or from personal contact with the real Jew; for when next he made use of a Hebrew in fiction, he drew *Riah* in "Our Mutual Friend," a character at the other extreme—almost

impossibly, certainly improbably, good. In both "Oliver Twist" and "Our Mutual Friend" Dickens displays a lack of knowledge of the real characteristics of Jews.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: David Philipson, *The Jew in English Fiction*, pp. 88–102, Cincinnati, 1889.

J. E. Ms.

DICTIONARIES, BIBLE: Collections of articles in alphabetical order treating of the various biographical, archeological, geographical, and other subjects of the Bible. Up to within quite recent times Jews have taken very little part in such work. The earliest attempt at anything like a Bible dictionary is the work of Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea (d. 340), on the geographical names mentioned in the Old and New Testaments, entitled Περὶ τῶν Τοπικῶν Ὀνομάτων τῶν ἐν τῃ Θείᾳ Γραφῇ (ed. Lagarde, in "Onomastica Sacra," 2d ed., 1887; republished by Klostermann in "Texte und Uebersetz." viii. 2). To this must be added the "Onomasticon" of Biblical proper names in Greek, also published by Lagarde. Jerome's "Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum Nominum" and "De Situ et Nominibus Locorum Hebraicorum Liber" (ed. Lagarde, *l.c.*) are based on the work of Eusebius. The work of the Spanish priest Arias Montanus, entitled "Communes et Familiares Hebraicæ Linguæ," etc. (Antwerp, 1572), contains a large amount of material which, if put in alphabetical sequence, might have made a Biblical dictionary. Even the interest aroused in the Bible by the Reformation and the Humanist development (see HUMANISTS) was largely philological in character; but the works of learned French, Dutch, and English Orientalists had brought out a large amount of material dealing with the social life of the Israelites, and the travels of some of them had increased the interest in the East as the best aid to an exposition of Biblical times. The first successful attempt to compile a dictionary of the Bible was made by the polyhistor and Protestant theologian Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588–1638), who wrote a universal encyclopedia and a "Triumphus Bibliorum Sacrorum seu Encyclopædia Biblica," Frankfort, 1625. Not many years later P. Ravenilli published his "Bibliotheca Sacra seu Thesaurus Scripturæ Canonicæ" (Geneva, 1650; 2d ed., 1660), which is in the proper form of a dictionary. This work might rather be called a dictionary to the Vulgate, just as the extract made of it in English, "A Complete Christian Dictionary of the O. and N. Test.," by Thomas Wilson, John Bagwell, and Andrew Simon (London, 1661), is rather a concordance to the English Bible. In 1693 J. Simon published at Lyons a "Dictionarium Biblicum," which was reprinted several times, the last in 1717. Simon, however, was ignorant of Hebrew, and it was for the purpose of correcting the many mistakes in his dictionary that the epoch-making work of Augustin Calmet, "La Sainte Bible en Latin et en François avec un Commentaire Littéral et Critique" (23 vols., Paris, 1707), was published. See CALMET, AUGUSTIN.

Calmet's Dictionary.

Calmet's dictionary, translated into English by D'Oyley and Colson (1732), was republished with many additions by Charles Taylor (London, 1793), but with the omission of all the rabbinic and Catholic material; and it reached an eighth edition in 1841. In a condensed form it was edited by Edward Robinson (7th ed., Boston, Mass., 1832–35). Calmet's dictionary was incorporated in the series of theological encyclopedias edited by Abbé Migne; and not only the text, but the illustrations also have served until quite recently to illustrate books dealing with the Bible or with the Jews. Upon Calmet is based also Daniel Schneider's "Allg. Bibl. Lexikon" (3 vols., Frankfort, 1728–31), containing much material from Geiers, Carpzov, Buxtorf, Bochart, Lightfoot, Selden, and Vitringa. Though very diffuse, this represents the first German attempt at a Bible dictionary, some of the articles being of special Jewish interest; *e.g.*, "Falsche Messias," "Falsche Christen," and "Gebot," in which last Schneider has added an incomplete list in German of the 613 commandments. W. F. Hezel's "Bibl. Reallexikon" (3 vols., Leipsic, 1783–85) also depends upon Calmet.

The rise of the critical school, especially as represented at Halle by the two Michaelis, Semler, Eichhorn, etc., finds its expression in the "Biblische Encyclopädie," published at Gotha (1793–98) by a company of learned scholars, which work, however, was never finished. The Gotha encyclopedia was completely overshadowed by G. B. Winer's "Biblisches Realwörterbuch" (2 vols., Leipsic, 1820, 1833, 1847), which has remained a standard work almost down to the present day. A number of popular presentations appeared in Germany during the first half of the nineteenth century; for example:

1829. Wörlein.—Encyk. Wörterbuch der Bibl. Grund-Realien. Nuremberg.
1836. Allgem. Wörterb. der Heil. Schrift. (Catholic). Regensburg.
1837. Gemmerli and Löhn.—Encyk. der Bibelkunde. Leipsic.
1846–50. Von Hoffmann and Redslob.—Allg. Volksbibellexikon. *Ib.*
1849. F. C. Oetinger.—Bibl. Wörterb. (purely theological). Stuttgart.
1856. H. Zeller.—Bibl. Wörterb. 2d ed. 1866; 3d ed. 1884.

The last-named was a protest against the rationalism of Winer and of Redslob (who followed Vatke's Biblical criticism). It was, however, fast becoming apparent that no more than an encyclopedia, could a real Bible dictionary be compiled by one man. The "Real-Encyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie und Kirche," edited by Herzog and a number of leading German scholars (Stuttgart, 1852–62; 2d ed., by Herzog and Plitt, 1877–88; 3d ed., by A. Hauck, 1896 *et seq.*), while not strictly a Bible dictionary, contains many valuable articles dealing with Biblical subjects and personages. Germany has, in modern times, published two Bible dictionaries in condensed form; namely, those of Schenkel and C. A. Riehm. Schenkel's "Bibel-Lexikon" (5 vols., 1869–75) was written in large part by Diestel, Dillmann, Hitzig, Holtzman, Merx, Nöldeke, Graf, Reuss, and Schrader. It omits subjects which are of minor importance. Riehm was assisted in his "Handwörterb. des Bibl. Alterthums" (2 vols., 1874) by Beischlag, Delitzsch, Ebers, Diestel, Kautzsch, Schrader, and others (2d ed., by F. Baethgen, 1894). Of other and more popular dictionaries published in Germany may be cited the following:

Johann Herzog.

1714. Ad. Rechenberg.—Hierolexicon Reale Collectum. 2 vols. Leipsic and Frankfort.
1776. J. A. Dalmasius.—Dict. Manuale Biblicum. 2 vols. Augsburg.
1793 96. G. L. Gebhardt.—Bibl. Wörterb. 3 vols. Lemgo.
1820–27. C. G. Haupt.—Bibl. Real und Verbal Encyk. 3 vols. Quedlinburg.
1828. C. A. Wahl.—Bibl. Handwörterb. 2 vols. Leipsic.
1837. C. L. Walbrecht.—Bibl. Wörterb. Göttingen.
1842. A. C. Hoffmann.—Allgem. Volksbibellexikon. Leipsic.
1866. H. Besser.—Bibl. Wörterb. Gotha.

The first to break away from Calmet in England was John Kitto. He recast the whole work, being assisted by such scholars as Hävernick, Tholuck, Reginald Stuart Poole, and William Wright, and published "A Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature" (Edinburgh, 1843–45; 2d ed. by Burgess). The whole was rewritten for the third edition by William Lindsay Alexander (Philadelphia, 1865), with especial reference to the religion, literature, and archeology of the Hebrews. For the first time the scope of such dictionaries was enlarged by the addition of lives of prominent Biblical scholars and of articles upon distinctively Jewish subjects (*e.g.*, "Elijah Levita," "Jewish Printers," "Albelda," "Dunash," "Yosippon," "Tanḥuma," "Talmud," "Satanow," "Rashbam"). Among those contributing to this work were Bialloblotzky, Cairns, Samuel Davidson, Emanuel Deutsch, Farrar, Geikie, and D. Ginsburg. Potter's "Complete Bible Encyclopedia" (ed. William Blackwood, 3 vols., Philadelphia, 1875) was based upon Kitto and Ayre (see list). It is a Church dictionary as well as a Biblical one. J. A. Bartow's "Biblical Dict." (2 vols., London, 1845) was popular in character, but did not go further than the letter "L."

John Kitto.

Much more scholarly than Kitto's dictionary is the "Dict. of the Bible," published by W. Smith and Aldis Wright (London, 1860). This was frankly stated to be not a dictionary of theology, but a Bible dictionary according to the Authorized Version. It was non-controversial; in certain cases it has several articles treating one and the same subject from different points of view. It was the first dictionary to contain a complete list of proper names in the Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha. The first volume was republished in two parts (1893) with the help of Driver, Naville, Westcott, Ryle, Tristram, Wilson, etc. The first edition was republished in Boston (1863), and again by H. B. Hackett and Ezra Abbot in New York (1871). An abridgment, made by Smith himself, appeared at Hartford (1868). P. Fairbairn's "Imperial Bible Dict." (Edinb., 1865) is more popular in character and more theological. McClintock and Strong's "Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature" (12 vols., New York, 1867–87; rev. ed., 1895) has justly had a great vogue in the United States. It contains nearly all the material to be found in previous dictionaries, and a large number of articles dealing with rabbinical theology and rabbinical writers. Philip Schaff's name is connected with two Bible dictionaries: one published in Philadelphia and New York in 1880 (Italian translation by Enrico Meille, Florence, 1891), and a larger "Religious Encyclopædia: or Dictionary of Biblical, Historical, Doctrinal, and Practical Theology," based largely upon Herzog and Plitt's "Real-Encyc." To this he added an "Encyclopedia of Living Divines," the whole being published in a third edition (4 vols.) by Funk & Wagnalls, New York, 1891.

Mention should be made here of the ninth edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica." With Robertson Smith as editor, it is natural that it should contain a large number of articles dealing with the Bible, and largely written by Smith himself (see "Encyc. Bibl." Preface, p. vii.). The articles on Jewish literature were written by S. M. Schiller-Szinessy. It was Smith's intention to republish the Biblical articles, and, with the help of other scholars, to form an "Encyclopedia Biblica." The immense mass of archeological and critical material gathered since the appearance of the "Britannica" made this impossible; but the project paved the way for the "Encyc. Bibl." of T. K. Cheyne and T. S. Black (4 vols., New York and London, 1899 *et seq.*). All the leading Biblical scholars are contributors to this work, which reaches the highest standard of accuracy and completeness; but it has one great drawback in that it gives too much attention to conjectural Biblical criticism. The "Dict. of the Bible," published at the same time by J. Hastings in conjunction with John A. Selbie, A. B. Davidson, S. R. Driver, and H. B. Swete (4 vols., New York, 1898–1902), is meant for intelligent laymen as well as for scholars, and therefore contains much less purely technical matter. It contains also articles on specifically Jewish subjects written by W. Bacher and other Jewish scholars.

Robertson Smith.

By the side of these works must be placed the "Dict. de la Bible," now in course of publication by F. Vigouroux (Paris, 1895 *et seq.*). Containing the work of a number of Catholic scholars and prefaced by an encyclical of Pope Leo XIII., this dictionary is an authoritative Catholic presentation. It embraces a number of subjects dealing with the theology and history of the Church; and it endeavors to combat from the Catholic standpoint modern Biblical criticism. The care employed in its compilation and the richness of its illustrations make it a valuable addition to the list of Biblical reference-books.

There are only three dictionaries by Jewish scholars to be recorded here. Ezekiel b. Joseph Mandelstamm compiled ("Sefer ha-Shemot," Warsaw, 1889) an alphabetic account in Hebrew of all persons and places mentioned in the Bible. In 1896 A. H. Rosenberg commenced the publication of a Bible dictionary in Hebrew, "Oẓar ha-Shemot." No topics or general subjects were treated, but only proper names and words occurring in the Hebrew text. The publication ceased after two parts had been issued (New York, 1896–99). A far more ambitious attempt is the "Real-Encyc. des Judenthums, Wörterb. für Gemeinde, Schule und Haus," of J. Hamburger, the first part of which (Strelitz, 1874) is devoted to the Bible. Hamburger attempts to treat the Biblical subjects entirely from a Jewish point of view, and with continual reference to the Talmud and Midrash, often with a practical end in view, as many of the topics treated were the subject of controversy within the Jewish body. Unfortunately, his references are not exact.

Quite different in character from all those above mentioned is James Inglis' "Bible Text Cyclopædia" (Philadelphia, 1877). This is a topical classification of Bible texts, the wording of which is given in full. A shorter work, but upon similar lines, is the "Bible Text-Book," published by the American Tract Society (n.d.). The following list comprises the chief Bible dictionaries published in modern times for more general use:

1769. J. Brown.—Dict. of the Holy Bible. 2 vols. London.
1779. A. Macbean.—Dict. of the Bible. *Ib.*
1784. P. Oliver.—Scripture Lexicon. Birmingham; London, 1843.
1793–98. F. G. Lenn.—Bibl. Encyc. 4 vols. Gotha.
1815–35. J. Robinson.—Theological, Biblical, and Ecclesiastical Dict. London.
1816. J. Brown.—Dict. of the Holy Bible. 2 vols., Albany; 1 vol., New York, 1846.
1829. W. Gurney.—Pocket Dict. of the Holy Bible. London.
1831. W. Jones.—Bibl. Cyc. 2 vols. *Ib.*
1831. R. Watson.—Bibl. and Theol. Dict. London.
1839, 1855. F. A. P.—Union Bible Dict. Philadelphia.
1840, 1860. S. Green.—Bibl. and Theol. Dict. London.
1848, 1849, 1853. J. Eadie.—Bibl. Cyc. London; Philadelphia, 1902.
1849. J. G. Lawson.—Bibl. Cyc. 3 vols. London.
1850. Alfred Jones.—Proper Names of the O. T. Scriptures Expounded and Illustrated. London.
1852. J. Farrar.—Bibl. and Theol. Dict. London.
1854. H. Malcolm.—Dict. of the Bible. *Ib.*
1859, 1886. Dict. of the Holy Bible for General Use. American Tract Soc., New York.
1863. G. S. Bowen.—Manual of Illustrations Gathered from Scriptural Figures, etc. New York.
1865. J. A. Bost.—Dict. de la Bible. Paris.
1866. J. Ayre.—Treasury of Bible Knowledge. London.
1877. James Inglis.—Bible Text Cyc. Philadelphia.
1880. Maurique Alonzo Lallave.—Diccionario Biblico. Part i. Seville, [phia.
1893. Edwin N. Rice.—People's Dict. of the Bible. Philadel-
1903. H. Guthe.—Kurzes Bibl. Wörterb. Tübingen and Leipsic.
n.d. W. Goodhue and W. C. Taylor.—Pictorial Dict. of the Holy Bible. [Philadelphia.
n.d. Index to the Holy Bible. American Sunday School Union,
n.d. Bible Text-Book. American Tract Soc.
1909. James Hastings.—Dictionary of the Bible.
1909. M. W. Jacobus and others.—A Standard Bible Dict.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Diestel, *Gesch. des Alten Test.* pp. 577 *et seq.*; McClintock and Strong, *Cyc.* ii. 787, xii. 278; T. H. Horne, *Manual of Biblical Bibliography*, pp. 369–372, London, 1839.

G.

DICTIONARIES, HEBREW: The earliest known work giving a lexical survey of part of the Hebrew language, with comments, is the dictionary of Biblical proper names (Ἑρμηνεία Ἑβραϊκῶν Ὀνομάτων) ascribed to Philo of Alexandria, and in any case the work of a Greek Jew. Origen, in the third century, enlarged it, and Jerome, at the end of the fourth century, worked it over in Latin (P. de Lagarde, "Onomastica Sacra," 2d ed., 1887; Schürer, "Geschichte," 3d ed., iii. 540). Aside from these first lexical works on the Bible, which have been preserved only within the Christian Church, there are no traces of a similar attempt in pre-geonic times. The manner in which the Bible was expounded and its language handed down by tradition in the Jewish schools of Palestine and Babylon, precluded the need of lexical aids. Traditional literature, beginning with the tannaitic Midrash, contains, of course, numerous lexical comments on the words of the Bible; and this literature, including the old Bible translations, must be regarded as the earliest and most important source of Hebrew lexicology.

Talmudic Lexicons.

The first lexicon mentioned in Hebrew literature deals not with the Bible, but with the Talmud. Gaon Ẓemaḥ b. Paltoi of Pumbedita (last quarter of the ninth century) wrote a lexicon for the Babylonian Talmud, of which, however, only small fragments have been preserved in quotations (see Kohut, "Aruch Completum," Introduction, pp. xviii. *et seq.*). Perhaps Ẓemaḥ himself designated his work by the name 'Aruk (ערוך), which word (derived from the verb ערך, Job xxxii. 14) is the earliest term in Jewish literature for a lexicon, though it gained currency only through Nathan b. Jehiel's work (see below) of that title. The first known Hebrew lexicon is called "Agron" (אגרון, pronounced also "Igron"), meaning "a collection of words," from אגר, "to collect." It is a youthful work of Saadia, gaon of Sura, and was written in 913. It was intended, as Saadia says in the introduction (still extant), not only to promote the knowledge of the pure Biblical language, but also as an aid to writing poetry. Hence Saadia's "Agron" was a double lexicon, arranged, as were most of the original Arabic lexicons, according to the alphabetical sequence of the first and final letters of the roots and words, corresponding to the two formal requirements of the Hebrew versification of that time, acrostic and rime. Saadia, who originally had supplemented each word by only a Biblical passage in which it occurred, made a second, enlarged edition of the "Agron," in which he gave the Arabic equivalents for the words, besides also chapters in Arabic on various subjects useful for poets. He also changed the name of the work to "Book of Poetry," or "Book on the Principles of Poetry" (for the extant fragments see Harkavy, "Studien und Mittheilungen," v.). A smaller but likewise epoch-making work of Saadia's was his explanation, from the language of the Mishnah and Talmud, of 70 (or rather 90) words occurring seldom or only once in the Bible. This has been edited many times.

Judah ibn Ḳoraish.

Saadia's elder contemporary, Judah ibn Ḳoraish of Tahart, North Africa, composed a larger work along the lines of Saadia's small list of Biblical words. This work, which is still extant, was written in the form of a letter ("risalah") to the community of Fas (Fez), and has three chief divisions in lexical arrangement, containing comparisons of Hebrew words with (1) New-Hebrew words of the Mishnah, (2) Aramaic words, and (3) Arabic words. This is the first work on Semitic comparative linguistics, and it has held a permanent place in Hebrew philology (ed. Bargès and Goldberg, Paris, 1857). The third part, containing comparisons of Hebrew and Arabic words, was known separately as "Sefer ha-Yahas," or "Sefer Ab wa-Em," according to the initial words (Ibn Ezra, Introduction to his "M'oznayim"; Ibn Ezra's contemporary, Isaac b. Samuel, quotes "Agron Ab wa-Em"; see "Jew. Quart. Rev." x. 729). Ibn Ḳoraish also began a larger lexicon, which, however, was not carried beyond the roots beginning with alef (see Bacher, "Die Anfänge der Hebräischen Grammatik," p. 69; "Jew. Quart. Rev." *l.c.*). This work, which Menahem b. Saruḳ quotes as "Sefer Pitronim" (Book of Expla-

nations), was, like Saadia's "Agron," doubtless written in Arabic, as was the "risalah."

What Ibn Ḳoraish's lexicon would have been may be seen from that of David b. Abraham (tenth century), which has been preserved in an almost complete state. The latter author, called also Abu Sulaiman of Fas (Fez), belonged to the Karaite sect, and was probably stimulated by Ibn Ḳoraish's writings to undertake his own work, which, also, contained many Hebrew-Arabic comparisons. Like Saadia, the only author to whom he refers by name, David b. Abraham calls his lexicon (written in Arabic) "Agron," which he renders in Arabic by "Jami' al-Alfaẓ" (Collector of Words). Through him the Karaites came to prefer the word "agron" as a term for "lexicon." An author belonging to that sect, writing in Arabic in the beginning of the eleventh century, calls David b. Abraham's work "the chief representative of the Agron literature" (see "Rev. Etudes Juives," xxx. 252); and Judah Ḥadassi (twelfth century) mentions the "Agronot" or "Sifre ha-Agron" ("Monatsschrift," xl. 125). David b. Abraham also produced an abridgment of his lexicon, as did Levi b. Japheth later, whose work was made the basis of Ali b. Sulaiman's "Agron," written in the first half of the eleventh century (Pinsker, "Liḳḳuṭe Ḳadmoniyyot," i. 117, 183; "Rev. Etudes Juives," xxx. 125). Extracts from David b. Abraham's work, which was the only original contribution of the Karaites to Hebrew lexicography, have been published by Pinsker (*l.c.* pp. 117–162, 206–216; see also Neubauer, "Notice sur la Lexicographie Hébraïque," pp. 25–155). After David b. Abraham, Abu al-Faraj Harun only is to be mentioned: he is none other than the anonymous grammarian of Jerusalem mentioned by Ibn Ezra in the introduction to the "M'oznayim." The seventh part of his "Al-Mushtamil," completed in 1026, is a kind of root-lexicon, in which the triconsonantal roots are so treated that all the roots formed by combinations of the same three letters are arranged in one group; for example, all roots containing the letters ע, פ, and ר—namely, פער, עפר, רעף, פרע—are treated under ערף (see "Rev. Etudes Juives," xxx. 247 *et seq.*, xxxiii. 20 *et seq.*). A similar arrangement was also adopted about the same time by the leading rabbinical authority of the East, the gaon Hai, in his lexicon "Kitab al-Ḥawi" (Hebr. "Sefer ha-Me'assef," or "Sefer ha-Kolel"), of which only quotations and fragments are extant (see "Z. D. M. G." lv. 129 *et seq.*, 597 *et seq.*).

David ben Abraham.

Long before Hai Gaon's time (d. 1038) a lexicon had inaugurated in the West a period of literary activity that made Spain the real home of Hebrew philology. About 960 Menahem ben Saruḳ wrote his "Maḥberet" (name derived from Ex. xxvi. 4), the first complete lexical treatment in the Hebrew language of the words in the Bible. In the arrangement of his lexicon Menahem rigidly adheres to the theory of roots current at that time. He includes roots of one and two letters, and adds a lengthy grammatical introduction together with longer and shorter excursus. On account of its Hebrew form this lexicon (ed. Filipowski, London, 1854) was for a long time the generally accepted lexical aid to Bible study in European countries where Arabic did not prevail; while in Spain itself it at first gave rise to lively polemics in the works of Dunash b. Labrat and of Menahem's and Dunasch's pupils. It was soon superseded, however, in the new era of Hebrew philology inaugurated by Menahem's pupil Judah b. David Ḥayyuj.

Ḥayyuj (end of the tenth century) set forth his theory of roots and his fundamental view of verbal inflection in two works, in which the weak radicals and the radicals in which the second letter is doubled are grouped together in lexicographical order. The same arrangement obtains in the first work of Ḥayyuj's eminent successor, the "Kitab al-Mustalḥaḳ" (Hebr. "Sefer ha-Hassagah"), a critical supplement to Ḥayyuj's works by Abu al-Walid Merwan ibn Janaḥ. The chief work of Abu al-Walid (called R. Jonah in Hebrew; lived in the first half of the eleventh century) is divided into a grammar and a lexicon. The latter, entitled "Kitab al-Uṣul" ("Sefer ha-Shorashim"), is the high-water mark of the lexical activity of the Middle Ages, and is remarkable for the value of its contents as well as for the methodical arrangement of the material. Especially noteworthy are the comparative definitions of the words and the large number of Bible-exegetical details. This lexicon influenced directly or indirectly the entire later Hebrew lexicography: the Arabic original was edited by Neubauer (Oxford, 1875); and Bacher edited the Hebrew translation of Judah ibn Tibbon (Berlin, 1896).

Abu al-Walid ibn Janaḥ.

Mention should be made here of the following works pertaining to the subject, and written in Arabic by Spanish Jews of the eleventh and twelfth centuries: Judah ibn Balaam's small treatises on the homonyms and particles; Abu Ibrahim ibn Barun's monograph "Kitab al-Muwazanah," on the relation of Hebrew to Arabic (edited, as far as extant, by Kokowzoff, St. Petersburg, 1894); "Kitab al-Kamil" (in Hebrew "Sefer ha-Shalem"), including a grammar and lexicon, by Jacob b. Eleazar of Toledo, known only through extracts.

Outside the domain of Arabic culture the first great lexicon to traditional literature (Talmud, Midrash, and Targum) was contributed by Italy, the old seat of Talmudic scholarship. This work is the "'Aruk" of Nathan b. Jehiel of Rome, which was finished about 1100, and has remained up to the present time the most important lexical aid to Talmudic study. Nathan arranged the roots according to the early system followed by Menahem, and paid particular attention to rare expressions and borrowed words, following largely the Talmud exegesis handed down by the Geonim (first ed. in Italy before 1480; latest ed. by Kohut, 1878–92, 8 vols.). With the exception of Gaon Ẓemaḥ's "'Aruk," referred to above, the only work of this kind mentioned as preceding Nathan's is the "Alphabeton," a kind of glossary by Makir, the brother of Rabbenu Gershom (first half of the eleventh century; see Rapoport's biography of Nathan, note 12). Samuel b. Jacob Jam'a of North Africa made important additions to Nathan's "'Aruk" in the twelfth century ("Grätz Jubelschrift," Hebrew part, pp. 1–47).

The "'Aruk."

The glossaries by the geonim Sherira and Hai accompanying the texts of certain Talmudic treatises do not come within the scope of this article (see Bacher, "Leben und Werke des Abulwalid," pp. 84 *et seq.*).

Half a century after Nathan b. Jehiel, Menahem b. Solomon, also of Rome, wrote a lexicon with the evident intention of upholding Ibn Saruḳ's reputation in the face of the system founded by the Spanish school, and at that time (1143) propagated in Italy by Abraham ibn Ezra. Menahem b. Solomon's lexicon is the chief part of his manual of Bible study, "Eben Boḥan" (Touchstone; see Bacher in "Grätz Jubelschrift," pp. 104–115). While this lexicon had little influence, that of Solomon ibn Parḥon, "Maḥberet he-'Aruk" (ed. S. G. Stern, Presburg, 1844), written somewhat later (1160) at Salerno, achieved a wide reputation. This work was in the main an enlarged extract from Abu al-Walid's lexicon, of which it has erroneously been regarded as a translation (see Bacher in Stade's "Zeitschrift," x. 120–150, xi. 35–99). Two other lexicons from two countries that otherwise have contributed little or nothing to the literature of Hebrew philology must also be mentioned. The first of these works, both of which drew upon Ibn Parḥon's lexicon, is the "Sefer ha-Shoham" (Onyx Book), written by Moses b. Isaac of London (end of the twelfth century), the beginning of which was edited by Collins, London, 1882. The author has been identified as the well-known punctator Moses ha-Naḳdan. The second work is the lexicon of the German Shimshon, who often defines the words also in German (see Geiger's "Wiss. Zeit. Jüd. Theol." v. 419–430).

Menahem ben Solomon.

Southern France began to take the lead in Jewish literature in the second half of the twelfth century. About 1150 Joseph Ḳimḥi of Narbonne wrote the "Sefer ha-Galui" (Book of the Revelation; edited by Mathews, Berlin, 1887), containing chiefly lexical matter and a criticism of Menahem's lexicon. His son, David Ḳimḥi (1160–1235), wrote the "Miklol," which contained a grammar and a lexicon supplementary to Abu al-Walid's chief work, but revealed, especially in its method, a remarkable independence. The lexicon, "Sefer ha-Shorashim" (printed before the grammar, in Italy prior to 1480; also Naples, 1490, 1491; Constantinople, 1513; Venice, 1529; new ed., Berlin, 1847), is much superior to Abu al-Walid's lexicon, and was for centuries the standard work of Hebrew lexicography. In the latter half of the thirteenth century Abraham Bedersi of Bezières wrote the first book of Hebrew synonymy, "Ḥotem Toknit" (see Ezek. xxviii. 12), a large and valuable work, arranged in alphabetical order (edited by G. E. Polak, Amsterdam, 1865). In the first third of the fourteenth century the many-sided Joseph ibn Kaspi also wrote a lexicon, "Shorshot Kesef" (see Ex. xxviii. 22), in which he endeavored to deduce the secondary meanings from the general primary meaning of the root (see "Orient, Lit." viii., ix.; Neubauer, "Notice sur la Lexicogr. Hébraïque," pp. 208–211). "Menorat ha-Ma'or," the work of a Greek Jew, Joseph b. David ha-Yewani, of which only a fragment is extant in a single manuscript, dates from about the same time (see Neubauer, *l.c.* p. 207). The first Hebrew concordance, also a kind of lexicon (see Concordance), was produced in the first half of the fifteenth century by a Jew of southern France.

The Ḳimḥis.

In Italy, where the scientific spirit among the Jews was especially active in the fifteenth century, Solomon b. Abraham of Urbino wrote (1480) a book of synonyms entitled "Ohel Mo'ed," Venice, 1548 (edited by Willheimer, Vienna, 1881), entirely different in character from Abraham Bedersi's work. In Spain, just before the expulsion of 1492, a Hebrew lexicon was written in Arabic by the learned rabbi of Granada, Saadia b. Maimun ibn Danan ("Rev. Et. Juives," xli. 268).

In Italy, Spain, and the East.

In the East the study of Maimonides' epoch-making work in the second half of the thirteenth century resulted in Tanḥum b. Joseph Yerushalmi's lexicon, "Al-Murshid al-Kafi" (The Sufficient Guide), written in Arabic. This work deals especially with Maimonides' "Mishneh Torah," but includes also some of the words of the Mishnah. A lexicon by Solomon b. Samuel of Gurganj (Urgenj, central Asia), completed in 1339, is a remarkable example of intellectual activity and wide literary knowledge from a region which is not otherwise mentioned in the history of Jewish literature. It presents in uniform alphabetical arrangement the vocabulary of the Bible, the Targum, the Talmudic-Midrashic literature, and some later works, in about 18,000 articles, most of which are very short. The author called his work "Sefer ha-Meliẓah," and sometimes "Agron" (see Bacher, "Ein Hebräisch-Persisches Wörterbuch aus dem 14. Jahrhundert," Strasburg, 1900). A century later Moses Shirwani of northern Persia completed (1459) a Hebrew-Persian lexicon which he called "Agron" (see Bacher in Stade's "Zeitschrift," xvi. 201–247). This is a popular aid to Bible study, as is also the "Maḳre Dardeḳe," a Hebrew-Arabic-Romanic (Italian, French, Provençal) glossary to the Bible which was produced about the same time in western Europe (printed at Naples about 1488).

At the beginning of the sixteenth century a great and decisive change occurred in the history of Hebrew philology. From that time this science, hitherto cultivated exclusively by the Jews, took rank in the large circle of scientific activities inaugurated by the new humanism; and it soon became a mighty factor in the religious movement that revolutionized Germany. Protestantism, going back directly to the Bible, took up the study of the Hebrew language, which henceforth became an integral part of Protestant theology. But in Judaism itself the period beginning with this century was one of intellectual stagnation. The old classical literature of the preceding periods was more and more forgotten, and the one-sided study of the Talmud gradually displaced the study of the Bible and its language, rendering the literary productions in this field utterly unimportant. The beginning of this epoch of decadence was marked, however, by Elijah Levita's activity, with which the creative period of Hebrew

Elijah Levita.

philological literature within Judaism was worthily closed. His works include: "Sefer Zikronot," a Masoretic lexicon or, rather, a Masoretic concordance to the Bible, still in manuscript; "Tishbi," a small lexicon of 712 articles (published in 1541 *et seq.*), containing mostly New-Hebrew words; and "Meturgeman," the first lexicon to the Targumim (1541). Abraham de Balmes did not finish the lexicon of roots to which he refers several times in his grammar.

The paucity of production in the field of lexicography during the three centuries of Jewish literature from 1500 to 1800 may be seen in the following chronological lists of works issued during this period, which are short and served chiefly practical purposes. These, as well as the following lists, have been made with the help of Steinschneider's "Bibliographisches Handbuch" (compare the corrections and additions by Steinschneider and Porges in "Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen," xiii., xv.):

Anshel, מרכבת המשנה, Cracow, 1534; reprinted under the title "Sefer Anshel," Cracow, 1584.

חשק שלמה, "Libro de Ladinos de los Verbios Caros di Toda la Mikra," Venice, 1588 and 1617.

דבר טוב, Hebr.-Germ.-Italian alphabetical glossary, Cracow, 1590.

David b. Abraham Modena, דבר טוב, Hebrew-Italian glossary, Venice, 1596 and 1606.

Judah Leon di Modena, גלות יהודה, "Novo Dittionario Hebr. e Ital." Venice, 1612; Padua, 1640.

Solomon b. David Oliveyra, עץ חיים, Hebrew-Portuguese lexicon, Amsterdam, 1682; אילן שענפיו מרובין, Portuguese-Hebrew vocabulary, Amsterdam, 1683.

Judah b. Zebi Hirsch, אהלי יהודה (dealing especially with proper names), Jessnitz, 1719; גנזי יהודה, "Compend. Concordanz," Offenbach, 1732.

Eleazar Soesman, מהר ישראל: part 1, grammar; part 2, Dutch-Hebrew dictionary; part 3, Hebrew-Dutch dictionary, Amsterdam, 1741; "Nomenclator op Hebr. en Nederd. Naamwoordenboek," *ib.* 1744.

Judah b. Joel Minden, מלים לאלוה, Hebrew lexicon, chiefly following Ḳimḥi, with High-German notes, Berlin, 1759-60.

Abraham b. Menahem Schwab, מליץ יושר, Hebrew-German lexicon to the same author's דברי יושר, Amsterdam, 1767.

Phoebus b. Aryeh, מדרש מלים, Hebrew-German lexicon, Dyhernfurth, 1773.

Jacob Rodriguez Moreira, קהלת יעקב, "Vocabulary of Words in the Hebrew Language . . . . Done into English and Spanish," London, 1773.

Isaac b. Moses Satanow, שפת אמת, Hebrew-German lexicon, Berlin, 1787; Prague, 1804.

David Levi, "Lingua Sacra," in three parts, grammar and Hebrew-English and English-Hebrew lexicons, London, 1785–89, 1803.

The following lexicographic works to the Talmud must be added:

Anonymous, ערוך הקצר, Constantinople, 1511; Cracow, 1591; Prague, 1707.

David b. Isaac de Pomis, צמח דוד, "Lexicon Hebr. et Chald. Linguæ, Lat. et Ital. Expositum," Venice, 1587.

Menahem Lonsano, מעריך, explanations of difficult and foreign words in the Talmud (in the שתי ידות), Venice, 1618.

Benjamin Mussaphia, מוסף הערוך, additions to the 'Aruk in the Amsterdam ed. of 1655.

David Cohen b. Isaac de Lara, עיר דוד, "De Convenientia Vocabulorum Rabbinicorum cum Græcis et Quibusdam Aliis Linguis," Amsterdam, 1638; כתר כהונה, "De Convenientia Vocabulorum Talmudicorum et Rabbinicorum," etc., Hamburg, 1668.

Benjamin b. David, שערי בנימין, Hebrew-rabbinical lexicon, Zolkiev, 1752.

Benjamin b. Isaac Levi Leitmeritz, אמרות טהרות, an alphabetical glossary to the Zohar, Lublin, 1645.

During the same period (1500–1800) the need of lexical aids felt by Christians studying Hebrew called forth a large number of lexicons, the list of which is as follows:

Johannes Reuchlin, "Rudimenta Linguæ Hebraicæ una cum Lexico," Pforzheim, 1506; Basel, 1537.

Alfonsus Zamorensis (ex-Judæus), "Vocabularium Hebr. et Chald. V. T." (in vol. vi. of Complutensian Polyglot, 1515).

Christian Lexicographers.

Theodoricus Martinus (Dirck Martens), "Dictionarium Hebraicum," Louvain, *c.* 1520.

Sebastian Münster, "Dictionarium Hebraicum," Basel, 1523, 1525, 1535, 1539, 1548, 1564.

Sanctus (Xantes) Pagninus, "Thesaurus Linguæ Sanctæ," Leyden, 1529; ed. Rob. Stephanus, Paris, 1548; Leyden, 1575, 1577; Geneva, 1614.

Sebastian Münster, "Dictionarium Trilingue" (Latin, Greek, Hebrew), Basel, 1530, 1535, 1543, 1562.

Ant. Reuchlin, "Lexicon Hebr. Linguæ," Basel, 1556, 1569.

Jo. Förster (Forster, Vorstheimer), "Dictionarium Hebr. Novum," Basel, 1557, 1564.

Jo. Avenarius (Habermann), "Liber Radicum, seu Lexicon Hebr." Wittenberg, 1568, 1589.

Sanctus Pagninus, "Epitome Thesauri Linguæ Sacræ," Antwerp, 1570, 1572, 1578, 1588, 1599, 1609, 1616, 1670.

Ambrosius Calepinus, "Dictionarium Septem Linguarum," Geneva, 1578; Basel, 1584; "Dict. Undecim Lingu." Basel, 1590, 1598, 1605, 1616.

El. Hutter, "Cubus Alphabeticus Sanctæ Hebraicæ Linguæ," Hamburg, 1586, 1588, 1603.

Marcus Marinus, "Arca Noe, sive Thesaurus Linguæ Sanctæ Novus," Venice, 1593.

Johann Buxtorf the Elder, "Lexicon Hebr.-Chald." Basel, 1607, 1615, 1621, 1631, 1645, 1646, 1654, 1655, 1663, 1667, 1676, 1689, 1698, 1710, 1735; "Manuale Hebr.-Chald." Basel, 1612, 1619, 1630, 1631, 1634, 1658.

Valentine Schindler, "Lexicon Pentaglotton, Hebr., Chald., Syr., Talmudico-Rabbin., et Arab." Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1612, 1649, 1653, 1695.

Jos. Abudacnus (Barbatus), "Lexicon Hebr." Louvain, 1615.

Marius de Calasius, "Dictionarium Hebr." Rome, 1617.

Joh. Meelführer, "Manuale Lexici Hebr." Leipsic, 1617, 1657.

Chr. Helvicus, "Lexicon Hebr. Didacticum." Giessen, 1620.

Sixtus ab Amama, Hebrew lexicon (Dutch), Franeker, 1628.

Daniel Schwenterus, "Manipulus Linguæ Sanctæ, sive Lex. Hebr. ad Formam Cubi Hutteriani," Nuremberg, 1628, 1638; Leipsic, 1668.

Philip Aquinas (ex-Jud.), מעריך המערכת, "Dictionarium Absolutissimum Hebr., Chald., et Talm.-Rabbin." Paris, 1629.

Gregorius Francus (Franke), "Lexicon Sacrum," Hanover, 1634.

William Alabaster, "Spiraculum Tubarum . . . seu Schindleri Lexicon Pentaglottum in Compend. Redact." London, 1635.

Edward Leigh, "Critica Sacra," in two parts: (i.) observations on all the radical or primitive Hebrew words in the O. T. in alphabetical order, London, 1639, 1650, 1662; Latin, Amsterdam, 1678, 1688, 1696, 1706; French, *ib.* 1712.

Jo. Plantavitius, "Thesaurus Synonymicus Hebr.-Chald.-Rabbin." Lodève, 1644–45.

Sebastian Curtius, "Radices Linguæ S. Hebr." Geismar, 1645, 1648, 1649; Amsterdam, 1652.

William Robertson, "The Second Gate. . . a Compendious Hebr. Lexicon or Dictionary," London, 1654.

H. Hottinger, "Etymologicum Orientale, s. Lexicon Harmonicum Heptaglotton," Frankfort, 1661 (also "Talmud.-Rabbin.").

J. Leusden, "Onomasticum Sacrum," Leyden, 1665, 1684; "Manuale Hebr.-Lat.-Belgicum," Utrecht, 1667, 1683.

Sebastian Curtius, "Manuale Hebr.-Chald.-Lat.-Belgicum," Frankfort, 1668.

Edw. Castellus, "Lexicon Heptaglottum," London, 1669, 1686; from this, "Lexicon Hebraicum," adnot. J. D. Michaelis, Göttingen, 1790.

Joh. Coccejus, "Lexicon et Commentarius Sermonis Hebr. et Chald. V. T." Amsterdam, 1669; Frankfort, 1689, 1714; Leipsic, 1777, 1793 96.

J. Friedr. Nicolai, "Hodegeticum Orientale," part i.: "Lexicon Hebr." etc., Jena, 1670; Frankfort, 1686.

Ant. Halsius, "Compendium Lexici Hebraici," 3d ed., Utrecht, 1674, 1679, 1683.

William Robertson, "Thesaurus Linguæ Sacræ Compend. . . . s. Concordant. Lexicon Hebr.-Latino-Biblicum," London, 1680.

Matthew Hillerus, "Lexicon Latino-Hebr." Tübingen, 1685.

Jo. Leusden, "Lexicon Novum Hebr.-Latinum," Utrecht, 1687.

Jo. Michaelis, "Lexicon Particularum Hebr." Frankfort, 1689.

Henr. Opitius, "Novum Lexicon Hebr.-Chald.-Biblicum," Leipsic, 1692; Hamburg, 1705, 1714, 1724.

Ge. Christ. Burcklinus, "Lexicon Hebr.-Macaronicum," Frankfort, 1699; in compend. redact. 1743.

Paul Math. Alberti, "Porta Linguæ Sanctæ, seu Lex. Novum Hebr.-Lat.-Biblicum," Bautzen, 1704.
Christ. Reineccius, "Janua Hebr. Linguæ V. T." (since the 2d ed. with lexicon), Leipsic, 1704, 1707, 1720, 1733, 1741, 1748, 1756, 1769, 1788.
Christ. Gottlieb Meinigius, "Lexicon Hebr. in Compend. Redact." *ib.* 1712.
Joh. Heeser, "Lapis Adjutorius, s. Lexicon Philolog. Hebr.-Chald.-Sacrum," part i. (א-ב), Harderov, 1716.
Ge. Burchard Rümelinus, "Lexicon Biblicum," Frankfort, 1716.
Lud. Christoph. Schaefer, "Hebr. Wörterbuch," Bernburg, 1720.
Charl. Franc. Houbigantius, "Racines Hébr. . . . ou Diction. Hebr. par Racines," Paris, 1732.
Ant. Zanolini, "Lexicon Hebraicum," Padua, 1732.
Nicol. Burger, "Lexicon Hebr.-Chald.-Lat." Copenhagen, 1733.
Jo. Bougetius, "Lexicon Hebr. et Chald." Rome, 1737.
Jo. Simonis, "Onomasticon V. T." Halle, 1741.
Fr. Haselbauer, "Lexicon Hebr.-Chald." Prague, 1743.
Jo. Christ. Clodius, "Lexicon Hebr. Selectum," Leipsic, 1744.
Jo. Christ. Kiemm, "Lex. Hebr.-Germ.-Lat." Tübingen, 1745.
Petr. Guaria, "Lexicon Hebr. et Chald. Biblicum," Paris, 1746.
Weitenauer, "Hierolexicon Linguæ Hebr., Chald. et Syr." Augsburg, 1750, 1753.
Jo. Simonis, "Dictionarium V. T. Hebr.-Chald." Halle, 1752, 1766; "Lexicon Manuale Hebr. et Chald." *ib.* 1756; Amsterdam, 1757; Leyden, 1763; Halle, 1771; (ed. I. G. Eichhorn) 1793; (enlarged by F. S. Winer) Leipsic, 1828; English by Charles Seager, London, 1832.
P . . . , "Lexicon Hebr.-Chald.-Latino-Biblicum," Avignon, 1758, 1765; Leyden, 1770.
Anonymous, "Neu Eingerichtetes Deutsch-Hebr. Wörterbuch," Oettingen, 1764.
John Parkhurst, "An Hebrew and English Lexicon," London, 1762, 1778, 1792, 1811, 1823.
Jos. Montaldi, "Lex. Hebr. et Chald.-Biblic." Rome, 1789.
W. Fr. Hetzel, "Kritisches Wörterbuch der Hebr. Sprache," vol. i., sec. 1, Halle, 1793.
Ph. N. Moser, "Lexicon Manuale Hebr. et Chald." Ulm, 1795.
Jo. Chr. Fried. Schulz, "Hebr.-Deutsches Wörterbuch über das A. T."

To this list must be added the following lexicons on the language of the Talmud, written by Christians:

Sebastian Münster, "Dictionarium Chaldaicum, non tam ad Chald. Interpretes, quam Rabbinorum Intelligenda Commentaria Necessarium," Basel, 1527.
Johann Buxtorf the Elder, "Lexicon Chaldaicum Talmudicum," ed. Jo. Buxtorfius the Younger," Basel, 1639.
Joh. Henr. Otho, "Lex. Rabbin.-Philologicum," Geneva, 1675.
Ant. Zanolini, "Lexicon Chaldaico-Rabbinicum," Padua, 1747.
Bon. Girandeau, S. J., "Dictionarium Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, et Rabbinicum," Paris, 1778.

Among the seventy or more lexicons above enumerated that were called forth by the study of Hebrew among the Christian theologians down to the end of the eighteenth century, the following may be noted for the number of editions through which they have passed: the works of Sebastian Münster, S. Pagninus, Buxtorf, Coccejus, Reineccius, Simonis. Most of the lexicons deal also with the Aramaic portions of the Bible, the designation "Chaldaic" for this language having become current since Sebastian Münster's time, though even Dunash ibn Labrat calls the Aramaic לשון כשדי in his polemic against Saadia, No. 6. The comparison of Hebrew with its kindred languages, already indicated by William Postellus in the first half of the sixteenth century, and by Guichard, "L'Harmonie Etymologique des Langues Hébr.," etc., Paris, 1660, was first carried out lexically by Schindler, then by Hottinger, and more completely and on a more solid basis by Castelli. But it remained for Albert Schultens (died 1750), an eminent member of the distinguished Dutch school, to place the comparison of Hebrew with the Arabic on a more solid scientific foundation, the achievements of the Jewish philologists of the preceding centuries having been forgotten. Schultens himself compiled no dictionary; but his contributions to Hebrew lexicography are found in many treatises and commentaries. Attempts to translate the Hebrew into the vernacular instead of into Latin were first made in Dutch, then in English, Flemish, German, and French.

The Most Popular Dictionaries.

The rapid development of philology in all its branches during the first decades of the nineteenth century also extended to Hebrew, which gradually occupied a position independent of theology. The labors of Wilhelm Gesenius marked a new epoch in grammar and lexicography. His lexicon, in the enlarged and modified later editions, has remained down to the present day the lexical manual most in demand for the study of the Bible—a proof of its excellence that was apparent even in the earlier editions. In its first form (Leipsic, 1810, 1812) it bore the title "Hebr.-Deutsches Handwörterbuch über die Schriften des A. T." This book became the basis for the large "Thesaurus Philolog.-Criticus," 1829–42, the last fasciculi of which were completed after Gesenius' death (in 1842) by Rödiger, 1853–1858. An abbreviated edition of the "Handwörterbuch" was issued under the title "Neues Hebr.-Deutsches Handwörterbuch," 1815; and this became the basis for the later editions, which, beginning with the second thoroughly revised edition (1825), bore the title "Hebr. und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch." Gesenius himself issued the third and fourth editions, 1828, 1834. The editors of the later editions were: Dietrich, 1857, 1863, 1868; Mühlau and Volck, 1883, 1886, 1890; F. Buhl, 1895, 1899. Gesenius also issued the third edition in Latin, under the title "Lexicon Manuale," Leipsic, 1832–33. An English translation of the first "Handwörterbuch" of 1810 was issued by Christ. Leo, Cambridge, 1825–28; the new "Handwörterbuch" of 1815 was issued in English by J. W. Gibbs, Andover, 1824; other editions, London, 1827, 1832; the "Lexicon Manuale" was translated into English by Edw. Robinson, Boston, 1836 (last ed., 1854); and by Tregellas, 1859. This is the basis of the Oxford lexicon, appearing since 1892 under the title of "A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament," edited by Francis Brown, with the cooperation of S. R. Driver and Charles A. Briggs. The Λεξικον Εβρ-Νεοελλην. της Παλαιας Διαθηκης, Malta, 1842, is also based on Gesenius' work, of which a Swedish translation appeared at Upsala in 1829–32.

Gesenius.

Other lexicons appeared in the course of the nineteenth century, of which the following is a list, Steinschneider's "Handbuch" furnishing the material down to 1859:

Th. Imm. Dindorf, "Novum Lex. Linguæ Hebr. et Chald." Leipsic, 1801, 1804.
Samuel Pike, "A Comparative Hebrew Lex." Glasgow, 1802.
Evr. Scheidius, "Lex. Hebr. et Chald. Man." Utrecht, 1805, 1810.
Aug. Fried. Pfeiffer, "Man. Bibl. Hebr. et Chald." Erlangen, 1809.
Chr. Gottlieb Elwert, "Deutsch-Hebr. Wörterbuch," Reutlingen, 1822.
E. F. C. Rosenmüller, "Vocabularium V. T. Hebr. et Chald." Halle, 1822, 1827.
James Andrew, "Hebrew Dict. and Grammar," London, 1823.

Jo. Fried. Schroeder, "Deutsch-Hebr. Wörterb." Leipsic, 1823.
Franc. Fontanella, "Vocabulario Ebreo-Ital. et Ital.-Ebreo," Venice, 1824.
L'Abbé Giraud, "Vocabulaire Hébr.-Français," Wilna, 1825.
J. B. Glaire, "Lex. Manuale Hebr. et Chald." Paris, 1830, 1843.
Joh. Ev. Stadler, "Lex. Manuale Hebr.-Latin," Munich, 1831.
Em. Fried. Leopold, "Lex. Hebr. et Chald." Leipsic, 1832.
J. H. L. Biesenthal, "Hebr. und Chald. Schulwörterbuch," Berlin, 1835–37.
W. L. Roy, "A Complete Hebrew and English Dictionary," New York, 1838.
Samuel Lee, "A Lex. Hebr., Chald., and English," London, 1840, 1844.
William Wallace Duncan, "A New Hebrew-English and English-Hebrew Lex." *ib.* 1841.
Ernst Meier, "Hebr. Wurzelwörterbuch," Mannheim, 1845.
Fr. Nork, "Vollständiges Hebr.-Chald.-Rabbinisches Wörterbuch," Grimma, 1842.
Fred. Bialloblotzky, "Lexicon Radicum Hebr." London, 1843.
William Osborn, "A New Hebrew-English Lexicon," *ib.* 1845.
B. Davidson, "The Analytical Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon," *ib.* 1848.
Fr. J. V. D. Maurer, "Kurzgefasstes Hebr. und Chald. Handwörterbuch," Stuttgart, 1851.
G. Stier, "Hebräisches Vocabularium," Leipsic, 1857, 1859.
Benj. Davies, "Hebrew Lexicon," 2d ed., London, 1876.

A new arrangement of lexical matter is found in Carl Siegfried and B. Stade's "Hebräisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament," Leipsic, 1893, in which the comparison of the kindred languages is excluded, the etymology made secondary, and the introduction of so-called primary meanings avoided, while the vocabulary and idioms are given as completely as possible. Friedrich Delitzsch advocates the free use of Assyrian in his work, "Prolegomena eines Neuen Hebr.-Aram. Wörterbuches zum A. T." Leipsic, 1886 (see Nöldeke's exhaustive discussion in "Z. D. M. G." xl. 718–743).

The new stimulus given to the study of the Bible among the European Jews by Moses Mendelssohn and his followers was evident also in the demands for lexical aids to that study. The Hebrew lexicons written by Jews in the last decades of the eighteenth century have already been mentioned. J. Ben-Ze'eb's "Oẓar ha-Shorashim" (Treasury of Roots), Vienna, 1807, was very popular down to the second half of the century, and did good work in purifying the language in eastern Europe. The second edition appeared in 1816; the third, edited by Letteris, in 1839–1844; the fourth, in 1862–64. Jewish learning, which was developed to an unexpected degree by the generation of Jewish scholars following Mendelssohn's school, brought to light especially the works of classical scholars dealing with Hebrew philology and Bible exegesis, advancing thereby also modern Hebrew philology. The Hebrew lexicons of the past, edited or printed for the first time, have been mentioned above. Julius Fürst was most active as lexicographer, publishing a new edition of the Bible concordance. In 1842 he issued a Hebrew-Chaldee school lexicon; and in 1869 a Hebrew pocket-dictionary to the Old Testament. His "Hebräisch und Chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das A. T." Leipsic, 1857–61 (2d ed., 1863; 3d ed., by Ryssel, 1876), "marked a great advance, evincing an assiduous and scholarly use of the many products of Old Testament exegesis" (Diestel). The work was translated into English by Davidson, the fifth edition appearing in 1885.

Jewish Lexicographers of the Nineteenth Century.

Following is a list of other Hebrew lexicons to the Bible which were written by Jews:

Hananiah Coen, מענה הלשון, "Vocabulario Compendioso Ebraico-Italiano," Reggio, 1811–12.
W. Heinemann, ראשית הלמור, "Vocabulary Hebrew and English," London, 1823.
Van Embden, "Prospectus eines Hebr.-Deutschen und Deutsch-Hebr. Wörterbuches," Hamburg, 1823.
Judah Laz. Kron, דרך סלילה, "Hebr.-Deutsches Wörterbuch," Wilna, 1826.
D. Luzzatto, "Dizionario Compendiato Ebraico-Chald., Latino et Italiano," part i., Florence, 1827.
Marchand d'Ennery, "Hebr.-Franz. Wörterbuch," 1827.
Jos. Hirschfeld, שמות הנרדפים, "Neues Synonymisches Handwörterbuch zur Beförderung der Hebräischen Sprache," Frankfort-on-the-Oder, 1818, 1830.
Moses Lemans and Y. J. Mulder, "Hebr.-Nederduitsch Handwoordenboek," Amsterdam, 1829–31.
Abraham Buchner, אוצר לשון הקדש, grammar and lex., Warsaw, 1830.
M. I. Benlevi, מורה שרש העבר, "Tabellarisches Hebr.-Deutsches Wörterbuch," Hanover, 1833.
Selig Newmann, "Hebrew and English Lexicon," London, 1834; "English and Hebrew Lexicon," *ib.* 1832.
Michael Josephs, מרגש מלים, "An English and Hebrew Lexicon," *ib.* 1834.
Simḥa b. Ephraim, מי מלא, "Hebr. Lx. nach Neuer Methode," part i., Warsaw, 1839.
Joseph Johlsohn, ערך מלים, "Biblisch-Hebr. Wörterbuch," Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1840.
Isaac Nordheimer, "A Complete Hebrew and Chaldean Concordance to the O. T." part i., New York, 1842.
S. E. Heigmans, דברי קדש, "Hebr. en Nederduitsch Woordenboekje," Amsterdam, 1845.
Abigail Lindo, "A Hebrew-English and English-Hebrew Dictionary," London, 1846.
Emanuel Recanati, "Dizionario Ebr.-Chald. ed. Italiano," Verona, 1854–56.
W. G. Schauffler, אוצר דברי לשון הקדש, "Diccionario della Lengua Santa" (Ladino), Constantinople, 1855.
A. Luzzatto, לחם לפי הטף, "Vocabulario Italiano Hebr." Verona, 1856.
E. Bardach, מערכת המערכת, ed. Letteris, Vienna, 1868.
David Cassel, "Hebr.-Deutsches Wörterbuch," Berlin, 1871, 1885, 1886, 1889, 1898.
M. E. Stern, אוצר שפת הקדש, Vienna, 1871.
Ch. Pollak, "Héber-Magyar Teljes Szótár," Budapest, 1881.
J. Steinberg, אוצר המלים, "Hebr.-Deutsch-Russisches Wörterbuch," Wilna, 1897.

Jewish learning of the nineteenth century has produced important works in the field of Talmudic lexicography, the most important of which are Jacob Levy's "Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim," with additions by H. L. Fleischer, Leipsic, 1876–89; and his "Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim," *ib.* 1886. M. Jastrow's work, "Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature," London and New York, 1886 *et seq.*, the concluding portion of which will shortly appear, is also of independent value. Alexander Kohut's edition of the 'Aruk, mentioned above, assumed the shape of an independent lexicon by reason of its size and wealth of material. J. M. Landau's edition of the 'Aruk, Prague, 1819–24, also containing many additions, was used for a long time. The foreign words, more especially of the Talmud, are explained in S. and M. Bondi's אור אסתר, Dessau, 1812; in J. B. Schönhak's "Ha-Mashbir," Warsaw, 1858; by A. Brüll in "Fremdsprachliche Redensarten in Talm. und Midr.," Leipsic, 1869; and in J. Fürst's "Glossarium Græco-Hebraicum, oder der Griechische Wörterschatz der Jüdischen Midraschwerke," Strasburg,

Jewish Dictionaries of Talmud.

1890. An important supplement to the Talmudic lexicons, including the whole material, is S. Krauss's "Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch, und Targum," with notes by Immanuel Löw, Berlin, 1898, 1899. Among other works on Talmudic lexicography, the following may be mentioned on account of their lexical form:

Isaiah Berlin, הפלאה שבערכין, glossary to the 'Aruk: i., Breslau, 1830; ii., Vienna, 1859.
M. Lattes, additions to Levy's lexicon, Milan, 1878, 1881; "Miscellanea Postuma," 1884, 1885.
J. H. Dessauer, לישן רבנן, short lexicons to the Talmud, Erlangen, 1839.
M. E. Stern, אוצר המלין, Vienna, 1863.
G. H. Dalman, ערוך החדש, "Aram.-Neuhebr. Wörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud, und Midrasch," Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1897, 1901, a very useful work.

No special lexical treatment of the Neo-Hebrew of the Midrashim has yet been undertaken, though a beginning is found in Hananiah Coen's שפת אמת, Reggio, 1822, and Geiger's glossary to his "Lehr- und Lesebuch der Sprache der Mischna," Breslau, 1845. Mention should also be made of the work of the non-Jewish scholar A. Th. Hartmann, "Thesaurus Linguæ Hebr. e Mischna Augendus," Rostock, 1825, 1826. David Löwy's lexicon, לשון חכמים, Prague, 1845, 1847, containing Hebrew words and idioms found in the Talmud, is carried only as far as the root גור. W. Bacher's "Die Aelteste Terminologie der Jüdischen Schriftauslegung. Ein Wörterbuch der Bibelexegetischen Kunstsprache der Tannaiten," Leipsic, 1899, is confined to one special field.

There is as yet no lexicon of the later form of Hebrew in post-Talmudic times, when the vocabulary was strongly influenced and enriched by the various sciences treated in the Hebrew language and by the translations from the Arabic. Jac. Goldenthal issued his "Grundzüge und Beiträge zu Einem Sprachvergleichenden Rabbinisch-Philologischen Wörterbuch," in the "Abhandlungen der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften," Vienna, 1849. Zunz, who included very instructive lists of words in his works on synagogal poetry, expressed in 1856 a "wish for a lexicon of the Hebrew language" (in "Z. D. M. G." x. 501–512; "Gesammelte Schriften," iii. 14–30); but this wish has not yet been fulfilled. See also Steinschneider, "Fremdsprachliche Elemente im Neuhebräischen," Prague, 1845.

Modern Hebrew.

In the last few decades the vocabulary of the Hebrew language, which is used in Russia and Poland as a literary language, and in certain regions of Palestine and the East as vernacular, has been materially increased, in many cases at the sacrifice of the models set by Biblical purity and historic tradition. This is due to the fact that it is used in journals and scientific works, so that modern objects and ideas must be expressed in the ancient language. The unscientific arbitrariness thus arising would be checked by a dictionary including the different phases of the development of the Hebrew language, in which the Hebrew of the Bible, of the Mishnah, of the medieval scientific and poetic literature, and, finally, the modern revived Hebrew should each be treated, and those words definitely adopted and standing the test of scientific investigation be lexically determined. The publication of two such lexicons has recently been undertaken, partly with scientific ends in view, partly to answer the practical needs of those writing in Hebrew; namely, S. I. Fuenn's "Ha-Oẓar," Warsaw (as far as the letter ח), and Ben Judah's "Ha-Millon," Jerusalem (only two fasciculi so far).

G. W. B.

DIDACHE, or The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles (*Διδαχὴ τῶν Δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων*): A manual of instruction for proselytes, adopted from the Synagogue by early Christianity, and transformed by alteration and amplification into a Church manual. Discovered among a collection of ancient Christian manuscripts in Constantinople by Bryennios in 1873, and published by him in 1883, it aroused great interest among scholars. The book, mentioned by Eusebius ("Hist. Eccl." iii. 25) and Athanasius ("Festal Letters," 39) in the fourth century, had apparently been lost since the ninth century. The most acceptable theory among the many proposed on the character and composition of the "Didache" is that proposed by Charles Taylor in 1886, and accepted in 1895 by A. Harnack (who in 1884 had most vigorously maintained its Christian origin)—that the first part of the "Didache," the teaching concerning the "Two Ways" ("Didache," ch. i.–vi.), was originally a manual of instruction used for the initiation of proselytes in the Synagogue, and was converted later into a Christian manual and ascribed to Jesus and the Apostles. To it were added rules concerning baptism, fasting, and prayer, the benedictions over the wine and the bread and after the communion meal, and regulations regarding the Christian community (ch. vii.–xvi.). The Jewish student is concerned chiefly with the first part, the title and contents of which are discussed here.

Title of the Book.

The composite character of the "Didache" is shown by the double title or heading. The first words, "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," form the general title, and therefore need not now be considered. But of the second heading, which refers to the original book, ch. i.–vi., only the words "Teaching of the Lord to the Gentiles" (*Διδαχὴ Κυρίου τοῖς Ἔθνεσιν*) are genuinely Jewish; the words "through the Twelve Apostles," which assume that the word "Lord" refers to Jesus, are a Christian interpolation. The book known to Christians as the "Teaching of the Two Ways" corresponded probably with the "Hilkot Gerim" (Rules Regarding Proselytes) referred to in Ruth R. i. 7 and 16 as having been studied by Ruth under the direction of Naomi, the words דרך ("way") and הלך ("walk") in both verses being taken as indications that the necessary instruction in the "Two Ways" had been duly given to Ruth (compare Baraita Yeb. 47a, and Massek. Gerim, the abrupt beginning of which gives evidence of the existence of other rules concerning the admission of proselytes during the Temple time).

Contents of the "Didache."

The whole teaching is summarized in the first two verses (ch. i. 1–2): "There are two ways, one of life and one of death, and wide is the difference between. The way of life is this: First, thou shalt love God thy Maker [after Deut. vi. 5]; second, thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself [after Lev. xix. 18]. Now the teaching of these two

words is this: 'Whatsoever thou wouldst not have done unto thee, neither do thou to another.'"

Here is a great lacuna, nothing being said about what love of God implies; and what follows is only very loosely connected with the preceding verses. Whether taken from an old Essene document (see Hippolytus, "Refutatio Hæresium," ix. 23 [18]) or from some Christian collection of "Sayings" older than Matt. v. 39-48 and Luke vi. 27-39, verses 3-4 are certainly out of place; they interrupt the order. So do verses 4-5, in which "the commandment of charity" is treated from the Jewish point of view, though they have parallels in Matt. v. 26; Acts xx. 35.

Ch. ii. 1 begins as if the first part of the Decalogue, comprising the law of the love of God, had been treated in the preceding chapter: "And the second commandment of the Teaching [that is, love of our fellow man] is: Thou shalt not kill" (Ex. xx. 13; see verse 2).

2: "Thou shalt not commit adultery" (Ex. xx. 14). (This includes: "Thou shalt not commit sodomy nor fornication.") "Thou shalt not steal" (Ex. xx. 15). . . . "Thou shalt not use witchcraft nor practise sorcery" (Ex. xxii. 18; Lev. xix. 26). (This belongs obviously to the eliminated first part comprising the duties toward God.) "Thou shalt not procure abortion, nor shalt thou kill the new-born child" (compare Wisdom xii. 5). (This is the amplification of Ex. xx. 13, and belongs to verse 1.) "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods" (Ex. xx. 17; see verse 6).

3-5: "Thou shalt not forswear thyself." . . . (This again belongs to the eliminated first part.) "Thou shalt not bear false witness" (Ex. xx. 16). "Thou shalt not speak evil nor bear malice. Thou shalt not be doubled-minded nor double-tongued, for duplicity of tongue is a snare of death. Thy speech shall not be false nor vain, but filled with deed."

6: "Thou shalt not be covetous nor rapacious [amplification of Ex. xx. 17], nor a hyprocrite, nor malignant, nor haughty. Thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbor" (amplification of Ex. xx. 16).

7: "Thou shalt not hate any one; but some thou shalt rebuke [Lev. xix. 17], and for some thou shalt pray [compare Tosef., B. Ḳ. ix. 29 with reference to Job xlii. 8; Gen. xx. 17; see Matt. v. 44], and some thou shalt love above thine own soul" (compare "Epistle of Barnabas," xix. 11, and another "Didache" version, Harnack and Gebhard, "Texte u. Untersuchungen," xiii. i. 7 *et seq.*). (This is the interpretation of Lev. xix. 18; compare above, i. 3.)

Ch. iii. 1 dwells on lighter sins, and begins by laying down the following principle: "My child, flee from every evil and from whatsoever is similar to it." This well-known maxim, לעולם יהא אדם בורח מן הכיעור ומן הדומה לכיעור, is ascribed in Tosef., Ḥul. ii. 24 to R. Eliezer of the second Christian century, and in Ab. R. N. ii. (ed. Schechter, pp. 8, 9) to Job, and is explained: "Avoid light sins in order to escape grosser sins" (compare also Ḥul. 44b; Derek Ereẓ Zuṭa, viii.; I Thess. v. 22; and Bacher, "Die Agada der Tannaiten," i. 113, 281). In this sense are the commandments of the Decalogue further amplified:

2 warns against anger and contention as leading to murder.

3, against lust, lascivious speeches and looks as leading to fornication and adultery.

4, against divination, astrology, and other heathen practises as leading to idolatry.

5, against lying, avarice, and vanity as leading to theft.

6-9, against an irreverential and presumptuous attitude toward God as leading to blasphemy.

10, enjoining the disciple to accept every seemingly evil happening as good because coming from God.

Ch. iv. 1-13 refers again to the duty toward God, stating that the honor of God includes the study of His Word; the honor of the teacher, the support of the students and practisers of the Law; the honor of the father, the support of the household; and after having positively enjoined hatred of hypocrisy and of whatever is evil (see Ab. R. N. xvi. [ed. Schechter, p. 64]), it declares in a genuinely Jewish spirit that "the commandments of the Lord should all be kept; none to be added, and none to be taken away" (compare Deut. iv. 2, xiii. 1 [xii. 32]).

Ch. v. recapitulates the prohibitory laws under the heading "This is the Way of Death"; the enumeration, however, shows lack of order.

Ch. vi. contains a warning against false teachers, and addressing the proselyte in verse 2, it says: "If thou art able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou wilt be perfect; if not, do what thou canst." This is obviously an allusion to the two classes of proselytes Judaism recognized: the full proselyte, who accepted all the laws of the Torah, including circumcision, Sabbath, and the dietary laws; and the semi-proselyte, who accepted only the Noachian laws as binding. For the latter verse 3 contains the warning not to eat meat which has been offered to idols, which is forbidden also to the Noachidæ.

As a matter of course, this Jewish manual could not be used in its entirety by the Church from the moment when she deviated from Jewish practises and views. Just as the Shema' Yisrael in the saying of Jesus (Mark xii. 29) was dropped by the other Gospel writers, so was the whole first part of the "Didache," dealing with monotheism, tampered with by the Christian editor. The whole book has fallen into disorder, and much of it is misunderstood and misinterpreted by Christian scholars, who judge it only from the point of view of the Church.

The "Two Ways."

The fundamental ideas of the "Didache" are indisputably Jewish. The teaching of the "Two Ways," the one of life and the other of death, runs as a leading thought throughout Jewish literature. Just as Moses set before the people of Israel "life and good, death and evil" (Deut. xxx. 15–19; Jer. xxi. 8), so is the choice between the two roads to be made ever anew (Ps. i. 6; Prov. ii. 12–20, vi. 23; Ecclus. [Sirach] xv. 17; Slavonic Enoch, xxx. 15; IV Ezra iii. 7, iv. 4; Pirḳe R. El. xv.; Gen. R. viii., ix., xxi.; Targum to Gen. iii. 22; Enoch, xciv. 2 *et seq.*; Baruch iv. 2; Apoc. Baruch, xlii. 5 *et seq.*, lxxxv. 13; Book of Jubilees, xxii. 17–29; Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Asher, 1; Abot R. N. xv.; Ber. 28b; Sifre, Debarim, 43, 54, based on דרך ["the way"]; Deut xi. 28; Gen. R. lxx. to Gen. xxviii. 20 [דרך = see Targum]; Ex. R. xxx.; Deut. R. iv.; Midrash, Tehillim to Ps. ii. 3, with reference to דרך; Isa. ii. 3; Ps. xxvi. 5, xxxix. 2, xl. 2, lxviii. 21, cxix. 9, cxlvi. 9; Midrash Prov. i. 15 [דרך]. This twofold way was especially emphasized in the preaching to the Gentiles, who were to be won over to the right way (Sibyllines, Procœmium 24; iii. 11, 233, 721; viii. 399). And a faint reminiscence of the twofold way appears to be preserved in the later Halakah insisting that the applicant for admission into Judaism be informed of the death-penalties attached to certain transgressions (see Yeb. 47a, b; compare Ruth R. i. 17 with reference to the Biblical words "Where thou diest will I die"). Another leading idea of the "Didache" is the twofold duty: love of God and love of man; both being prefaced by the word ואהבת = "And thou shalt love" (Deut. vi. 4; Lev. xix. 18; see Sifre, Debarim, 32; Ab. R. N. xvi. [ed. Schechter, p. 64]; Gen. R. xxiv, end) Upon God as "the Maker of man" rests the claim of the fellow man to love (Job xxxi. 15).

It is noteworthy that the "golden rule" is given in the "Didache" according to the traditional Jewish interpretation—negatively: מה דעלך סני לחברך לא תעבד (see Targ. to Lev. xix. 18; Tobit iv. 15; Philo in Eusebius, "Præparatio Evangelica," viii. 7; "Apostolic Constitutions," i. 1; see Didascalia; compare Taylor, "Sayings of the Jewish Fathers," 2d ed., p. 142), exactly as Hillel and Akiba taught it when instructing the proselyte regarding the chief commandment of the Law (Shab. 31b; Ab. R. N., B, xxvi. [ed. Schechter, p. 53]). On the other hand, the New Testament (Matt. vii. 12; Luke vi. 31) has

it in a positive form (compare Matt. xxii. 35–40 and Mark xii. 29–31, which discussion is based on the "Didache," not vice versa).

A third characteristic of the teaching is the use of the Decalogue as the exponent of ethics in its two-fold aspect: duty to God, and duty to man (compare Taylor, *l.c.* pp. 216 *et seq.*). Evidently the original "Didache" contained a systematic exposition of the Ten Commandments, whereas the "Didache" in its present shape has preserved only fragments, and these in great disorder. Thus, for instance, iv. 9–11, and possibly iv. 1, 2, dwelling on the relations of the members of the household to one another, refers to the fifth commandment, nor is it likely that the Sabbath commandment was omitted (compare xiv. 1, where the Christian Sabbath is referred to). The Decalogue and the Shema', as fundamental elements of Judaism, were recited every morning in the Temple (Tamid v. 1), and only because the early Judæo-Christians (Minim; see Irenæus, "Adversus Hæreses," iv. 16) claimed divine revelation exclusively for the Ten Commandments, discarding the other Mosaic laws as temporary enactments, was the recital of the DECALOGUE in the daily morning liturgy afterward abolished (Yer. Ber. i. 3c). Philo still regarded the Decalogue as fundamental ("De Decem Oraculis"; compare Pes. R. xxi.–xxiv.; Num. R. xiii. 15). The later Halakah insists that the proselyte should be acquainted instead with the 613 commandments of the Law (Yeb. 47b), whereas the Christian Apostles laid all the greater stress on the second part of the Decalogue (Rom. xiii. 9).

Based on the Decalogue.

A fourth distinguishing feature of the "Didache" is the accentuation of the lighter sins and lighter duties as leading to graver ones: "Flee from every evil and from whatsoever is similar to it" (iii. 1). This is not a proof of "the superiority of the Gospel ethics over the law" (Schaff, note *ad loc.*), but the very essence of the Pharisaic interpretation of the Law. The same idea is expressed in Ab. R. N. ii. (ed. Schechter, pp. 8, 9, 12; comp. Ab. i. 1): "Make a fence around the Law"; (Schaff, note *ad loc.*), and in the adage "Go around the vineyard, they say to the Nazarite, but dare not to enter it" (Shab. 13a). Upon this principle the whole rabbinical code of ethics is built up, of which the Sermon on the Mount is only the echo (see Ab. R. N. *l.c.*, and ETHICS; compare Taylor, "The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," pp. 24 *et seq.*). The later Halakah also sets down the rule that the proselyte has to be made acquainted with some of the lighter and some of the graver commandments—מקצת מצות קלות ומקצת מצות חמורות (Yeb. 47a).

It must accordingly have been simply in imitation of the Jewish example which was offered by the "Didache" that the epistles of Paul, of Peter, and of John were made to close with moral exhortations, all of which point to a common source or archetype. Familiarity with the "Two Ways" of the "Didache" furthermore accounts for the term "way" or "way of God" given to the Christian religion as preached to Gentiles (Acts ix. 2; xviii. 25, 26; xix. 9, 23; xxii. 4; xxiv. 14, 22); and the expression "I am the Way and the Life" (John xiv. 6); also "the way of truth" and "the right way" (II Peter ii. 2, 15). Finally, the "Didache," after adaptation to Christian use, circulated in different versions. It was attached to the "Epistle of Barnabas" (xviii.–xx.); it was worked into the form of "Sayings of the Twelve Apostles" (Κάνονες Ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ τῶν Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων), and as such propagated in the various churches of the East. An older version is attached to the "Didascalia" as the beginning of the seventh book of the "Apostolic Constitutions." Whether the latter part was also worked out after a Jewish model, or whether the whole Jewish "Didache" did not originally also contain rules concerning baptism, prayer, and thanksgiving similar to those of the Church manual, is difficult to say. Much speaks in favor of this hypothesis: on the one hand, the antagonistic spirit which transferred the Hebrew Ma'amadot fasts from Monday and Thursday, and on the other hand, the expression "Take the first-fruit and give according to the commandment" (xiii. 5, 7). But the dependence upon Jewish custom is especially indicated by the following thanksgiving formulas:

Dependence upon Jewish Custom.

(1) Over the cup: "We give thanks to Thee, our Father, for the holy wine of David Thy servant which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus Thy servant." This strange formula is the Jewish benediction over the wine, "Blessed be Thou who hast created the fruit of the vine" Christianized (compare Ps. lxxx. 15, Targum; cxvi. 13 refers to David at the banquet of the future life; Pes. 119b; John xv. 1; compare Taylor, *l.c.* pp. 69, 129). (2) Over the broken bread: "We give thanks to Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus Thy servant. As this broken bread, scattered upon the mountains and gathered together, became one, so let Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy Kingdom!" (compare the benediction "Raḥem" according to Rab Naḥman, which contains a reference to Ps. cxlvii. 2; Ber. 49a). (3) Over the meal: "We thank Thee, O holy Father, for Thy holy name, which Thou hast caused to dwell [κατεσκήνωσας, reference to the Shekinah] in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus Thy servant. Thou, Almighty Lord, didst make all things for Thy name's sake; Thou gavest food and drink to men for enjoyment that they might give thanks to Thee, but to us Thou didst freely give spiritual food and drink and life eternal through Thy servant. . . . Remember, O Lord, Thy Church to deliver her from all evil and to perfect her in love of Thee, and gather her together from the four winds, sanctified for Thy Kingdom which Thou didst prepare for her. Let grace come and let this world pass away! Hosanna to the Son of David" (ix.–x. 6).

The original Jewish benediction over the meal was a thanksgiving for the food and for the Word of God, the Torah as the spiritual nurture, and a prayer for the restitution of the kingdom of David. The Church transformed the Logos into the incarnated son of God, while expressing the wish for His speedy return to the united congregation (the Church). It is the prayer of the Judæo-Christian community of the first century, and this casts light upon the whole Christianized "Didache." As to the relation of the "Didache" to Phokylides, see PSEUDO-PHOCYLIDES; see also DIDASCALIA.

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DIDASCALI. See CATECHUMENS, HOUSE OF.

DIDASCALIA (*Διδασκαλία* = "Instruction"): A Greek work, in eight books, containing regulations of Church life, better known under the name of "Apostolic Constitutions," the full title being "Constitutions of the Holy Apostles [composed] by Clemens, Bishop and Citizen of Rome—Catholic Didascalia." Claiming to have been written by the Apostles, the work proves on closer examination to be based, like the DIDACHE, upon an original Jewish work, transformed by extensive interpolations and slight alterations into a Christian document of great authority. There exists another version, bearing the name "Didascalia," in Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, Arabic, and (incomplete) in Latin, which, since the appearance of Lagarde's edition of the Syriac "Didascalia" in 1854, most modern scholars consider to be the original work. On the other hand, Bickell ("Gesch. des Kirchenrechts," 1843, pp. 148–177) has given convincing proofs that the "Apostolic Constitutions" is the original work, and the so-called "Didascalia" a mere condensation. In the latter the Jewish elements are to a large extent eliminated, and the Christian character is more pronounced.

Only the first six books of the "Apostolic Constitutions," which correspond with the "Didascalia"—the latter consists of twenty-six chapters and is not divided into books—form the original work; the last two, which contain, besides a remodeled version of the "Didache," many liturgical pieces of very ancient character and indisputably of Jewish origin, are later additions, but seem to have belonged in part to the older Jewish original. The work is of very great value to the student of Jewish and Church history, as it contains a large amount of haggadic and halakic material derived from unknown Jewish sources, and casts a flood of light upon Talmudic and New Testament literature. The original writer quotes the Scripture after the Septuagint version, and many apocryphal verses from unknown works; and, as will be shown farther on, he furnished to Paul and to other New Testament writers the source for many of their dicta. His style is fresh and vigorous, bearing striking resemblance to that of the "Didache." The Christian interpolator, on the other hand, is easily recognized by interruptions of the context, by ill-fitting New Testament references, and by occasional outbursts of Jew-hatred in glaring contrast to the Jewish spirit of the main work. The name "God" was frequently changed by copyists into "Christ," as was occasionally noticed by Lagarde; at times "Christ" is used for "Logos" (the Word).

Jewish Original.

The name "Didascalia" (given in the Preface and found in ii. 39, 55; vi. 14, 18; vii. 36) was borrowed from the Jewish original, the introductory sentence of which, greatly amplified in the "Apostolic Constitutions" and still more in the Syriac "Didascalia," seems to have read as follows:

"The plantation of God and His elect vineyard, those who believe in His unerring worship and hope to partake of His kingdom, sharing in His power and in the communion of His Holy Spirit . . . harken to His holy 'Instruction.' Take care, ye children of God, to do all things in obedience to God and to be agreeable in all things to the Lord our God. For if any man follow unrighteousness and act contrarily to the will of God, such a one will be regarded by God as a lawless heathen [*ὡς παράνομον ἔθνος* = גוי רשע]."

Book I.: Dealing with the conduct of individuals, this book begins with a warning against the lighter transgressions (מצות קלות; see DIDACHE), *e.g.*, covetousness (Ex. xx. 17), as coming from the Evil One (Test. Patr., Simeon, 3); the argument, based on the Targumic interpretation of Lev. xix. 18, as in the "Didache" (not the positive "golden rule" of the New Testament), has its exact parallel in Ab. R. N. xv.–xvi. (ed. Schechter, pp. 60, 62, 65). The monition in ch. ii. to bless him who curses is based on Num. xxiv. 9 and Prov. xx. 22; Luke vi. 28 and Matt. v. 44, 45 being obviously later interpolations. The warning against lascivious conduct of men, "which may cause the stumbling of women," is based on Ex. xx. 14, 17 (without reference to Matt. xviii. 7); and rules regarding modesty in the dressing of hair and beard, on Deut. xxii. 5 and Lev. xix. 27 (compare Sifra, Aḥare Mot, ix. 13). Ch. iv.–vi. recommend a useful occupation and the study of the Scriptures (Josh. i. 8; Deut. iv. 7; and verses from Wisdom and Proverbs), and warn against heathen and diabolical books. Ch. viii.–x. contain rules of conduct for women, beginning with a sentence of which Paul's dictum, I Cor. xi. 3, is evidently the copy, not the source (the interpolation made here disturbing the sense). The sentence is as follows:

"Let the wife subordinate herself to her husband; for the head of the woman is the man, and of the man who walks in the way of righteousness, God, his Father, who is over all [compare "Didache," iv. 10]; therefore, next to God, O wife, fear and reverence thy husband."

With copious references to Proverbs, woman is warned not to cause men to "stumble" by her enticing attire. She is admonished to go about with covered head in the street; not to paint her face, as "all frivolous adornment of what God Himself made beautiful is an affront to the bounty of the Creator"; to walk with downward look and be veiled; to bathe only in places and at times reserved exclusively for women; and, finally, to conduct herself so as not to cause her husband to stumble. All these teachings may be termed "Hilkot Ẓeni'ut" (Rules of Modesty), and having many parallels in Massek. Kallah, ed. Coronel, Vienna, 1864, and in Massek. Derek 'Erez, were conspicuous features in the life of the Essenes or Ẓenu'im (Ber. 62a, b; Shab. 118b, 140b; Ta'an. 21b, 22a; Meg. 12b; B. Ḳ. 82a).

Book II.: Dwells on the functions and powers of the head of the congregation, called "episcopus" = "overseer," the Christian "bishop," the פרנס (= *πρόνοος* or *προνοήτης*) of rabbinical literature (Sifre, Bemidbar, 139; compare *προνοίαν ποιούμενος* in "Apost. Const." III. iii.). It begins with the rule: "The shepherd who is ordained overseer must be without blemish and not under fifty years of age" (compare Philo, "De Profugis," vi.; Ḥag. 14a; Sanh. 17a). The modification of this rule for small parishes, which follows, betrays the hand of Christian interpolators.

Origin of the Institution of Bishops.

The qualities necessary for an overseer (based on Ex. xviii. 21; compare Mek., Yitro, *ad loc.*; Sifre, Bemidbar, 92; Debarim, 15; Sanh. 17a) are enumerated in ch. ii., and repeated in I Tim. iii. 2–7. One of these is that he should not be a proselyte (*νεόφυτος* = נר; compare Ḳid. 76b; A. V. "novice," I Tim. iii. 6, is incorrect). From Lev. xxi. 17 (compare Sanh. 36b) is derived the rule in ch. iii. that the overseer must be examined in order that it may be ascertained whether he is free from blemish; but chief stress is laid upon his being a compassionate friend of the widow and the stranger, eager and capable to administer to the poor, this being his principal task (ch. iv.).

In order to fulfil well his other task, that of instructing the people in the Law, he must (ch. v.–viii.) always be sober-minded (compare Sifra to Lev. x. 8; Sanh. 42a; 'Er. 64b); show no greediness, especially in dealing with Gentiles (the latter words are omitted in I Tim. iii. 3; compare, however, Yer. B. M. ii. 8c); suffer rather than inflict injury (compare Shab. 88b, הנעלבין ואינן עולבין); shun heathen festivals and heathen lusts; and as a good shepherd lead his flock by a good example (after Lev. xv. 31, LXX.; Hosea iv. 9, LXX.).

Episcopal Powers.

The name "episcopus," taken as "watchman" ("The shepherds should be good watchmen"; compare Jer. vi. 17, LXX., and Ezek. xxxiii. 6), is dwelt upon as enjoining him to expel bad sheep from the flock (ch. ix.–x., with references to Achan and Gehazi, but without mention of Ananias and Sapphira, Acts v. 1–10). Ch. xvi.–xix.: "One scabbed sheep, if not separated, infects the rest with disease"; "A little leaven infects the whole lump" (hence, also, Gal. v. 9); therefore sinners should be separated, like Miriam (Num. xii. 14; compare Sifre *ad loc.*, נזיפה), for longer or shorter periods, and avoid "the wrath of divine judgment pronounced by the overseer, the watchman of righteousness," who has the power of binding and loosing; who is like Moses and Aaron, being made to bear the sins of all (Num. xviii. 1); and who, as shepherd, is held to account for every single sheep of his flock (Ezek. xxxiv.). The whole disciplinary system in use among the Essenes and the Pharisees as well as among the early Christians (see Anathema; Excommunication) is here (ch. xlii.–xliii. and xlvii.) fully presented, the excommunicated being characteristically called *ἀποσυνάγωγος* = "expelled from the synagogue" (ch. lxiii., p. 71, line 5, ed. Lagarde [compare p. 72, line 8]; book III., ch. viii., *id.*, p. 105, line 6; book IV., ch. viii., *id.*, p. 119, line 23).

The overseer also offers remission of sins to the transgressor who repents, exactly as, when David confessed his sin before God, the Holy Spirit answered (II Sam. xii. 13, LXX.): "The Lord also hath put away thy sin; be of good cheer, thou shalt not die" (ch. xviii. and xxii.). Moreover, "he who does not receive the penitent is a murderer of his brother, like Cain" (ch. xxi.). The sinner's claim upon compassion is especially illustrated by a remarkable portion of a Midrash relating more elaborately than in any other work the story of Manasseh's idolatry and repentance, Manasseh's prayer forming an integral part of the whole haggadic legend, while the fruitlessness of hypocritical repentance is illustrated by the singular story of Amon (see Amon; Manasseh). Ch. xxii.–xxiv.: The weak, malapropos Apostolic testimony here added by the Christian redactor only serves to establish the Jewish character of the remainder.

Still more remarkable are ch. xii.–xv., which, dwelling upon the proper treatment of the penitent sinner, refer to Ezek. xxxiii. 11 *et seq.* Ch. xiv. and xviii. contain arguments in favor of mingling with the wicked in order to win them over to righteousness and to obtain God's pardon for them, without even a reference to the life-work of Jesus—a fact which excludes the very possibility of a Christian authorship of the book. On the contrary, remonstrating against those "relentless" fanatics who would let the wicked perish in their sin, the author says (ch. xiv.):

"The lovers of God who commune with the sinners are not guilty of sin, but are imitators of their Father in heaven, who maketh His sun rise on the righteous and on the wicked, and sendeth His rain alike upon the evil and the good. [Compare Agadat Shir ha-Shirim, ed. Schechter, p. 4. This is the source also of Matt. v. 45 and of II Tim. ii. 5.] Victors and vanquished are in the same arena, and only those are crowned who have nobly striven." "Nor is the teacher defiled by coming nigh to the sinners [compare the controversy between the Shammaites and the Hillelites in Ab. R. N. iii. (ed. Schechter, p. 14), and Ber. 22a]. The sinners should be offered comfort and hope [Isa. xl. 1, LXX.]; and Noah, Lot, and Rahab are given as instances that conversation and association with the unrighteous do not condemn the righteous."

The Good Shepherd.

Likewise is the picture of the good shepherd, who "strengthens the weak, heals the sick, and seeks that which is lost" (derived from Ezek. xxxiv.), elaborately described in ch. xviii.–xx.; accounting for the New Testament similes (Luke xv. 4 and Matt. x. 6), as well as for the haggadic pictures of Moses and David (Ex. R. ii.; Tan., Shemot, ed. Buber, p. 6; Midr. Teh. to Ps. lxxviii. 71). "Like the gentle shepherd [Isa. xlii.], the overseer should endeavor to save all the members of his flock, and say to the sinner, 'Do thou but return, and I will accept death for thee.'" This is the original of "the good shepherd" who "giveth his life for the sheep" (John x. 11–13, quoted in the interpolated passage). "Like a father he should love them as his children, and rear them as the hen rears her chickens" (hence Matt. xxiii. 32).

A genuine piece of halakic legislation occurs in ch. xxiv.–xxv. concerning the use of charity-offerings: "The overseer should not use the godly things [הקדש] as if they were profane [חולין = *ἀλλότρια*], but with restraint;" he may, as "a man of God" (compare II Kings iv. 42; Ket. 105b; "Didache," xiii. 3–6), use as godly things the tithes, first-fruits, and all the freewill offerings brought in for the poor, the orphan, the widow, the sick, and the stranger, but may not misuse them in selfish greed. Here follows, with references to Num. xxxii. 22 (compare Yer. Shek. iii. 47c), Ezek. xxxiv. 3, Isa. v. 8, and Lev. xix. 18 (34?), the passage which is obviously the source of Paul in I Cor. ix. 7–9. Referring to Deut. xxv. 4, it says:

"In the same manner as the ox that labors on the threshing-floor without a muzzle eats indeed, but does not eat it all up, so do you who labor for the threshing-floor [גרן; compare Ḥul. 5a] —that is, for the congregation of God—eat of the congregation.

In the same manner as the Levites who served in the Tabernacle partook of the things offered to God [Num. xviii.], should the administrators of charity be supported out of the charity gifts."

In the following passage, beneath "the Church of Jesus the Savior" (יהושע), there is discernible "the congregation of God that escaped the Ten Plagues and received the Ten Commandments, and has yod (=ten) as its first letter, while named after God (YHWH), whose first letter is also yod (= ten)." Here the overseer is recommended to the people's love and reverence as their high priest, as "the father ["abba"; see Kohler in "Jew. Quart. Rev." xiii. 567 *et seq.*] who caused you to be born anew as God's children through baptism and the Holy Spirit" (see ESSENES), and as "the earthly god," after Ps. lxxxii. 6; Ex. xxii. 27. As without the priest no one could approach the altar, so the means of support for the widows and orphans, which is a type of the altar of burnt offering, may not be offered without the overseer, lest punishment, as in I Sam. xiii. 13, II Chron. xxii. 16, and Num. xvi., follow (ch. xxv.–xxvii.). Ch. xxxii.: "The overseer, who adopts thee as God's child, is thy father, and his right hand, with which he imbues thee with the Holy Spirit, thy mother; so honor them as thy spiritual parents" (Ex. xx. 12; comp. B. M. ii. 11).

Great stress is laid in ch. xlv. *et seq.* upon the avoidance of heathen courts of justice for the adjustment of differences (comp. Tan. Yelamdenu to Deut. xvi. 18; Yalḳ. to Ps. cxlvii., ערכאות של נכרים). On Sabbath no judicial debates should take place; peace only is to prevail; wherefore the court sessions should be on the second (and the fifth [?]) day of the Sabbaths, so that the controversy may be settled in the interval, and the contestants may have peace again on the Lord's Day (see Syriac "Didascalia," xi.; Ket. i. 1; Beẓah v. 2; compare "Didache," viii. 11 against the Jewish "Ma'amadot"). According to ch. lxvii., the assistants ("diacones") and elders give their votes as "men of God," and the overseer decides; God, whose Shekinah (the text has Χρίστος) is present, confirming the judgment (after Ps. lxxxii 1; compare Midr. Teh. *ad loc.*).

Jewish Courts of Justice.

"Even the heathen judge, before passing the final decree of capital punishment, lifts his hand toward the sun and swears that he is innocent of the blood of the culprit; so much the more should your verdict be given only after careful investigation."

"Be, therefore, righteous judges, peacemakers, and free from anger. If it happen that by some evil influence you become angry at anybody, let not the sun go down upon your wrath; for, says David, 'Be angry, and sin not' [Ps. iv. 4, LXX.]; that is, 'Be soon reconciled, lest your wrath, lasting long, become hatred and work sin.' For 'The souls of those that bear a settled hatred are to death,' says Solomon [Prov. xii. 28, LXX.]." It is plain that Eph. iv. 26 is based upon this passage (compare Resch, "Agrapha," p. 210, Leipsic, 1899).

"Wherefore, brethren, it is your duty to pray continually and to remove enmity. God hears not those who are at enmity with their brethren on account of unjust anger" (compare Ber. 19a).

"Before the prayer which follows the reading from the Law and the psalm-singing and the instruction ["didascalia"] out of the Scriptures ["Haftarah"], should the assistant [deacon = חזן], while standing near you, say with a loud voice: 'Let no one have a quarrel with another. Let none come in hypocrisy!' For the greeting of peace [Isa. lvii.], offered on entering private houses, is all the more applicable to those that enter the congregation of God, as the name 'bet ha-keneset' ["synagogue"] indicates the gathering of all who belong to the Lord and the augmentation of the number of those 'saved by concord'" (ch. iv.).

Divine service, under the direction of the overseer, "as the commander of a great ship" (compare Clement's Epistle to James xiv.–xv.; B. B. 91b; Ber. 28a; Levy, "Neuhebr. Wörterb." *s.v.* קברניט), and under the supervision of the deacons (חזנים), begins with the reading of the two lessons from the Torah and the Prophets, while "all stand in silence" (according to Deut. v. 28 [A. V. 31], xxvii. 9). This is followed by expositions by the seven elders, and finally by the overseer ("maftir"); then prayer is offered for the land and its produce, for the high priest and the king, and for the peace of the universe, the faces of all being turned eastward "toward the site of Paradise"; and the overseer then gives the closing benediction (ch. lvii.).

Divine Service.

Ch. lviii. states that the overseer should enjoin the people to attend the service regularly, and not by their absence to cause the body of the divine glory, Shekinah (text, "Christ"), to lose a member (compare ממעט השכינה and Yeb. 64a; Ber. 6a, 8a); especially on the Sabbath day, on which "we pray thrice standing, in memory of the exodus from Egypt and the manna, and on which the reading of the Prophets takes place" (ch. lix.; see further regarding the Sabbath prayer). In ch. lx. it is stated that the people should emulate the heathen, who rally in the theaters, as in a synagogue, for "things that do not profit," while deprived of the power of the Word and of the power of the name "Judah," which is interpreted "confession" (יהודה; Ezek. v. 6, 7; xvi. 47; Jer. ii. 10, 11).

According to ch. lxii., the people should pursue their trades as by-work (טפל) and the worship of God as their main work (עקר), avoiding the shows and theaters of the Hellenes and the Hellenic oracles, and adhering to the congregation of the Lord, "the daughter of the Highest" (Ps. xxvi. 4, 5; l. 1, 2; Jer. xv. 17, LXX.; Job xxxi. 5, 6; compare 'Ab. Zarah 18b). They should also avoid the indecent spectacles, the sports, and the feasts of the heathen (Num. xxiii. 23; II Sam. xv. 23, LXX.; Lev. xix. 26; Jer. ix. 2). "There is no fellowship between God and Satan" (hence Cor. vi. 14, 15). Only for the sake of redeeming a captive and saving a soul (פדיון שבוים ופיקוח נפש) and other necessary objects may such places be visited (compare Shab. 150a).

"The younger men of the congregation should work for their own support and for that of the needy [Prov. vi. 6, LXX., xii. 11, xix. 24; Eccl. x. 18]: 'And if any one will not work, neither shall he eat among you,' for the Lord our God hateth the slothful. For no one of those who are dedicated to God [המתנדבים לי"י; Targ. to Judges v. 9; I Macc. ii. 42; see DEBORAH IN RABBINICAL LITERATURE] ought to be idle." Here again Paul (II Thess. iii. 10) copies from the "Didascalia."

Work.

Books III. and IV.: These, as well as part of Book V., contain regulations concerning the support of widows, orphans, and other persons in distress; but the order in which they are presented is scarcely the original one. The fundamental idea underlying the book which deals with widows as a special class, or holy order, is that they are "types of the altar of God" (Book III., ch. vi., vii., xiv.; compare Book II.,

ch. xxvi., and ALTAR); they pray for him who gives alms (Book III., ch. xiii., xiv.).

The institution of pious widows spending their time in prayer goes back to pre-Christian times, and can not but be of Essene or Ḥasidic origin (see Luke ii. 36–38; ANNA and SERAH BAT ASHER); the Therapeutes had their class of aged women who led a holy life, and who were regarded as virgins because they would not marry a second time (Philo, "De Vita Contemplativa," § 8; see especially Conybeare in his edition, pp. 305 and 353; compare Kohler, "Testament of Job," in Kohut Memorial Volume, pp. 287–292). These "virgin widows," whose type was Judith (see Judith xi. 17, xii. 6–8, xvi. 22), are called "the pious women" (נשים צדקניות) that "save their generation" (Ex. R. i.; Num. R. xxi.; Targ. Yer. to Ex. xxxviii. 8; Soṭah 12a). These widows had to be sixty years of age (זקנות; compare Abot v. 21) before they were admitted into the order of women (hence I Tim. v 9; the Syriac "Didascalia" has "sixty" changed into "fifty"). On entering the order they had to take the vow of virginity—that is, that they would not marry again; wherefore they were to be of an age when remarrying was no longer thought of. Exceptionally young widows after a brief marriage were admitted when they had an "especial gift of widowhood," to be blessed like (? Judith and) the widow of Sarepta mentioned in I Kings xvii. 9 (Book III., ch. i.). Widows not belonging to the order might marry a second time, lest they be ensnared by Satan (*ib.* ch. ii.).

Widows "the Altar of God."

"The widows who are supported as consecrated to God must be sober, chaste, faithful, and pious; they must have been married only once, have brought up their children well, and have entertained strangers without blemish" (ch. iii.). The widow "should be meek and not hasty of speech, and leave to the rulers doctrinal questions to be answered for the young applicants. Only the unity of God she should defend against polytheistic errors, but in regard to the mysteries of the Shekinah [the text has "Christ"] she must use caution in order not to blaspheme God" (Isa. lii. 5, LXX.). "She should not teach in the assembly, but pray, and listen to those that teach" (hence Paul in I Cor. xiv. 34). "Being the altar of God, she should go to the houses of the faithful to obtain alms, not to the houses of strangers [Syriac "Didascalia": "to become a stumbling-block to men"]. Nor should she indulge in foolish prattle instead of going to the synagogue on the Day of the Lord for rest and watchfulness like the angels ["watchers"]. Nor should she, dissatisfied with her support by the congregation, be solicitous about mammon and make her bag her God, 'worshiping mammon instead of God' [hence Matt. vi. 24; compare Sifre to Deut. vi. 5]; but, like Judith, she should pray unceasingly for the congregation, remaining in her house, singing psalms, reading the Scripture, holding vigils and fasts, communing with God continually in songs and hymns; and let her take wool for work to help others, but not for her own use" (ch. vi.–vii.). "As little as the priests were allowed to accept free-will offerings from a rapacious person or a harlot [Deut. xxiii. 18; Mal. i. 13, 14], is the widow allowed to accept any gift from improper sources, nor indeed from any one who has been excommunicated from the Synagogue; for prayer ought not to be offered by the recipient for such a one, this being an offense against the Holy Spirit [the text has "Christ"]" (ch. viii.). "Any widow who fosters strife acts like Cain, and will be cast out of the kingdom of God and delivered to eternal punishment as doing the work of Satan" (ch. ix.). "It is by appointment of God that the overseer distributes the gifts among the widows, and they have to pray both for him and for the giver" (ch. xiii.–xiv.). In ch. iii.–iv. it is stated to be the overseer's duty, as the steward of God, to provide for the wants of all the needy, the widows and orphans, the friendless and the afflicted, without any partiality, and to mention the name of the giver so that the recipients may be able to pray for him (Isa. lviii. 7; Dan. iv. 27; Ps. xli. 2 [A. V. 1], cxii. 9; Prov. xvi. 6, xix. 17, xxi. 13). Also those who assist the overseer in the administration of the needy (שמוש אורחים; compare Kohler, "Testament of Job," in *l.c.* p. 318; hence "diacones" = "deacons") are required to be spotless like him and still more energetic (זריזים), ever ready to travel, to carry messages, and to minister to the needy. Women should attend to women in need. They should not be ashamed to attend to those in want, but, if needs be, should lay down their lives for a brother, imitating the Lord of heaven and earth (compare Targ. Yer. Gen. xxxv. 9), acting only for His name's sake. They should visit all who are in need of visitation, and report to the overseer (ch. xix.).

Of Book IV. the earlier chapters treat mainly of orphans:

"When the son or daughter of any brother [the Christianized text has "Christian"] becomes an orphan, some one of the brethren should adopt the same, and, if feasible, marry the girl to his son. They who do so, perform a great work [מצוה גדולה] and will receive reward from God; and if, because such orphans are poor, he, being rich, is ashamed to do so, the Father of the fatherless and the 'judge of the widows' [Ps. lxviii. 6 (A. V. 5)] will provide for these, while the fortune of such a one will be spent by prodigal heirs" (Lev. xxvi. 16 or Ecc. vi. 2, according to Midrashic interpretation; Isa. i. 7).

"While the overseers have, like husbands, to provide for the widows [compare Sirach (Ecclus.) iv. 10, Hebrew text]; to give work to the mechanics; to show compassion to the feeble; to give shelter to the strangers, food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothing to the naked, visitation to the sick [בקור חולים], rescue to the imprisoned [פדיון שבוים], they must take especial care of the orphans, give the marriageable maiden in marriage to a brother, and cause the young man to learn a trade [אומנות] in order to become self-supporting [see concerning the bringing up of orphans, מגדלי יתומים, Ex. R. xlv.; Sanh. 19b]. Both widows and orphans receiving gifts shall give thanks 'to the Lord who giveth food to the hungry' . . ." (Ps. civ. 14–15; cxlv. 15–16; Eccl. ii. 25, LXX.; Zech. ix. 17).

Peculiarly instructive are the regulations concerning the acceptance of charitable offerings. Being considered as holy sacrifices for the altar of God, the Law (Deut. xviii. 12, xxiii. 19 [A. V. 18]; Prov. xvii. 12) was applied, and no gift was to be received from unjust dealers in merchandise (קפילא: Ecclus. [Sirach] xxvi. 29; Isa. i. 22, 23), from fornicators or such as abuse their own female servants (נוהגים היתר בשפחות, Lev. R. xxv.), from sodomites, idol-makers, blasphemers, thieves, publicans, informers, any subverter of justice, usurer, or from any one acting against the will of God. Acceptance of gifts from any of the foregoing would

evoke divine punishment, as in the case of the prophet (I Kings xiii. 1–5); and the prayer of those who received such gifts would not be heard (Jer. vii. 16, xv. 1). "Neither did Elisha accept gifts from Hazael nor Abijah from Jeroboam's wife" (II Kings viii. 10; I Kings xiv. 3). "Ye have received the gifts of the Levites and should not receive from the wicked. It is better to perish from want than to accept from the enemies of God" (Ps. cxiv. 5). "Receive only from such as are found, on examination, to walk in holiness, and not from those who are expelled from the Synagogue." "The Lord is honored only out of righteous labor" (Prov. iii. 9, LXX.). "Only righteous money is to be used for the ransom of captives and imprisoned ones" (Prov. xxiv. 11). "Should, however, the acceptance of money from ungodly persons be enforced upon any, it is to be used only for fuel, like the forbidden holy thing [פגול] which is to be consumed with fire, being evil not by nature, but only in the minds of those that offer it" (Lev. xix. 7; compare Sifra thereto). Compare with these regulations those regarding "ẓedaḳah" practised by the Jewish charity administrators (גבאי צדקה; Tosef., B. Ḳ. xi. 6–9; Sanh. 26b; B. B. 10b; see also CHARITY); the interpretation of the Law, אתנן זונה ומחיר כלב (Deut. xxiii. 19), with reference to charity, was a matter of controversy between the Christian Jacob the Gnostic, and the Rabbis ('Ab. Zarah 17a).

Forbidden Charitable Gifts.

Of the four chapters which close Book IV., only partly preserved in the Syrian "Didascalia," the eleventh is, with the exception only of the words "and our divine words," certainly Jewish. It enjoins parents to train their children well, have them learn useful trades, familiarize them with holy Scripture, guard them against bad company, and, finally, to join them in wedlock in due time (compare Ḳid. 29a; Tosef., Ḳid. i. 11; Yeb. 62b).

Book V.: This book, treating of martyrdom, resurrection, heathenism, and the feast- and fast-days, rests, in spite of the pronounced Christian character which it now has, upon a Jewish substratum, "Christ" having often, and at times very awkwardly, been substituted for "God." The idea presented in ch. i.–iv. is that "he who is condemned by the heathen to the games and the beasts for the name of the Lord God is a holy martyr, the son of the Highest, and a vessel of the Holy Spirit" (compare the expression כלי לדברות in the Midr. ha-Gadol, quoted by I. Lewy in his "Ein Wort Ueber die 'Mechilta des R. Simon,'" p. 38, note), and "whosoever aids or rescues these martyrs by means of his work shares in their glorious martyrdom." "He who denies being God's in order not to be hated by men, loving his own life more than he does the Lord in whose hand his breath is held, is wretched, an enemy of God, who has his portion with the accursed and not with the saints, and inherits the eternal fire prepared for Satan and his angels, instead of the reward of the blessed" (compare Sifre, Debarim, 32; Philo, "Quod Omnis Probus Liber," xiii.; Wisdom iii. 11–19; Bousset, "Die Religion des Judenthums," 1902, p. 168).

The Essene principle is set forth in ch. vi.–vii.:

"Let us then renounce our parents, kinsmen, and friends, wife and children, all possessions and enjoyments of life, if they become an impediment to piety [compare Philo, "De Vita Contemplativa," § 2, and parallels in Conybeare's ed., p. 49]. For while it behooves us to pray that He may not lead us into temptation [Ber. 60b; Matt. vi. 13], yet when we are called upon to give testimony [as martyrs; compare LXX. to Isa. xliii. 10–12], while confessing His precious name with defiance [קרוש השכ; Sifra, Emor, 9], let us rejoice, hastening toward immortality. And when persecuted, let us not be perplexed and let us love neither this world nor the praise of men nor the glory and honor of rulers; but let him who has been deemed worthy of martyrdom rejoice in the joy of the Lord as obtaining thereby a great crown, and ending life with a confession [שמע ישראל; compare Sifre, Deut., 32; Ber. 61b]. For the Almighty God will Himself raise us up, according to His infallible promise, and grant us a resurrection with all those that have slept from the beginning of the world [לישני עפר in the Eighteen Benedictions], whether we die in the sea, are scattered on earth, or torn to pieces by wild beasts or birds. He will raise us by His own power [compare גבורות in Eighteen Benedictions], for the whole world is held together by the hand of God." Here references are made to Dan. xii. 2–3; Eccl. xii. 14; Ezek. xxvii. 11; Isa. xxvi. 19, lxvi. 24; then to Enoch and Elisha, to the raising of the dead by Elijah and Elisha; to Jonah (ii. 11), to Daniel and his three youths (Dan. ii.–iii.), and finally, to convince heathen readers, to the Sibylline Oracles (iv. 178–190), and to the mythical phenix.

"In this hope we undergo stripes, persecutions, and deaths. Just as God by His will made heaven and earth [Gen. i. 1; Jer. i, 5; Zech. xii. 1; Job. x. 10; Ps. ciii. 14; cxix. 73; cxxxix. 5, 16], so will He raise all men by His will either to crown them or to punish them [Dan. xii. 3], man being His workmanship made by His word [Gen. i. 26 *et seq.*; text has "Christ"], just as He raises the wheat out of the ground [compare Sanh. 90b] and as He made Aaron's dry rod put forth buds [Num. xvii. 8]."

Martyrs should be held in honor, according to Ps. cxvi. 15; Prov. x. 7; Isa. lvii. 1, lxx. "A faithful martyr ["witness"] is he who strove by his own blood for the cause of faith" (ch. viii.–ix.).

On Sabbath and holy days, which are days of joy (Isa. lviii. 13), all obscene talk and song should be avoided, according to Ps. ii. 11: "Rejoice with trembling." Names of heathen gods are not to be mentioned, nor should one swear by any of the luminaries or elements (ch. x.–xi.).

Book VI.: Ch. i.–iv. warn against heresies and schisms, dwelling at great length on the sedition of Dathan and Abiram against Moses—who "exhibited the Law of God in the perfect number of Ten Commandments," and of whom God said: "There arose not a prophet like unto Moses" (Deut. xxxiv. 10; no Christian could without considerable modification have written of Moses all that is stated here)—and on Sheba the son of Bichri (the name is twice misspelled almost beyond recognition); and on Joshua the son of Josedech, who also was tempted by Satan (Zech. iii. 1). In ch. vi. the Sadducees and Dositheans seem to have originally been characterized as heretics among the Jewish people. The present text enumerates all the Jewish sects, and what follows to the end of the book—with the exception of some parts of ch. xxvii.–xxix., which dwell on Levitical impurity in connection with prayer and the Holy Spirit (Ber. iii. 5; compare Kayser, "Die Canones Jacob's von Edessa," 1886, pp. 12, 81)—is altogether of Christian origin and anti-Jewish in character.

On Heresies.

Books VII. and VIII.: These contain, besides third-century Church canons and the like, diverse subject-matter—probably thrown out by the late Christian redactor of the "Didascalia" on account of its Judæo-Christian character. The first thirty-two chapters of Book VII. contain a version of the "Di-

dache," which, while betraying, like the rest of the "Didascalia," the hand of a Christian redactor, rests nevertheless upon a more complete Jewish original than the one discovered by Bryennios. Its whole tenor is characteristically Jewish in so far as it has each single precept or sentence based upon some Scriptural verse; and its mode of teaching, like any haggadic or halakic work, is argumentative. It begins the "Two Ways" with an apt reference to Deut. xxx. 15 and I Kings xviii. 21; the reference to Matt. vi. 24 is manifestly an interpolation. In ch. ii. the verse "Love the Lord thy God" (Deut. vi. 5) is given (compare Iselin's [Coptic] "Apostellehre," p. 6, Leipsic, 1895). The rule, "Love those that hate you, and ye shall have no enemy," in itself decidedly Jewish in tone (see Bousset, *l.c.* p. 393), is derived from Deut. xxiii. 7: "Thou shalt not hate any man, Egyptian or Edomite, as they all are the works of God" (כי אחיך הוא; compare "Apost. Const." II. xxxvi., V. vii.). Likewise is the precept "If any one give thee a stroke on the right cheek, turn to him the other also" based upon the argument "Not that revenge is evil, but that patience is more honorable"; and Ps. vii. 5 (A. V. 4) is referred to. This proves that Matt. v. 39 is not the source. Old Testament quotations and specific references to the Law are frequent throughout ch. vi.

The "Didache" in an Older Form.

The principle "Flee from all evil and whatever is similar to it" (הרחק מן הביעור ומן הדומה לו) is derived from Isa. liv. 14: רחקי מעשק ("Abstain from injustice"), and the warning against anger and envy is illustrated by the fate of Cain, Saul, and Joab (ch. v.). The lesson of submission to God's decree is aptly illustrated by the example of Job—and very inaptly by the interpolator's reference to Lazarus (ch. viii.). In ch. ix. honor for the teacher is required, because "where there is teaching concerning God, there God is present" (Abot iii. 3; compare Matt. xviii. 20). The sedition of Korah is to warn man against making schisms; and the examples of Elijah Micaiah, Ebed-melech the Ethiopian, and Nathan, against taking presents from sinners that are to be reproved (ch. x.). Ch. xvii. contains as the last rule: "Thou shalt not proceed to thy house of prayer on a day of thy misfortune before thou hast laid aside thy bitterness"—a decidedly Jewish precept (Ber. 31a).

A striking parallel to the Mishnaic statement, "The ancient Ḥasidim used to spend a full hour in silent meditation before prayer in order to turn their hearts in true devotion to their Father in heaven" (Ber. v. 1), is preserved in ch. xxiv.: "Pray thrice a day, preparing yourselves beforehand that ye may be worthy of being received as children by the Father, lest, when you call Him 'Father' unworthily, you be reproached by Him, like Israel, 'If I be a Father, where is My glory? And if I be a Lord, where is My fear?'" (Mal. i. 6).

Irrefutable proof of the Jewish provenience of the "Didache" and, as will be seen, of the whole "Didascalia," is given in the words "O God of our holy and perfect fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Thy faithful servants," preserved in the thanksgiving prayer after a meal (ch. xxvi.), which also contains a thanksgiving "for the Law which Thou hast planted in our souls" (compare ועל תורתך שלמדתנו in the grace after meals). The same characteristic words, "The God of our holy and perfect forefathers, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob" (אלהי אבותינו הקדושים והתמימים אלהי אברהם א' יצחק וא' יעקב), occur also in the prayer which follows in ch. xxxiii. This prayer is an older version of the first of the Eighteen (or Seven) Benedictions, called by the Rabbis אבות, and, with a few omissions, it reads as follows:

God of Our Fathers, etc.

"Our eternal Savior, King of the godly beings, who alone art the Almighty and Lord, God of all things, God of our holy and perfect forefathers, God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, merciful and compassionate, long-suffering and abundant in mercy, to whom every heart is naked and every secret thought revealed, to Thee the souls of the righteous cry aloud; upon Thee do the hopes of the holy ones rest in confidence, Thou Father of the perfect, who hearest the prayer of those that call upon Thee in uprightness and knowest the supplication unuttered. . . . Thou hast made this world a place of combat for righteousness and hast opened to all the gate of mercy [הפותח שער רחמים], having shown to each man by the knowledge implanted [דעה], by natural judgment [בינה], and by the admonition of the Law [תורה], that riches, beauty, and strength vanish and only the guileless conscience of faith [אמונה] abides throughout the heavens, and walking with truth receives the right hand of victory, exulting in hope before even the world is regenerated. For Thou didst guide our forefather Abraham when he found the way of truth, and didst teach him in a vision what this world is, faith preceding his knowledge [γνῶσις]; and the covenant was the consequence of his faith [Gen. xv. 6, xxii. 17]. And when Thou gavest him Isaac as son, Thou saidst, 'I will be a God to thee' [Gen. xxvi. 3], and when our father Jacob was sent to Mesopotamia Thou showedst him the Word [text: "Christ"], and through him spakest, 'Behold I am with thee' [Gen. xxviii. 15]. And so spakest Thou to Moses, Thy faithful and holy servant, at the vision of the bush: 'I am He that is' [Ex. iii. 14, 15]. O Thou shield of the posterity of Abraham, be blessed forever" (= באי מגן אברהם; compare Midr. Teh. to Ps. i., ed. Buber, p. 5).

The prayer which follows in ch. xxxiv. is the second of the Seven Benedictions; it has not been preserved intact. It begins as follows:

"Blessed art Thou, O Lord, King of the worlds, who by the word [במאמרו; text has "Christ"] hast made the universe and by the same hast brought order into chaos." Here follows an enumeration of the whole work of Creation (מעשה בראשית), after Gen. i., closing with the formation by the divine Wisdom of man as "the citizen of the world," "the cosmos ["ornament"] of the cosmos" (κόσμου κόσμον); his body being formed of the four bodily elements, his soul endowed with five senses as a new creation out of nothing, and his mind being the charioteer of the soul. The closing sentence reads: "When man was disobedient Thou didst not destroy him forever, but laidst him to sleep for a time, and by an oath didst promise him resurrection and didst loose the bond of death. Blessed be Thou, O Reviver of the Dead" (מחיה המתים; "through Jesus Christ our hope" is the Christian addition).

The Seven Benedictions.

The prayer in ch. xxxv. begins, "Great art Thou, O Lord Almighty, and great is Thy power," exactly as the second of the Seven Benedictions in the Jewish ritual (אתה גבור לעולם יי), and enumerates the wondrous works of God's power—גבורות (Ta'an. i. 1; Ber. v. 2)—also characteristic of the same benediction. So this part evidently belongs to the preceding prayer. But it also contains, in an elaborate form, those portions which constitute the third benediction (קדושה). It describes the sanctification of God by the hosts of celestial beings—the holy seraphim and the six-winged cherubim, the angels and archangels; the thrones ("ofannim"), dominions, principalities, authorities, and powers—citing Isa. vi. 3; Dan. viii. 13; Ezek. iii. 12 (see Falashas); and then speaks of Israel as "Thy congregation selected from the nations on

earth, emulating the heavenly powers night and day, and singing with a full heart and soul" (Ps. lxviii. 18 [A. V. 17]). After quotations from Deut. iv. 39; I Sam. ii. 2–4; and Deut. xxxiv. 2, the benediction closes thus:

"Thou art glorious and highly exalted, invisible and unsearchable; Thy life without want; Thy operation without toil; Thy work without assistance; Thy dominion unchangeable; Thy monarchy without succession; Thy kingdom without end; Thy strength irresistible; Thine army very numerous. Thou art the Father of Wisdom, the Creator of Creation, the Bestower of Providence, the Giver of Laws, the Supplier of Wants, the Punisher of the Ungodly, and the Rewarder of the Righteous, the God and Father [here "Christ" is interpolated] and Lord of those that worship Him whose promise is infallible, . . . whose thanksgiving is everlasting, to whom adoration is due from every rational and holy creature." Here the blessing formula, האל הקדוש, is omitted.

Ch. xxxvi. contains the following portions of the original Jewish prayers for Sabbath and festivals:

"O Lord Almighty, Thou hast created the world by Thy Word [text: "Christ"], and hast appointed the Sabbath as a memorial thereof, because on that day Thou hast made us rest from our works that we may meditate upon Thy laws.

"Thou hast appointed festivals for the rejoicing of our souls, that we may remember the Wisdom created by Thee. . . .

Prayers for Sabbath and Festivals.

Wherefore we assemble on the Day of the Lord and rejoice with Thy Word which has lit up life and immortality. For through it Thou hast made Israel, the God-beloved, Thy peculiar people. For Thou, O Lord, didst bring our fathers out of the land of Egypt and didst deliver them out of the iron furnace, from brick-making, and didst redeem them out of the hands of Pharaoh and those under him, and didst lead them through the sea as through dry land, and feed them in the wilderness with all kinds of good things.

"Thou didst give them the Law, the Ten Words pronounced by Thy voice and written with Thy hand. Thou didst enjoin them to observe the Sabbath not for the sake of affording them an occasion of idleness, but as an opportunity of piety that they might learn to know Thy power; having, in order to prevent them from evil things, kept them as within a holy circuit [החוכ שבת] for the sake of instruction that they might rejoice in the number seven (for there are the seventh day and the seven weeks and the seven months and the seventh year and the jubilee year for remission) [a marginal note probably; compare Philo, "De Septennario," §§ 7–8], so that men might have no cause for pretending ignorance. Wherefore, He permitted men to rest every Sabbath so that no one should send forth one word in anger on the Sabbath day; for the Sabbath is the cessation of the creation, the completion of the world, [given for] the study of the Law, and the thanksgiving hymn to God for the blessings bestowed upon men. As the Mediator, Provider, and Lawgiver of all this, does the Lord's Day hold forth the word of God as the first-born of the entire creation, so that the Lord's Day commands us to offer unto Thee, O Lord, thanksgiving for all."

Obviously the fourth benediction, מקדש השבת, has here assumed an Essene, or Gnostic, character, without, however, obscuring the features of the typical synagogue formula.

Ch. xxxvii., xxxviii., and Book VIII., ch. xxxvii., have preserved portions of the last three benedictions recited both in the synagogue and in the Temple, the עבודה, and הודאה, and ברכת כהנים.

The first commences: "Thou who hast fulfilled Thy promise made by the prophets, and hast had mercy on Jerusalem by exalting the throne of David Thy servant, do Thou now, O Lord God, accept the prayers of Thy people who call upon Thee in truth as Thou didst accept of the gifts of the righteous in their generations. [Here follows an enumeration of all the righteous men from Abel to Mattathias and his sons.] So receive Thou the prayers of Thy people, offered to Thee with knowledge [the phrase "through Christ" is a Christian addition; there is no mention of Christ in the prayer itself] in the Spirit."

The Modim prayer begins exactly like the Jewish benediction: "We give thanks to Thee for all things, O Lord Almighty, that Thou hast not taken away Thy mercies and loving-kindnesses from us, but generation after generation dost Thou save, deliver, assist, and protect. Thou didst assist in the days of Enos and Enoch, of Moses and Joshua, of Samuel and Elijah, of David and the Kings, of Esther and Judith, and of Judas Maccabeus and his brethren ["Christ" very inappropriately interpolated here]. For He has delivered us from the sword and from famine, from sickness and from an evil tongue. . . . For all these things do we give Thee thanks [compare על כ ם]." Here follows a special thanksgiving for the wonderful creation of man, for the immortal soul, and for the laws given to him, and for the promise of resurrection. The closing sentences are as follows: "What life is sufficient—what length of ages will be long enough for men to be thankful! For Thou hast delivered us from the impiety of polytheism. [Then follows a Christian addition quite characteristic, "and from the heresy of the murderers of Christ!"]. Thou hast delivered us from error and ignorance. Thou hast set angels over us, and hast put Satan to shame. Thou hast created us and provided for us. Thou measurest out life to us, and affordest us nourishment, and hast provided repentance. Glory and worship to Thee for all these things for ever and aye."

The Last Three Temple Benedictions.

Of the closing benediction only the following portion has been preserved as the bishop's benediction:

"O God of our fathers, Lord of mercy, who didst form man by Thy Wisdom, . . . look down. O Lord Almighty, and cause Thy face to shine upon Thy people and bless them by Thy Word [text: "Christ"], through which Thou hast enlightened us with the light of Thy knowledge, and hast revealed Thyself unto us. Adoration is due to Thee from every rational and holy creature forever."

As all these prayers go back to pre-Christian times, they are of incalculable importance to the student of Jewish and Christian liturgy. Here is also the origin of such names as "the Lord's Day" for Sabbath (Sunday).

There are a number of other benediction formulas given in Books VII. and VIII. which betray an adaptation from Jewish prayers and anthems. Especially is the "Trisagion," or "Thrice Holy," in Book VIII., ch. xii.—which has, in more or less modified form, been universally adopted in the various churches—based on a somewhat older form of the Jewish sanctification than the one in ch. xxxv. of Book VII., mentioned above; while the prayers for penitents and for the various classes of people (Book VIII., ch. ix. and x.) have striking parallels in the older portion of the Jewish litanies (see SELIḤOT). See also ESSENES; GNOSTICISM; LITURGY; SABBATH.

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K.

DIDEROT, DENIS: French philosopher and encyclopedist; born at Langres Oct. 5, 1713; died at Paris July 30, 1784. Although, like all the French encyclopedists, an apostle of tolerance, Diderot does not seem to have had much sympathy with the Jews and Judaism. He wrote the bright and interesting article on Jewish philosophy for the "Encyclopédie," but it shows a superficial acquaintance with the subject, and is not free from errors. The same criticism applies to a brilliant passage on the Jews of Amsterdam in his "Voyage en Hollande" (xvii. 431–433, ed. Assezat and Tourneux, Paris, 1875–79). In his "Neveu de Rameau" (v. 454, 479) there are two anecdotes, the heroes of which are Jews. The first refers to a renegade who abuses the confidence of a rich Jew of Avignon in order to rob him and denounce him to the Inquisition. The second, which is somewhat licentious, narrates the story of an

Orthodox Jew of Utrecht who signs a note in an infamous bargain. The first anecdote is improbable, for the Inquisition never forbade the Jews of the Comtat to follow their religion. The second anecdote, still more improbable, is also found in the "Voyage en Hollande," where the personages are Dutch citizens, and by substituting different names Diderot simply intended to make a striking antithesis between the piety of the Jew and his amorous escapades. This literary trifle must not be taken seriously; it shows only that Diderot was subject to the common prejudice against the Jews.

Bibliography: T. Reinach, in *Rev. Et. Juives*, 1884, vii. 10 *et seq.*

D. I. L.

DIDRACHMA. See Numismatics and Weights and Measures.

DIEGO DE VALENCIA: Spanish troubadour of the fifteenth century; born of Jewish parentage at Valencia de Don Juan, in the kingdom of Leon. After his conversion to Christianity he became a Franciscan monk; and receiving the degree of doctor of theology, was known among his contemporaries as a very learned physician, astrologer, and master of sciences ("gran letrado, físico, astrologo, é mecanico"). He was one of the leading Valencian poets, and most of his poems are contained in the "Cancionero de Baena." He did not consider it beneath his dignity to speak openly, in a number of flippant songs, of his intimacy with various classes of courtezans, nor did he hesitate, in his satirical poems on Jews and Maranos, to make use of Hebrew and rabbinic terms, though he thereby derided himself. Diego chose as the special target of his scoffings a certain Juan de España, who was considered an accomplished Talmudist, and who, after accepting baptism in 1413, wrote a short work on his conversion. The following lines may serve as specimens of Diego's satire:

"Johan de España, muy gran saña
Fué aquesta de *Adonay*,
Pues la aljama se derrama
Por culpa de *Barcelay*.
Todos fuemos espantados,
Maestros, rabies, *cohenim*,
Ca les fueron sus pecados
De este *sofarahenim*
Pues quien non tiène *beçim*,
Quiso infinita faser,
Hora finque por mansel
Pues tan mal pertrecho tray."

Bibliography: J. Amador de los Rios, *Estudios*, pp. 423 *et seq.*; Ferd. Wolf, *Zur Spanischen und Portugiesischen Litteratur*, pp. 201, 209; Kayserling, *Sephardim*, pp. 75 *et seq.*

G. M. K.

DIENA (DAYYENA), AZRIEL BEN SOLOMON: Rabbi at Sabbionetta; died 1536. He was a disciple of Nathaniel Trabotto, and is mentioned with respect by R. Meïr Katzenellenbogen. Azulai claims to have seen two volumes of his responsa—perhaps those referred to in "Magazin," ii. 16. MS. 911 in the Bodleian collection contains Diena's notes on הלכות טרפה according to the Roman rite (Neubauer, "Cat." col. 196); and MS. 948 contains some of his letters (*ib.* col. 205). MSS. 48, 135, 153, 166 of the Friedland collection in St. Petersburg contain some of Diena's decisions. He seems to have possessed valuable manuscripts: the 1550 ed. of Maimonides' "Yad" having followed his copy (Conforte, "Ḳore ha-Dorot," p. 34b). Diena became known by his opposition to the adventurer David Reubeni. Being of a positive and practical disposition, opposed to the current Messianic vagaries, Diena was alive to the danger resulting therefrom, and he decided to act against Reubeni. When the latter, after the execution of Molko, had increased his influence to such an extent that the Italian rabbis began to take his pretensions seriously, Diena called to his aid Abraham b. Moses Cohen, rabbi of Bologna, and both unmasked the impostor.

The veneration in which Diena was held may be seen from the elegies published at his death, one of which was by Abraham of Pisa, and two others by Samuel b. Moses Anav. His son's name was David (Nepi-Ghirondi, "Toledot Gedole Yisrael," p. 75).

Bibliography: Kaufmann, in *Rev. Et. Juives*, xxx. 304, xxxi. 65, xxxviii. 277; Löwenstein, *ib.* xxxi. 120; Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* No. 7821; Mose, *Antologia*, vi. 53, 134; Gedalya ibn Yahya, *Shalshelet ha-Kabbalah*, p. 64a; Nepi-Ghirondi, *Toledot Gedole Yisrael*, pp. 38, 40; Eisenstadt-Wiener, *Da'at Kedoshim*, App., ii. 47, 77, 78; Benjacob, *Ozar ha-Sefarim*, p. 560, No. 142; Azulai, *Shem ha-Gedolim*, i. 77.

G.

DIENA (DAYYENA), DAVID: Italian rabbi; he lived at Rovigo at the end of the seventeenth century. He was consulted on Talmudic matters by R. Nathaniel Segre; and his responsa appeared first in the collection "'Afar Ya'aḳob," from which it was copied by Isaac Lampronti into his "Paḥad Yiẓḥaḳ." David, in his responsa, mentions Azriel Diena as his grandfather. There is much confusion concerning his father. Ghirondi calls him David b. Azriel Diena, while Mortara speaks of two Davids, one being a grandson and the other a son of Azriel Diena. He was the grandfather of David Ḥayyim Diena, chief rabbi of Rovigo.

Bibliography: Nepi-Ghirondi, *Toledot Gedole Yisrael*, p. 75; Löwenstein, in *Rev. Et. Juives*, xxxi. 121; Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael*, p. 232; Mortara, *Indice Alfabetico*, p. 19; Berliner's *Magazin*, ii. 16; Steinschneider, *Hebr. Bibl.* xix. 51.

L. G. M. Sel.

DIENESOHN, JACOB: Yiddish novelist; born in Zagory (Zagaren), Russia, in 1859. He is one of the most popular Yiddish novelists of the latter half of the nineteenth century. He began to write in 1877, when he published a story called "Ha-Ne'ehabim weha-Ne'imim" or "Der Schwartzer Junger Mantshik" (The Dark Young Man). Since then Dienesohn has written many novels, almost all of which have been widely read. Among the best known of his works is his "Eben Negef" (Stumbling-Stone). In his books Dienesohn pictures the struggle among the Jews of the older and the younger generation—between the "haskalah" and ḥasidism. He knew well the public for which he was writing, and avoided all violent expressions in denouncing fanaticism, describing merely the sufferings of the Maskilim. His later novels treat of the same themes, but are rather sketches from Jewish life than romantic stories. Dienesohn is also the author of the "Welt-Geschichte," in Yiddish. He has in addition contributed many articles to Yiddish periodicals, and is a good Hebrew writer, his contributions to "Ha-Shaḥar" having won him the favorable criticism even of such writers as Smolenskin.

Bibliography: Wiener, *Yiddish Literature*, p. 189; *Sefer Zikkaron*, Warsaw, p. 26.

G. M. Ra.

DIESSENHOFEN: City in the Swiss canton of Thurgau, connected by a bridge with the village of Gailingen in Baden. It attracted the Jews in early times by its favorable position. In 1348 the Jews here were accused of having poisoned the wells; their houses were plundered by the mob, and some of the Jews were burned at the stake. Over three hundred sought refuge in the fortress of Kyburg, where they were protected by the Austrian governor; but when he himself was threatened by the cities of Diessenhofen and Winterthur, the fugitives were either expelled and left to the mercy of their persecutors, or, as other authorities state, were burned by the governor on Sept. 18, 1349, to save the "innocent ones" from the fury of the mob (Pupikofer, "Gesch. des Thurgaus," i. 204; manuscript material in Löwenstein, "Gesch. der Juden am Bodensee," p. 81).

Jews settled in Diessenhofen again within half a century; but in 1401 a false accusation again gave rise to butcheries. The outrider of the governor had murdered Konrad, the four-year-old son of Councilor Hermann Lory of Diessenhofen. To save himself the man said that the Jew Michael Vinelmann (Veitelmann), who, with his son Gütlieb, had been admitted in 1396 on the condition of paying a yearly tax of eight gulden, had instigated the murder, and had promised three gulden "for the hot blood of the Christian child." The outrider was broken on the wheel; the Jew was burned alive without any examination; and little Konrad was sainted. On this occasion Jews at Schaffhausen, Winterthur, and other places were either burned or forced to accept baptism.

Contrary to all expectation Jews soon returned to Diessenhofen. As early as 1426, when its citizens "were in great debt and obliged to admit Jews and other people in order to better bear the great yearly tax," as one may read in the "ainunge" (town records) of Diessenhofen (Pupikofer, *l.c.* p. 63), a Jew was admitted as citizen, notwithstanding the objection of Junker Molli of Diessenhofen, an evil-minded person who had voted for the burning of Huss at the Council of Constance. The number of Jews in the city increased gradually. In 1453 the Jews Triefus (Dreifus) and Mennlis paid a tax of two pounds of heller each; the latter, who was in 1479 granted a safe-conduct for two years, settled in 1481 at Thiengen. As early as 1482 attempts were made to expel the Jews from Thurgau, but fortunately for them the governors were open to bribery. In 1489 the Jews of Diessenhofen were granted protection for three years, but in 1494 they had to leave the place with the other Jews of the canton.

Nothing is known of the religious condition of the Jews of Diessenhofen, except that they were forbidden to sell meat slaughtered according to ritual on the ordinary meat-stalls. The synagogue is said to have stood on the site now occupied by the house "Zum Erker." For several centuries no Jews lived here. Those that came from Gailingen on business had to pay the so-called Jews' tax, or Jews' stake-money, of from three to five batzen. Even toward the end of the eighteenth century the Jews were forbidden to pass across the Rheinbrücke on Sundays, except to the physician, apothecary, or midwife. In 1865 a Jew was granted the privilege of settling at Diessenhofen. In 1902 about twenty Jewish families were living in the city.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Löwenstein, *Gesch. der Juden am Bodensee*, pp. 79 *et seq.*; *Monatsschrift*, xii. 405 *et seq.*

G. M. K.

DIETARY LAWS (מאכלות אסורות): Biblical and rabbinical regulations concerning forbidden food.

Vegetable Food.

A. The ancient Israelites lived chiefly on vegetable food and fruit, upon which the Bible places no restrictions (Gen. i. 29). With the development of the sacrificial system certain restrictions were placed on the use of the portions belonging to the priest, the Levite, and the poor (see PRIESTLY CODE; CHARITY). Besides these there were also some laws concerning vegetable and tree growths.

(1) "'Orlah": The fruit of a tree was forbidden during the first three years after its planting (Lev. xix. 23–25). In the fourth year the fruit was brought to Jerusalem and eaten there amid songs of thanksgiving ("neṭa' reba'i"). Those who lived at a distance from Jerusalem might redeem the fruit and bring the money to Jerusalem, and spend it in a similar manner. The law of 'orlah applied to all times and places ('Orlah iii. 9; Ḳid. 38b *et seq.*; Maimonides, "Yad," Ma'akalot Asurot, x. 9–18; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Yoreh De'ah, 294). See 'ORLAH.

(2) "Ḥadash": The eating of new corn was forbidden until the second day of Passover, when the "'omer" was offered in the Temple (Lev. xxiii. 9–14). This prohibition also was extended to all times and places (Ḳid. *l.c.*; Men. 70a; Maimonides, *l.c.* 2–5; Yoreh De'ah, 293).

The reason for these laws seems to be contained in the sentence "The first of the first-fruits of thy land thou shalt bring into the house of the Lord thy God" (Ex. xxiii. 19).

(3) The use for any purpose whatever of the produce of two species of corn or of other vegetables sown in a vineyard was forbidden (Deut. xxii. 9). The sowing of mixed seed in gardens or in fields was also prohibited (Lev. xix. 19); but, if so sown, the produce was only forbidden in the case of a vineyard ("kile ha-kerem"). This prohibition applied originally only to Palestine, but was later extended by the Rabbis to all lands and times (Ḳid. 39a; Maimonides, *l.c.* 6–8; Yoreh De'ah, 295–297).

Animal Food.

B. Among the early Hebrews animal food was partaken of by the common people only on festive occasions, usually in connection with sacrifices. The permission given to Noah and to his children to eat animal food (Gen. ix. 2, 3) was conditioned upon the abstinence from blood (see BLOOD). Some of the Tannaim were of the opinion that during their journey through the wilderness the Israelites were permitted to eat the meat only of such animals as had previously been sacrificed, some portions of which had been burned on the altar, and some given to the priests; others thought differently (Ḥul. 17a; compare Ex. xvi. 3).

I. The Bible, in its legislative portions, makes explicit provisions for the distinction between clean and unclean animals mentioned earlier in connec-

tion with the Flood (Gen. vii. 2, 8). See Clean and Unclean Animals.

II. Forbidden as being unclean is also that which comes out of the unclean (Bek. 5b). This principle applies not only to the young, but to all animal products.

(1) It is therefore forbidden to use the milk of unclean animals or of animals which suffer from some visible malady which causes them to be legally unfit ("ṭerefah") for food. When, after the ritual slaughtering, an animal, apparently sound during its life, is found to have been diseased, its milk, or cheese made of its milk, is forbidden as food.

An adult may not suckle from the breasts of a woman, although, if placed in a vessel, woman's milk is not forbidden. A child may suckle until the end of its fourth year if healthy, or until the end of its fifth year if sickly. If, however, it was interrupted after the second year for three consecutive days with the intention of weaning it, it is not permitted to suckle again (Ket. 60a; Bek. 6a; Ḥul. 112b; Maimonides, *l.c.* 3; Yoreh De'ah, 81).

Milk and Eggs.

(2) Eggs of unclean birds, or of birds suffering from a visible sickness, which makes them ṭerefah, are forbidden. The following signs were laid down by the Rabbis, by which eggs of clean birds could be distinguished from those of unclean. If both ends of the egg are sharp or round, or if the yolk is outside and the white inside, it is of an unclean bird. If one end is sharp and the other round, and the white is outside and the yolk inside, reliance may be placed on the testimony of the seller, who must say of what species of birds it comes. As a rule, however, since most eggs sold are those of chickens, ducks, or geese, no questions need be asked (Ḥul. 64a; Maimonides, *l.c.* 7–11; Yoreh De'ah, 86).

A drop of blood found on the yolk of an egg is considered an indication that the process of hatching has already begun, and the egg is therefore forbidden. It is not necessary, however, to examine eggs before using them to see whether they contain any blood (Yoreh De'ah, 66, 2–8).

(3) The roe of unclean fishes is also forbidden. Pickled fish may be eaten, though preserved together with unclean fish ('Ab. Zarah 40a; Maimonides, *l.c.* 20–24; Yoreh De'ah, 83, 5–10).

(4) The honey of bees is permitted, since it is merely the secretion of the flower gathered by the bee and then discharged, and contains no portion of the insect. There is, however, a difference of opinion regarding honey produced by other insects (Bek. 7b; Maimonides, *l.c.* 3; Yoreh De'ah, 81, 8, 9).

III. The ancient Israelites looked with horror upon the custom prevalent among the surrounding nations of cutting off a limb or a piece of flesh from a living animal and eating it. Its prohibition is one of the seven Noachian laws (Sanh. 56a). If the limb was still partly attached to the body, but could never grow again, and the animal was legally slaughtered, this limb had to be thrown away (Ḥul. 101b; Maimonides, *l.c.* 5; Yoreh De'ah, 62; see also Cruelty to Animals).

IV. An animal that has died a natural death, or has been killed in any way other than that prescribed by the law of Sheḥiṭah, is called "nebelah," and makes impure all persons or things that it touches (Deut. xiv. 21). One torn by beasts (Ex. xxii. 30 [A. V. 31]) or subject to some mortal disease is called ṭerefah. Both of these are forbidden as food; "for thou art a holy people to the Lord thy God." The laws of ṭerefah are given in Ḥul. iii.; Maimonides, *l.c.* 5–11; Yoreh De'ah, 29–60. See Carcass and Ṭerefah.

Prohibition of Blood.

V. Blood, which is supposed to contain the vital element (Gen. ix. 4), is repeatedly prohibited in the Bible (Lev. xvii. 11; Deut. xii. 16). It must not be eaten by Jews at any time or place (Lev. iii. 17). Not only blood itself, but flesh containing blood is also forbidden (Gen. ix. 4; see Blood). For the laws of blood see Ḥul. 111a, 117a; Ker. 2a, 20b; "Yad," Ma'akalot Asurot, vi.; Yoreh De'ah, 66–78.

This prohibition applies only to the blood of mammals or of birds, not to the blood of fishes or of locusts. Only the blood which is contained in the veins, or congealed on the surface of the meat, or which has begun to flow from the meat, is forbidden; as long as it is a part of the meat it may be eaten. See Meliḥah.

VI. The fat ("ḥeleb") of ox, sheep, or goat is forbidden (Lev. vii. 23–25). The punishment decreed for transgression of this law is "karet." The fat of birds or of permitted wild animals is not forbidden. The fat of the young found within the womb of the mother after the latter has been legally killed, and its sinew "that shrank," are permitted. See Fat.

VII. The custom of refraining from eating the sinews of the hind legs of an animal arose, according to the Biblical narrative (Gen. xxxii. 32), from the incident of Jacob's wrestling with the angel, through which the patriarch became lame. It is not put in the form of a prohibition in the legal portions of the Bible, although the Rabbis considered it of Mosaic origin (Ḥul. 100b). Birds are excluded from this law.

Seething Kid in Mother's Milk.

C. The threefold repetition of the commandment prohibiting the seething of a kid in its mother's milk (Ex. xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 26; Deut. xiv. 21) is explained by the Rabbis as referring to three distinct prohibitions: cooking meat and milk together; eating such mixture; and deriving any benefit from such a mixture (Ḥul. 115b). See Milk.

D. In almost all cases of forbidden food, the transgressor was liable to punishment only when the portion which he ate was at least as large as an olive. The prohibition, however, extends at times farther than that (Yoma 73b, 80a), in some cases even to the taste and the odor. Hence, if a forbidden object falls into a boiling pot of permitted food, all the food contained in the pot is forbidden, unless no taste of the forbidden object can be detected in the food of the pot.

E. It is forbidden to derive any benefit from objects used for idolatrous purposes. Meat consecrated to an idol, wine of libation, spices, or anything else used in the idol's service is prohibited ('Ab. Zarah 29b); in fact, any animal slaughtered or wine touched by an idolater was prohibited to the Israelite, because it was supposed to be consecrated to his idol; and these

prohibitions applied not only to eating or to drinking, but to any benefit derived from it. Even after the practise of idolatry lapsed, these prohibitions remained in force as rabbinic institutions; wherefore the wine of a non-Jew is forbidden.

On account of the apprehension of intermarriage, the Rabbis also prohibited eating the bread of a non-Jew, or a dish cooked by a non-Jew ('Ab. Zarah 35b, 38a). It is permitted, however, to buy bread of a non-Jewish baker. If part of the cooking was done by an Israelite, the dish may be eaten. Non-Jewish servants may cook for the families which they serve, for since they are in the house of the Jew, it is assumed that one of the household gives occasional assistance. Some authorities, however, object to permitting non-Jewish servants to cook (Yoreh De'ah, 113, 4, Isserles' gloss; compare "Sifte Kohen" and "Ṭure Zahab," *ad loc.*).

The non-Jew's testimony regarding these matters can not be relied upon, since he does not know the import of these laws to the Jew; wherefore not only meat, but also milk and cheese bought of a non-Jew are forbidden, because it is assumed that, by some carelessness or by a desire to improve, the milk may have been mixed with some forbidden ingredient. A Jew is therefore required to be present at the milking, and at the preparation of the cheese. Different customs prevail regarding butter bought of a non-Jew; and in regard to milk and cheese the later authorities are more lenient ('Ab. Zarah ii.; Maimonides, *l.c.* iii. 13, xi.–xiii., xvii. 9–26; Yoreh De'ah, 112–115, 123–138).

F. "Sakkanah," or danger to life, is given by the Rabbis as a reason for a number of prohibitions included in the dietary laws. An animal that ate poison is forbidden on account of sakkanah (Ḥul. 58b). Meat and fish should not be cooked or eaten together; for such a mixture is supposed to cause leprosy. It is therefore the custom to wash the mouth between eating a dish containing fish and one containing meat (Pes. 66b; Yoreh De'ah, 117, 2, 3). Water that was left uncovered overnight was not permitted as drink in olden times, because of the apprehension that a serpent might have left its venom in it. Where serpents are not found this prohibition does not exist (Jer. viii. 4; Yoreh De'ah, *l.c.* 1).

Regarding the custom to refrain from meat and wine during the first nine days of the month of Ab or from the seventeenth day of Tammuz till the tenth of Ab, see FAST-DAYS; see also PASSOVER.

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S. S. J. H. G.

——**From the Traditional Point of View:** From the point of view of traditional or conservative Judaism, the dietary laws are divinely ordained, and the rejection of the yoke of these laws is tantamount to a rejection of the belief in Israel's redemption from Egypt (Sifra, Shemini, xii., based upon Lev. xi. 44–45). To eat pork was, therefore, considered as equivalent to apostasy in the Maccabean time and later (II Macc. vii. 1 *et seq.*; IV Macc. v.; Philo, "In Flaccum," § 11). One should abstain from it not only from personal aversion, but because "our Father in heaven has decreed that we should abstain from it" (Sifra, Ḳedoshim, xi.). "God showed to Moses the different species of animals, and said: 'These may ye eat, and these not'" (Sifra, Shemini, ii.; Ḥul. 42a). "The many rules regulating the Jew's diet are intended to test his piety and love for God" (Tan., Shemini, ed. Buber, 12, 13). "There is no other reason for all the dietary laws than that God gave them" (Samson Raphael Hirsch, "Horeb," 1837, p. 433). Thus says Lasch ("Die Goettlichen Gesetze," 1857, p. 173) in regard to the dietary laws: "He who truly fears God will observe His laws without inquiring into the reasons for them." Any question regarding the historical development of these laws is obviously excluded from the standpoint of traditional Judaism. "The dietary laws," says M. Friedländer ("The Jewish Religion," p. 237, London, 1891), "are exactly the same now as they were in the days of Moses."

Nevertheless a rational interpretation of the Biblical and Mosaic laws has at all times endeavored to find the dietary laws prophylactic of diseases of both body and soul. Indeed, many statisticians have declared that the observance of the dietary laws has greatly contributed to the longevity and physical as well as moral power of the Jewish race (see H. Behrend, "Communicability of Diseases from Animals to Man," London, 1895).

On the other hand, the cabalists hold that whosoever eats of the forbidden food becomes imbued with the spirit of impurity and is cast out of the realm of divine holiness (see Zohar iii. 41b). As to the aversion of the Jew to the eating to pork see SWINE.

——**Considered Historically and from the Critico-Historical and Reform Point of View:** According to Gen. i. 29, the human race was originally allowed to eat vegetable food only; after the Flood, however, animal food was permitted, but on condition that blood, which is the soul (Gen. ix. 3,4), should not be partaken of. The people of Israel were forbidden to eat the flesh of beasts found torn or that had died a natural death, as well as all kinds of animals declared unclean; the stated reason being that Israel should be "a holy people unto the Lord," "distinguished from other nations by the avoidance of unclean and abominable things that defile them" (Ex. xxii. 30 [A. V.], 31; Deut. xiv. 3–21; Lev. xi. 43, xx. 24). Various other reasons have been alleged by ancient and by modern writers: (1) hygienic ("Moreh Nebukim," ii. 48; Samuel b. Meïr on Lev. xi. 3; Michaelis, "Mosaisches Recht," iv. 202)—*e.g.*, the sturgeon and various scaleless fishes and the pig are instanced as producing diseases; (2) psychological, presupposing that the animals thus prohibited appeared loathsome; or that they, and more especially the carnivorous beasts and birds, beget a spirit of cruelty in persons that eat them (IV Macc. 5; Naḥmanides on Lev. xi.); (3) dualistic, holding that, like the Persians, the Israelites ascribed all the unclean animals to an evil power (Origen, "Contra Celsum," iv. 93; Bohlen, "Genesis," p. 88; De Wette, "Hebräische Archäologie," p. 188; Lengerke, "Canaan," i. 379); (4) national, maintain-

Alleged Reasons for Laws.

ing simply that the Israelites should be secluded from all other nations (Spencer, "De Legibus Hebræorum," 1732, p. 121; Michaelis, *l.c.*). None of these alleged reasons, however, can be considered as Scriptural. Really, the animals forbidden in the Mosaic law are almost the same as are prohibited to the priests or saints in the ancient Hindu, Babylonian, and Egyptian laws.

In the "Laws of Manu," v. 7, 11–20 ("S. B. E." xxv. 171 *et seq.*) carnivorous birds—those that feed striking with their beaks, or that scratch with their toes, or live on fish or meat—fishes that eat any kind of flesh, five-toed animals, and strange beasts or birds are forbidden; domestic animals that have teeth in one jaw only, except the camel, are eatable; also the porcupine, hedgehog, rhinoceros, tortoise, and hare are allowed; the village cock is forbidden, as is the milk of one-hoofed animals. In the "Laws of Apastamba," i. 5, 29–39 (*ib.* ii. 64), one-hoofed animals, camels, village pigs, and cattle are forbidden; also carnivorous birds that scratch with their feet, or feed thrusting forward their beaks, and the cock. Five-toed animals (with the exception of the boar, porcupine, rhinoceros, and hare), and misshapen and snake-headed fish or such as live on flesh only, are prohibited. Similarly, the "Laws of Vasishta," xiv. 38–48 (*ib.* xiv. 74), and those of Bandhayuna, i. 5, 12 (*ib.* xiv. 184).

The Ḥaranians may eat all animals that chew the cud, with the exception of the camel, and, with the exception of doves, all birds that are not birds of prey (Chwolson, "Die Szabier," 1856, ii. 7, 102). The Egyptian priests abstained from eating fish, one-hoofed quadrupeds or such as had more than two divisions in their hoofs and no horns, and all carnivorous birds (Porphyrius, "De Abstinentia," iv. 7). The law of Zoroaster contained probably the same prohibitions as the Hindu law, but the books are lost; and the classification of animals in "Bundahish," ch. xiv. ("S. B. E." v. 47), has no bearing on forbidden food.

Of the theories suggested for these various prohibitions of animals (see Porphyrius, *l.c.* i. 14; Spencer, *l.c.* pp. 82–92; and Sommer, "Biblische Abhandlungen," 1846, pp. 271–322) only that proposed by W. Robertson Smith ("Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia," 1885, p. 306; *idem*, "Rel. of Sem." p. 270) seems to offer a plausible explanation. In view of the fact that almost every primitive tribe holds certain animals to be tabooed, the contention is that the forbidden or tabooed animal was originally regarded and worshiped as the totem of the clan; but the facts adduced do not sufficiently support the theory, especially in regard to the Semites, to allow it to be more than an ingenious conjecture, though Stade, "Gesch. des Volkes Israel," i. 485; Benzinger, "Arch." 1894, p. 484; Jacobs, "Studies in Biblical Archæology," p. 89; and Baentsch, "Exodus and Leviticus," 1900, p. 355, have adopted it (against Nöldeke, in "Z. D. M. G.," 1886, pp. 157 *et seq.*).

Priestly Sanctity of the Nation.

It is certain that the conception of clean and unclean animals did not originate with the Hebrew lawgiver, but, in accordance with Biblical tradition, goes back to prehistoric times, the distinction being assumed as existing in the days of Noah. These unclean (or tabooed?) animals were to be avoided by all those persons who laid special claim to holiness; wherefore the priests and saints of all ancient nations were commanded to shun them. Samson's mother, when she was to give birth to a Nazarite, was warned against eating anything unclean (Judges xiii. 4, 7, 14). The idea that the people of Israel were "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation" (Ex. xix. 6) could not be more impressively set forth than by laws which extended the universal priestly prohibition of unclean food to the entire people. This priest-idea is the only possible meaning of Lev. xx. 25, 26 (R. V.): "I have separated you from the peoples, that ye should be mine."

The precept given by the angel to Samson's mother shows, however, that the people in general did not heed the dietary laws. The same may be inferred from Ezekiel's words concerning himself as priest: "Ah, Lord God! behold my soul hath not been polluted: for from my youth up even till now have I not eaten of that which dieth of itself, or is torn of beasts; neither came there the flesh of a sacrificially loathsome thing [פִּגּוּל; A. V. "abominable flesh"] into my mouth" (Ezek. iv. 14; compare Ḥul. 37b, where the rabbinical interpretation of the passage is given). In fact, Ezekiel desires the prohibition of Nebelah and Ṭerefah to be applied to priests only: "The priests shall not eat of anything that dieth of itself or is torn, whether it be fowl or beast" (Ezek. xliv. 31; see Men. 45a, "The prophet Elijah shall some day explain this problematic passage"). Thus it is simply an extension of the priestly law to the whole nation, as "holy to the Lord," which underlies the prohibition of nebelah and ṭerefah (Ex. xxii. 30 [A. V.], 31; Deut. xiv. 21; Lev. xvii. 15, xxii. 8).

Blood, Fat, etc.

On the other hand, the prohibition of blood and fat (Lev. iii. 17, vii. 24–27, xvii. 10–14; compare Gen. ix. 4) rests on different grounds. Maimonides ("Moreh," part iii., ch. xlvi., xlviii.) gives a rationalistic explanation. "Blood and fat belong to God, and must be brought upon the altar" (Targ. Yer. to Lev. iii. 17); they are divine property; neither Israelite nor non-Israelite is allowed to eat thereof; and the penalty for violation of this law is excision ("karet"). Therefore, the blood of every animal, even when it is unfit for the altar, must be "poured out . . . as water" (Deut. xii. 24), and the fat of the nebelah and ṭerefah is forbidden (Lev. vii. 24). In Deuteronomy (xii. 23 and elsewhere), however, fat is not mentioned (see Geiger, "Urschrift," p. 467, and Karaites). To the same category seems to belong also the ancient prohibition of the sciatic nerve, or rather the gluteal muscle ("sinew of the hip," גִּיד הַנָּשֶׁה), which is upon the hollow of the thigh (Gen. xxxii. 32, R. V.; see Gunkel's commentary to the passage). This part, as representing the locomotive and, therefore, vital power of the animal, could easily be regarded as sacred to the Deity, just as the brain and the heart, and other vital parts of animals, were avoided by the Greeks (see Sommer, *l.c.* pp. 348, 349). The prohibition of eating together meat and milk is probably older than the rabbinical interpretation of the law, "Thou shalt not seethe the kid [feeding] upon its mother's milk (so the Karaites, "Eshkol," p. 240; Geiger, "Gesammelte Schriften," iii. 305; and Luther; A. V. "in its mother's milk," Ex. xxiii. 19 and parallels; see Dillmann's commentary *ad loc.*). It seems to rest on Temple practise, which avoided the mixing of dishes that required a different treatment from the Levitical point of view (Men. 73a). Hence as early as the schools of Hillel and Shammai the question was discussed whether cheese and fowl might be brought together on one table (Ḥul. viii. 1; 'Eduy. v. 2; compare Pes. 30a, 36a).

All these dietary laws, however, intended to give to the Jew the character of priestly sanctity, were declared to be "ḥukkim" (divine statutes), to which "the evil spirit ["yezer ha-ra' "] and the heathen nations object" (Sifra, Aḥare, 13). The allegorical interpretations followed by the Alexandrians (Aristeas' Letter, 140–170) are proof of a prevailing tendency to treat the dietary laws lightly; but the Maccabean reaction against Hellenism lent new importance to them (II Macc. vi. 18; IV Macc. *l.c.*; Sifra, Ḳedoshim, 11). At the same time, the view is expressed by the Rabbis that the forbidden meat shall again be allowed to Israel, as indeed it was believed to have been eaten by the Israelites before entering the Holy Land (see Midr. Teh. to Ps. cxlvi. 7; Lev. R. xiii.; Ḥul. 17a). The very fact that the whole list of forbidden animals is allegorized in the Midrash (Lev. R. xiii.) places the dietary laws in a peculiar light, and forcibly recalls their treatment in the patristic literature. See Clean and Unclean Animals.

Haggadic and Halakic Views.

The Halakah recognized the maxim to abstain from whatever savored of any possible approach to the forbidden diet; the prohibitions became ever more numerous, so as to make the wall of separation between Jew and non-Jew well-nigh insurmountable. It is to be noted that those Jews who refused to accept these rabbinical prohibitions fled to the Samaritans (Josephus, "Ant." xi. 8, § 7). The rabbinical principle was consistent in so far as it tended to keep the Jew isolated from his idolatrous surroundings by prohibiting even the meal cooked by the heathen (בישול נכרים, 'Ab. Zarah 38a), as well as the wine served on the table (Shab. 17b; see Heathenism; Worship, Idol-), and eating at the same table with them (Book of Jubilees, xxii. 16). In this the Pharisees had the scrupulous piety of the Jewish woman as their main support (Josephus, *l.c.* xvii. 2, § 4).

In the Middle Ages the dietary laws became the chief mark of distinction between the Jew and the Christian, whose antinomic maxim was: "There is nothing from without the man that going into him can defile him: but the things which proceed out of the man are those that defile the man" (Mark vii. 15, R. V.; compare Matt. xv. 10–20; Acts x. 15; I Cor. viii. 8), in all probability borrowed from the Gnostic teaching: "We are as little defiled by meats as is the sea by tainted influxes" (Porphyrius, *l.c.* i. 42; Bernays, "Theophrast's Schrift über Frömmigkeit," pp. 15 *et seq.*).

Reform Judaism claims that those laws affect differently the social position of the modern Jews, living in a world which is no longer idolatrous or hostile as in former days. They are no longer regarded as a symbolical expression of his being the consecrated priest or Nazarite among the nations, since the priests and saints of no other nation observe these laws as in Mosaic times. On the contrary, they tend to keep him from associating with his fellow citizens with the view of presenting to them his religious truth as "the light" and "the covenant" of the nations. Whether justified in doing so or not, the great majority of West European Jews have broken away from the dietary laws; and the question for the Reform rabbis of the nineteenth century was whether the religious consciousness of the modern Jew should be allowed to suffer from a continual transgression of these laws, or whether the laws themselves should be submitted to a careful scrutiny as to their meaning and purpose and be revised—that is, either modified or abrogated by the rabbinical authorities of the present time. A proposition to this effect was made at the Rabbinical Conference of Breslau (see Conferences, Rabbinical), and a committee consisting of Drs. Einhorn, Holdheim, A. Adler, S. Hirsch, and Herzfeld was appointed to report at the next conference, which, however, was never held. Dr. Einhorn's report, on behalf of the committee, was nevertheless published in "Sinai" (1859 and 1860). Its leading idea is that the dietary laws, with the exception of the prohibition of blood and of beasts that have died (or die) a natural death, are inseparably connected with the Levitical laws of purity and the priestly sacrificial laws, and are therefore of a mere temporary ceremonial character and not essentially religious or moral laws.

Attitude of Reform Judaism.

G. Wiener in an exhaustive work of 524 pages, M. Kalisch, and K. Kohler have pleaded for a revision of the dietary laws. S. R. Hirsch and M. Friedländer have written in favor of the full retention of the laws (see bibliography below). Sam Hirsch gives a symbolic and allegorical interpretation of these laws in his Catechism, 2d ed., pp. 55–64, Philadelphia, 1877. As a matter of course, this question of revising or abrogating Biblical and rabbinical laws has no bearing upon the majority of Jews, who believe in the immutability of the Law, both the written and the oral. See Abrogation of Laws; Articles of Faith; Reform Judaism.

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E. G. H. K.

DIETARY LAWS IN ISLAM: The Mohammedan dietary laws are neither as rigorous nor as numerous as in Judaism. They were not introduced into the religious code until the Medinian period of Mohammed's career. He probably found it unwise to force dietary restrictions on converts, mostly recruited from the poorer classes, who did not despise the meanest food, and he therefore deferred such legislation to a more propitious time. Certain restrictions, however, were already known, as ancient custom forbade, under certain circumstances, the eating of camels (Koran, sura v. 102, vi. 144), but they were ignored by Mohammed. Swine were probably also held in abhorrence. For definite rules concerning diet, Mohammed followed Biblical models: "He has only forbidden you the carrion, and the blood, and swine's flesh, and that which has been hallowed to any other deity. But he who is forced by necessity, not wilfully transgressing, commits no sin; behold, Allah is forgiving, merciful" (sura ii. 168; see also sura vi. 146; xvi. 115, 116).

No clean animal is lawful food unless the name of

Allah was pronounced while it was slaughtered. Mohammedans are therefore allowed to eat the flesh of animals killed after the Jewish fashion. Game is also lawful if killed under the same conditions (sura. v. 95. 97). Fish and locusts, however, are exempt from this rule as in Jewish law. The prohibition of wine was introduced gradually. Drinking and gaming being equally productive of mischief, they were discussed together. At first Mohammed was satisfied with simply discouraging drinking and gaming (sura ii. 216); but later in a (Deuteronomic) revelation he says (sura v. 92): "O believers, wine, dice, images, and divining arrows are an abomination of the works of Satan; therefore avoid them that you may prosper." "In those who believe and do good works it is no sin that they tasted wine and game before they were forbidden" (sura v. 94). All intoxicants are included in this prohibition, and some theologians even go so far as to prohibit coffee and tobacco.

K. H. Hir.

DIGNE (Hebr. דיניא): Capital of the department of Basses-Alpes, France. There was a Jewish community here as early as the thirteenth century. Salve, a Jew of Digne, with Rotelus of Olobrega (Israel of Valabrègue) and Bonfils of Beaucaire, was one of the commissioners appointed to apportion the tax which, in 1299, the Jews had promised to the Count of Provence, to whom Digne belonged. In 1305 Baruch of Digne, an eminent rabbi, had a heated controversy with his former teacher, Isaac Cohen of Manosque, and was excommunicated by him. Baruch, refusing to submit to this punishment, went to France. Several Jews whose names indicated a connection with the town of Digne were established at Carpentras in the seventeenth century ("Rev. Et. Juives," xii. 213, 217, 225). Another Jew, Samson of Digne, was living at Forcalquier in the beginning of the fourteenth century (*ib.* xli. 274). About 1669 Solomon ben Moses of Milhaud, in one of his letters published by D. Kaufmann, praised the generosity of a certain Isaac דידיגניוה—a word which probably means "of Digne" (*ib.* xviii. 133).

Bibliography: C. Arnaud, *Essai sur la Condition des Juifs en Provence au Moyen Age*, p. 24; Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, p. 155; Luncz, *Jerusalem*, 1889, pp. 108, 110.

G. S. K.

DIJON (Hebr. דיגון): Chief town of the department of Côte-d'Or, France. Jews have been settled here from time immemorial. They occupied two special quarters: the first and most important comprised the whole Rue Buffon, a part of which bore, until the French Revolution, the name "Rue des Juifs"; the second, "La Petite Juiverie," comprised the Rue Piron, the lower part of the town, with a section of the Rue Amiral Roussin and of the Rue Charrue.

In 1196 Duke Eudes III. presented the Jews of the village of Fénay to the town of Dijon, and the same duke "gratified" a certain Vigier with the Jew Hélie and his family in 1197. In 1204 he ceded to the Jew Valin, his creditor, the use of certain revenues. A Jew of Dijon, Bandit, the son of Benion, was the creditor of Philippe, Abbot St. Loup of Troyes, in 1216; another Jew, Salamine, made important loans to the abbeys of Sainte-Bénigne and Sainte-Seine in 1223, for which, however, Duchess Alix of Vergy, widow of Eudes III., made him sign a bill of release. Eudes III. annulled a debt due to the Jew Jessuel (1217), and Hugues IV. another, due to Dedone, "Judæus meus" (1228). At the request of David Lévy and Joseph of St. Mihiel, Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, permitted twelve Jewish families to settle in his duchy in 1374. In 1379 ten Jewish families settled at Dijon. The states of Burgundy demanded the expulsion of the Jews (1382–1384); but as the latter had lent to the duke 3,000 livres for the continuation of the war in Flanders, they were authorized to remain. The duke even conferred upon them certain privileges, in virtue of which fifty-two families were to be allowed to live in Burgundy during the following twelve years, provided they paid a certain sum annually. The leaders of the Jewish community at that time were Joseph of St. Mihiel and David and Solomon of Balme.

Before the Expulsion.

The Jews were not eager to avail themselves of the favors granted them by Duke Philip the Bold. In 1387 only fifteen families were living in Burgundy. Notwithstanding the exile of 1397, there were still some Jews at Dijon after that time: Solomon of Balme was living there as late as 1417. The Parliament of Dijon in 1730 authorized Joseph Raphael of Lazia and other Jewish merchants of Bordeaux to trade for one month in every season of the year in all the towns in its jurisdiction; but the Council of State annulled the privilege in the following year. The present community of Dijon dates from 1789. It comprised 50 families in 1803, and about 400 individuals in 1902. Dijon belongs to the "Circonscription Consistoriale" of Lyons.

After the Expulsion.

The ancient synagogue was situated in the Rue Buffon. In the third year of the French Revolution it was in Rue Maison-Rouge; in 1795, in Rue des Champs; in 1820, in Place d'Armes; in 1829, in a part of the apartments of the Prince of Condé; in 1841, on the ground floor of the Hôtel de Ville. The present temple, the corner-stone of which was laid Sept. 21, 1873, was dedicated Sept. 11, 1879. It is situated on the Boulevard Carnot, in one of the finest quarters of the city. In addition to the synagogue, the Jews of Dijon in the Middle Ages possessed a large schoolhouse in Rue Buffon.

The ancient cemetery was situated in the Rue du Grand-Patet, behind the Jewish quarter. In 1331 Duke Eudes IV. presented to the abbey of Bussière a part of this cemetery, valued at 400 livres, an enormous sum for that time. In 1320 the cemetery was on the route to Beaune, in a place called "Les Baraques de Gevrey." Philip the Bold, in consideration of the sum of one franc in gold per capita, authorized the Jews of Dijon to own a cemetery close to the city (1373). In 1789, on their return to Dijon, the Jews bought a plot on the Chemin de Fontaine, northwest of the city, which was transformed into a cemetery; but it has, for hygienic reasons, been closed for some years.

Synagogue and Cemetery.

About 1160 the scholars of Dijon took part in the synod of Troyes. Among the residents of Dijon in the thirteenth century were Rabbi of Dijon (1250),

R. Simḥah Ḥazzan (1260), Jacob of Dijon, and Eliab ha-Kohen.

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G. S. K.

DIḲDUḲ. See GRAMMAR, HEBREW.

DIKLAH: A son of Joktan (Gen. x. 27, and the corresponding genealogical list, I Chron. i. 21). The names of the other sons of Joktan point clearly to an Arabic origin, and it is quite reasonable to suppose that Diklah also had an Arabic home. דקל in Arabic is a common word meaning "date-palm." An Assyrian origin is suggested by Hommel because of the similarity between "Diklah" and the name of the Tigris—"Diḳlath" in Aramaic, and "Idiḳlat" in Assyrian.

E. G. H. G. B. L.

DILLMANN, AUGUST: German theologian and Orientalist; born at Illingen, Württemberg, April 25, 1823; died at Berlin July 4, 1894. When Hengstenberg died in 1869, Dillmann was invited to Berlin as his successor. Besides preparing a catalogue of Ethiopic manuscripts for the British Museum and the Bodleian Library (1847–48), and an edition of the Ethiopic Old Testament, of which three volumes, Genesis to Ruth, Samuel and Kings (1853–71), and the Apocrypha have been published, he translated from the Ethiopic the Book of Enoch (1853), the Book of Jubilees (1859), and the Ascension of Isaiah (1877).

Dillmann is chiefly known among Old Testament students as the editor of several parts of the "Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament," the first part of which was issued in 1841. For this collection he prepared the third and fourth editions of the commentary on Job (1869–91); three editions on Genesis (1882–92; the last edition has been translated into English by W. B. Stevenson: "Genesis Critically and Exegetically Expounded," Edinburgh, 2 vols., 1897); Exodus and Leviticus (1880); Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Joshua (1886); Isaiah (1890). Dillmann's lectures on Old Testament theology were edited by Professor Kittel, and published posthumously in 1895. Dillmann's merit in the domain of Old Testament exegesis lay in the fact that he developed the results of Ewald's historical criticism while avoiding his arbitrariness. His position is especially conspicuous in Pentateuch criticism, though less in the separation than in the chronological assignment of the sources. But while he rejected the so-called Graf hypothesis, he still opposed the traditional treatment of the Scriptures. To him it is due that a healthy historical conception of the Old Testament has practically become the common property of the present generation of theologians. Dillmann was a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin. His library forms a part of the Johns Hopkins University Library at Baltimore, Md.

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E. C. B. P.

DILLON or **DILLION, ELIEZER:** Russian army contractor; born at Nesvizh, government of Minsk, in the second half of the eighteenth century; died at Wilna June 25, 1838. He received a good education, which was rather unusual among the Jews of Lithuania at that time, and mastered the Russian language, becoming later intimate with the higher government officials. During the Franco-Russian war (1812) Dillon was contractor for the Russian army. After the war, in which the Jews had repeatedly shown their patriotism, Dillon was honored by the gift of a gold medal from Emperor Alexander I. "for faithful and conscientious service" (Steinschneider, "'Ir Wilna," i. 146), with a rescript dated Bruxel, France, June 29, 1814. When, by an edict of the same date, delegates were ordered to be chosen by the various Jewish communities to go to St. Petersburg and present there the various Jewish questions to the government, Dillon was elected a member of the delegation from Minsk (June 11, 1816). It appears, however, that the delegates did not go to St. Petersburg, probably for lack of funds. Two years later another ukase calling for the election of delegates was issued, and Dillon was again elected a representative from Minsk. See ALEXANDER I., PAVLOVICH.

Two letters sent by Dillon to his constituents throw some light on the history of the Russian Jews, particularly those of St. Petersburg. In the first letter, dated St. Petersburg, 21 Kislew, 1818, Dillon relates that on his arrival in St. Petersburg an order was issued by Governor Vismanov for the expulsion of Jews from the city, including even those who had secured credentials from Christian merchants. Among them were many artisans who had lived in the city for years. They were to be expelled on the following Friday, when Dillon intervened in their behalf. He showed Vismanov the emperor's rescript, and assured him that his Majesty was desirous of improving the unfortunate condition of his Jewish subjects. Dillon's plea delayed the expulsion.

In the second letter, signed by him and his fellow delegate, Judah Zundel (Sonnenberg), Dillon describes an audience granted him by the emperor, which lasted an hour and fifteen minutes. The deplorable condition of the Jews and the unfounded accusations often made against them were fully represented by Dillon, who carried away from the interview the impression that the emperor was animated by a sincere desire to improve the condition of his Jewish subjects, but that his advisers did not share his views.

Dillon's increasing wealth and influence brought him many enemies. Being accused of dishonesty in his dealings with the government, he was arrested, and his property was confiscated. The case was brought before the Senate, which ordered his release and the restitution of his property on the ground that he was known personally to the emperor, who appreciated his valuable services to the country during the French war. Toward the end of his life Dillon lost his fortune, and removed to Wilna, where he engaged in petty trading.

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H. R. M. R.

DILLON, MARIA LVOVNA: Russian sculptress; born at St. Petersburg in 1859. She entered the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts at St. Petersburg in 1875, and was graduated thence in 1888 with a gold medal for her statue "Andromeda." After the completion of her academic course she went abroad, first to Paris, and then to Italy.

Of the works which she has placed on exhibition since 1888, the most important are "Nyega" (Indulgence), "Nevolnitza" (The Slave), "Kapriznitza" (Capricious Women), "Tatyana," "Ophelia," The Bacchante "Lily" (purchased by Emperor Nicholas II.). The grand duke Alexis secured her statue "Golovka" (Little Head), and the grand duke Serge her statue "Nyega."

In a competition by twenty-eight sculptors she received the first premium and a medal for a design for the commemoration of the 200th anniversary of the founding of St. Petersburg. H. R.

DILLON, MARK LVOVICH: Russian jurist; born at Ponevyezh Feb., 1843; educated at the yeshibah of Wilna, the gymnasium of his native town, and the University of Moscow, graduating from the last in 1867. From 1868 to 1874 he occupied in turn the positions of assistant secretary, secretary, and chief secretary of the Senate. Subsequently Dillon was appointed adviser to the senator empowered to supervise the courts in the government of Saratov, the services he rendered in that capacity winning for him the ribbon of the Order of Saint Stanislas. From 1874 to 1896 he occupied various judicial positions in the circuit courts of Perm, Simbirsk, and Kazan. In 1883 he was made a knight of the Order of Anna, and in 1893 state councilor, which title in Russia raises its holder to the rank of the hereditary nobility. Owing to his religion, however, Dillon was barred from advancement to any higher judicial post, and he resigned from the judiciary. When in 1896 a ukase refused admission to the bar to Jewish advocates, an exception was made in the case of Dillon; he then removed from Kazan to St. Petersburg, where he practised law for two years only. On June 16, 1898, while defending a case in the Supreme Court, he was stricken with paralysis. By the advice of his physicians he removed to Germany and later to Montreux, Switzerland. Dillon is a great-grandson of Eliezer Dillon, and his father, Lev Yakovlivich Dillon, was one of the leading progressionists in Ponevyezh and a friend of the poet Leon Gordon. H. R.

DIMI (also called **Abdimi** and **Abudimi**): Amora of the fourth century who often carried Palestinian doctrinal and exegetical remarks to the Babylonian schools, and Babylonian teachings to Palestine (see ABDIMA NAḤOTA). In consequence of a decree of banishment issued by Constantius against the teachers of Judaism in Palestine, he finally settled in Babylonia (Ḥul. 106a; Grätz, "Gesch." 2d ed., iv. 338; against Grätz, however, see I. ha-Levi, "Dorot ha-Rishonim," ii. 468–473). Dimi was a perfect storehouse of diversified knowledge, which he diligently gathered and as freely disseminated; and he made the transmission of the teachings of his most prominent Palestinian predecessors his special mission. He reported in the names of Jannai, Ḥanina, Joshua ben Levi, Simeon ben Laḳish, Isaac, Eleazar, and, most frequently, R. Johanan; and almost as often he reported Palestinian observations with merely the introductory formula במערבא אמרי ("They say in the West"; Shab. 7a, 8b, 52a, 63b, 72a, 85b, 105a, 108b, 125b; 'Er. 3a; Yoma 55b; Ta'an. 10a; Ḥag. 15b; Meg. 18a; Yer. Ned. ix. 41b; B. Ḳ. 114b; B. M. 58b; B. B. 74b; Sanh. 7b, 56a, 63a; Men. 26b; Tem. 12b, 14a; 'Ar. 16a).

Abaye was the most appreciative recipient of Dimi's information, which ranged along the lines of the Halakah and the Haggadah, occasionally touching also physical geography, history, and ethics (Shab. 108a; Ket. 17a, 111b; Ber. 44a; Ḳid. 31a; 'Ab. Zarah 36b; B. M. 58b). When Abaye once inquired of him, "What do the Westerners [Palestinians] most strenuously avoid in their social intercourse?" Dimi replied, "Putting a neighbor to shame; for R. Ḥanina counts this sin among the three unpardonable ones" (the other two being adultery and calling nicknames) (B. M. 58b). Dimi was also opposed to the bestowal of overmuch praise, and thus illustrated the Biblical proverb (Prov. xxvii. 14), "He that blesseth his friend with a loud voice, rising early in the morning, it shall be counted a curse to him."

Usually Dimi communicated his knowledge personally; but where circumstances required it, he did so by messages. Thus, when on one occasion, having himself reported in Pumbedita a Halakah as construed by R. Johanan, he discovered on his arrival at Nehardea that he had been mistaken, he sent word to the misinformed, candidly confessing, "What I have told you is founded on an error" (Shab. 63b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grätz, *Gesch.* 2d ed., iv., note 29; Bacher, *Ag. Pal. Amor.* iii. 691; Heilprin, *Seder ha-Dorot*, ii., *s.v.*

Dimi: Babylonian scholar of the fourth century; brother of Rab Safra. According to the testimony of his contemporary, R. Abba, Dimi was not endowed with worldly goods (Ket. 85b), but was blessed with a clear conscience. In his last hours he was visited by his learned brother, to whom he remarked, "May it come home to me ["I deserve God's mercy," Jastrow, "Dict." p. 132a], because I have observed all the rules prescribed by the Rabbis"; and when asked, "Didst thou also refrain from sounding thy neighbor's praises, for in continually talking of one's virtues, a man incidentally refers to his vices?" he replied, "I have never heard of such a precept; and had I heard it, I should have followed it" ['Ar. 16a]. Another version makes Dimi himself the transmitter of that very rule (*ib.*; B. B. 164b; compare DIMI; "Semag," Prohibition 9; "Dikduke Soferim," in B. B. *l.c.*).

Dimi of Ḥaifa (Meg. 29b; compare "Sheiltot Ḥanukkah," end): See ABDIMA OF ḤAIFA.

Dimi b. Ḥama: See ABDIMA BAR ḤAMA.

Dimi b. Ḥinena: Babylonian amora of the fourth century; contemporary of Rab Safra ('Er. 61a) and of Ḥiyya b. Rabbah b. Naḥmani (R. H. 34b); also of Raba, before whom he and his brother Rabbah (Rabbin) b. Ḥinena once appeared as litigants (B. B. 13b). That he was prominent among the scholars of his age may be assumed from the fact that Rab Ḥisda cites a halakic decision of his (Zeb. 36b).

Dimi b. Huna of Damharia: Babylonian halakist of the sixth amoraic generation (fifth century); contemporary of Rabbina III. (Sanh. 29b; Men. 81a).

Dimi b. Isaac: Babylonian amora of the fourth generation; junior of Rab Judah b. Ezekiel, who gave him some lessons in comparative anatomy (Ḥul. 45b). Introducing a lecture on the Book of Esther, Dimi cites Ezra ix. 9, "Our God hath not forsaken us in our bondage, but hath extended mercy unto us in the sight of the kings of Persia." "When?" he asks; and answers, "In the days of Haman" (Meg. 10b; the Talmud manuscript in the Munich Library reads "Abudimi b. Isaac"; and instead of "Haman," some versions have "Mordecai and Esther"; see "Dikduḳe Soferim" *ad loc.*).

Dimi b. Joseph: Babylonian scholar of the third amoraic generation (third century); disciple of Mar Samuel (Ket. 60a; Nid. 66a), and senior to Rab Ḥisda and Rab Sheshet (B. B. 53b). His sister sued him before Rab Naḥman for the restoration of a parcel of land which she had legally transferred to him in her illness. Probably because of Dimi's age and professional status, he refused to obey Naḥman's summons until he was threatened with excommunication (*ib.* 151a). When his son had the misfortune to lose a child within thirty days from its birth, and—contrary to the rabbinic rule, which does not impose mourning for an infant under thirty days of age—he had assumed ritualistic mourning, Dimi remonstrated with him, observing, "It is only because thou desirest to be regaled with delicacies that thou indulgest in ritualistic mourning for so young an infant" (Shab. 136a).

Dimi b. Levai: Babylonian scholar of the fourth century. On one occasion, the skies being overcast, he thought that the sun had set; and as the day was the eve of the Sabbath, he at once inaugurated the Sabbath. Subsequently the skies cleared, and he discovered his mistake. On his application for information on the law under such circumstances, Abaye declared that he might resume his daily occupations (Ber. 27b).

Dimi of Nehardea: Babylonian scholar of the fourth century; head of the Academy of Pumbedita (385–388). Prior to his elevation to the rectorate he was a produce-merchant; and the Talmud preserves an anecdote of that time which affords an insight into the economic laws of the age as well as an idea of Dimi's standing among the learned even in his youth. The law had provided that—except the dealer in spices or perfumes at any time, and the public generally while fairs were being held—no non-resident merchant might enter his wares in competition with local traders. A notable exception to this rule was the scholar. To him the market was always open; and to facilitate his sales and his return to study, the law gave him the rights of monopoly until he disposed of his goods. Now, Dimi once brought to Maḥuza a shipload of dried figs, when Raba was requested by the resh galuta (exilarch) "to tap Dimi's pitcher", *i.e.*, to examine him ascertain whether he was a scholar and consequently entitled to the special market privileges. Raba deputed Adda b. Abba (Ahaba) to examine Dimi; and Adda propounded to the newcomer a supposititious ritualistic question. Dimi thought that his interlocutor was Raba himself, and deferentially inquired, "Is not my master Raba?" The other, familiarly tapping him on the sandal, replied, "Between me and Raba there is a great difference. At any rate, I am thy superior, and Raba is thy superior's superior." The privileges of the market were not granted to Dimi, and eventually the figs spoiled. He then applied to Rab Joseph for redress; and the latter, provoked at the discomfiture of the scholar, exclaimed, "He who hath not failed to avenge the disgrace of the Edomite king [see II Kings iii. 27; Amos ii. 1] will not fail to avenge thy disgrace." It is added that shortly afterward Rab Adda died suddenly, and several rabbis, including Dimi, who had some grievances against him, reproached themselves with having been indirectly instrumental in his punishment (B. B. 22a).

As an educator Dimi acted on the maxim, "Rivalry among scholars advances scholarship"; therefore he approved Raba's rule not to remove a teacher because his rival makes better progress with his pupils, arguing that rivalry will induce more strenuous efforts and produce better results. On the other hand, Raba, believing that "mistakes will correct themselves," showed preference for the teacher that succeeded in imparting much knowledge, even if not very exact. Dimi opposed this with his maxim, "Where error has once crept in, it stays"; and he therefore looked for precision rather than for quantity (B. B. 21a).

Dimi seems to have confined himself to the cultivation of the Halakah; for in the comparatively few instances where he is cited in the Talmud (besides those quoted see M. K. 12a; Yeb. 121a; B. B. 138b; Men. 35a; Ḥul. 51b) he appears in connection with some Halakah, while no Haggadah appears to bear his name.

Dimi b. Nehemiah (Nahman) b. Joseph: Babylonian amora of uncertain age, and but rarely cited in rabbinical literature (Sanh. 23b, 24a). He is probably identical with Abdimi b. Neḥuniah, by whom the Psalmist's effusion (Ps. cxxxix. 14), "I will praise thee; for I am fearfully and wonderfully made: marvelous are thy works; and that my soul knoweth right well," is illustrated thus: "Some things are beneficial to the liver and delcterious to the windpipe; others are beneficial to the latter and deleterious to the former. There are ten organs in man: the windpipe [larynx] produces voice; the gullet conducts the food; the liver is the seat of anger; the lungs promote thirst; the gall, jealousy; the stomach, sleep; the first stomach grinds the food; the spleen promotes laughter; the kidneys counsel; and the heart decides—therefore does David glorify, 'I will praise thee,' etc. Therefore, too, does he elsewhere [Ps. ciii. 1] exhort, 'Bless the Lord, O my soul: and all that is within me, bless his holy name'" (Midr. Teh. *ad loc.*; compare Eccl. R. vii. 19).

Bibliography: Sherira, *Letter*, ed. Goldberg, 1845, p. 37; Zacuto, *Yuḥasin*, ed. Filipowski, p. 123; Heilprin, *Seder ha-Dorot*, ii., *s.v.*; Weiss, *Dor*, iii. 207.

L. G. S. M.

DIN (from "dun," to argue, to judge; a synonym for "mishpaṭ"): Signifies (1) argument; (2) judgment; (3) laws and rules which form the basis of arguments and judgments; (4) justice, the object of

the judgment; (5) punishment, the execution of the judgment. The term is generally used in connection with proceedings in a court of law. "Din" is declared by Rabbi Simon ben Gamaliel (Ab. i.) to be one of the three things to which "the world owes its stability": truth, judgment—that is, authority vested in a person or persons to decide litigation—and peace. The judge who performs his duties conscientiously and delivers "din emet" (true judgment) is as great as if he had taken part in the creation of the world (Shab. 10).

The first lesson taught by the men of the Great Synagogue was, "Be slow in din"; *i.e.*, do not hurry to decide a question before it has been fully considered (Ab. i. 1). But on the other hand, the Rabbis warn also against the opposite and not less serious evil of unnecessarily protracting the legal proceedings, or holding back the final decision, and denounce it as "'innui ha-din" (suppression of judgment). Distinguished from "'innui ha-din" is "'iwwut ha-din" (perversion of justice) (Ab. v. 11). The parties are recommended not to stand on their rights, and he is praised as a good person who keeps "lifnim mishurat ha-din" (within the line of the right)—that is, who resigns part of his right for the sake of peace.

There may, again, be cases in which strict adherence to the law entails undeserved hardships. Rabbi Eliezer holds in such cases, "yiḳḳob ha-din et ha-har" (lit. "let the law pierce the mountain"): the law must be carried out whatever the consequences (Yeb. 92a). The legal proceedings differ according as the case is a mere question of property ("dine mammonot") or involves a criminal or even a capital charge ("dine ḳenasot" or "dine nefashot"). Cases of the latter kind are not tried outside Palestine, and not on Friday nor on the eve of a holy day. In "dine mammonot" the highest member, in "dine nefashot" the lowest member, of the court is first to give an opinion (Maimonides, "Mishneh Torah," xiv.; Sanh. xi., 1 *et seq.*).

S. S. M. F.

DINA, GIACOMO: Italian deputy and journalist; born at Turin in 1824; died there July 16, 1879. The son of poor parents, he became a teacher early in life. In 1848 he founded the "Opinione," a journal which, under his tactful editorship, covering a period of thirty years, gained great political influence. He was chosen deputy of Imola, Bologna, by the Progressive-monarchical party in 1867; of Cittá di Castello in 1871 and 1874.

S. M. K.

DINAH.—Biblical Data: "Dinah" (דינה) is the name of Jacob's daughter by Leah (Gen. xxx. 21). Shechem, the son of Hamor the Hivite, seduces her while she is visiting "to see the daughters of the land" (Gen. xxxiv. 1–31). Though he is anxious to marry her, his outrage upon her induces her brothers, notably Simeon and Levi, to take most treacherous and cruel revenge. Apparently acquiescing in the proposed marriage upon due settlement of the dowry, they insist upon the Shechemites being circumcised as a prerequisite condition; but on the third day after the operation, when the people "were sore," Simeon and Levi fall upon the defenseless city, killing Hamor and Shechem and despoiling the place. Jacob can not approve of their conduct, fearing it may bring evil results by causing the inhabitants of the land to act in concert against him. In Jacob's Blessing (Gen. xlix. 7) the dying patriarch censures the deed as cruel and inspired by fierce and unrighteous anger. Dinah is not mentioned again.

A late writer (Judith ix. 2 *et seq.*) praises God for having given Simeon strength to avenge the outrage done his virgin sister. Josephus omits all reference to the incident of the circumcision. Dinah having been attracted by a desire to see the "finery of the women" at a time when Shechem was keeping a festival, the brothers, described as "of one mother" with her, seized the opportunity presented by the fact that the inhabitants were engrossed in feasting, to despoil the city. God Himself allays Jacob's "astonishment" at the act. In the Test. Patr. (iii. 6–8) Levi consults his father and his brother Reuben, and they concoct the scheme to insist upon circumcision. Jacob, discovering that he has been duped, is wroth. Levi himself is taken sick, but learns that the destruction of Shechem was justified, since the people had been in the habit of outraging women. He also allays Jacob's apprehensions. Indeed, an angel had commanded Levi to avenge Dinah's wrongs (*ib.* iii. 5). In Gen. xlviii. 22 there seems to be an allusion to Jacob's own participation in the capturing of the city (see, however, Gunkel, "Genesis," p. 338). The Rabbis so construe it (Ber. R. to the passage; Midrash Hagadol, ed. Schechter, p. 527), and they also make the "holy spirit" (Midrash Hagadol, p. 525) urge the defilement of the girl, while God, as in Josephus, allays Jacob's apprehensions. See also ASENATH.

E. K.—E. G. H.

——**In Rabbinical Literature:** Dinah is blamed for the affair with Shechem because she "went out" (Gen. xxxiv. 1), and her brothers had to drag her away from Shechem by force (Eccl. R. x. 8; Gen. R. lxxx.). When Jacob went to meet Esau, he first locked Dinah in a box, for fear that Esau would wish to marry her. Such action of his brought out the rebuke from God: "If thou hadst married off thy daughter in time she would not have been tempted to sin, and might, moreover, have exerted a beneficial influence upon her husband" (Gen. R. lxxx.). Her brother Simeon promised to marry her; but she did not wish to leave, Shechem, fearing that after her disgrace no one would take her to wife (Gen. R. *l.c.*); she was later married to Job however (B. B. 16b; Gen. R. *l.c.*). When she died, Simeon buried her in the land of Canaan. She is therefore referred to as "the Canaanitish woman" (Gen. xlvi. 10). Shaul (*ib.*) was her son by Shechem (Gen. R. *l.c.*).

L. G. C. L.

——**Critical View:** The narrative has been held to be unhistorical, and merely a reflection of old feuds arising from outrages committed against women; the story is valuable, therefore, for the light it throws upon primitive customs. The Dinah episode illustrates the custom which made it incumbent upon brothers to avenge any outrage perpetrated upon a

sister. This is still an unwritten law among the nomadic Bedouins (see Tuch, "Genesis," p. 407). Why Levi and Simeon alone undertook to requite the insult without the aid of her other brothers—a circumstance noted even by the Rabbis (see Midrash Hagadol, *l.c.*)—and why Jacob should under such circumstances have disapproved of the act, the theory fails to consider.

Gunkel ("Genesis," pp. 336 *et seq.*) holds that Gen. xxxiv. is composed of two distinct accounts of one event: (1) Dinah, after being outraged, is not retained in the house of Shechem; the son pleads with his father to get him the girl for a wife; Hamor negotiates with Jacob, offers a general intermarriage, and submits to circumcision; the city is attacked and looted; God (Gen. xxxv. 5) advises Jacob to move away. (2) Dinah is captured and retained by Shechem; to allay her uneasiness the son through his father enters into negotiations with Jacob; Jacob is promised rich gifts; he waits for his sons to return before he decides; most of them acquiesce, though Levi and Simeon refuse; they (Levi and Simeon) must cleanse their sister's honor with blood. The story is not complete. It must have told of the failure of Levi and Simeon, and of their being killed in the fray. Gen. xlix. 5–7 alludes to a third variation, in which Jacob is incensed at the conduct of his sons, and proves that the incident was fraught with fatal consequences for the brothers. The historical facts underlying this episode are these: Dinah represents a clan; Shechem is the well-known city. The tribe Dinah had been made captive by Shechem, and the closely consanguineous tribes of Levi and Simeon, in an attempt to capture the city and release the sister clan, came to ignominious grief. This feud did not take place in the Patriarchal period, but at the beginning of that of the Judges, shortly after the first invasion of Canaan.

E. K.—E. G. H.

DINAITES (דינאי; Septuagint, Δεινάιοι; Vulgate, "Dinæi"): A tribe mentioned in Ezra iv. 9 as having settled in Samaria, and as opposing and denouncing the efforts of the Jews to rebuild Jerusalem. The Dinaites have thus far not been positively identified.

K. B. P.

DINHABAH (דנהבה): City mentioned in the Old Testament as the capital of Idumea, and probably the birthplace of Bela, son of Beor, King of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 32; I Chron. i. 43). The efforts at locating the Dinhabah of Scripture have thus far been unsuccessful.

K. B. P.

DINIZ (= DENIS): King of Portugal (1279–1325), and styled "the father of his country"; one of the most tolerant rulers of his time, and well disposed toward the Jews. He took care that the judges did not encroach on their rights, and did not admit unlawful witnesses. He did not compel Jews to wear special badges or to pay tithes to the Church, although the canonical law demanded both; and he particularly enjoined upon the authorities that all privileges granted the Jews by him or any preceding king should be recognized. Diniz granted special favors to individuals and to communities, as, for instance, to Bragança. He in 1295 appointed Don Judah, the chief rabbi ("Arrabi Mor"), as his treasurer. Judah's son and successor, Don Gedaliah, treasurer to Queen Doña Britiz, enjoyed such favor with the king that the latter gave him two tracts of land (*terras*), or, according to another version, two towers (*torres*), in Beja. On account of such favors shown to the Jews the Portuguese clergy complained of the king to the pope, but without avail; for the king would not change his attitude.

Bibliography: Kayserling, *Gesch. der Juden in Portugal*, pp. 18 *et seq.*

G. M. K.

DIOCÆSAREA. See Sepphoris.

DIOCLETIAN: Roman emperor (285–305). Although he was the son of Dalmatian slaves (Eutropius, ix. 19), he rose to the highest honors by virtue of his personal qualities. The rabbinical sources have amplified the account of his lowly origin by reporting that he was a swineherd in his youth, even his original name, Diocles, being mentioned in this connection (Yer. Ter. 46c; Gen. R. lxiii. 8). According to these sources, he spent his youth in Palestine, where he was mocked by the Jewish schoolboys; and after he became emperor the Jews agreed that not even the most insignificant Roman ought to be derided (*ib.*). According to the Talmud Yerushalmi, Diocletian went to Paneas in Palestine, where, not so much from cruelty as from a tyrannous impulse, he gave the patriarch Judah III. at Tiberias a command which was apparently impossible of fulfilment. Judah, however, succeeded in carrying it out, either through the cleverness of a servant or through magic (*ib.*).

Diocletian's presence in Palestine, which is often mentioned in rabbinical sources, is connected by Graetz with the Persian war of 297–298. This connection, however, is not necessary, for the fact is that Diocletian was in Palestine in 286, in the time of Judah III. (comp. Mommsen in "Verhandlungen der Berliner Akademie," 1860, pp. 417 *et seq.*). It is reported that he was at Cæsarea (Eusebius, "Vita Constantini," i. 19; compare Gen. R. lxiii. 8) and in the region of Tyre (Yer. Ber. 6a; Yer. Naz. 56a), which is not far distant from Paneas. At this last-named place, where Lake Phiala (Birkat-Ram) is situated, Diocletian built certain water-works, as may be inferred from the confused rabbinical notices (according to the correct reading in Yalk. to Ps. 697; compare Midr. Ps. xxiv. 6; Yer. Kil. 32c; Yer. Ket. 35b; B. B. 74b), and the lake may possibly have been called for a time "Lake of Diocletian."

His stay in Palestine is memorable for the edict issued by him that sacrifices should be offered everywhere to the national gods, the Jews alone being exempted, for even the Samaritans obeyed the edict (Yer. 'Ab. Zarah 44d). The Christians also suffered heavily (Eusebius, "De Martyribus Palæstinæ," § 3); although the date 303–304, given by Eusebius for the issue of the edict, is different from that given by the Rabbis, who clearly assume that Diocletian was present in Palestine at the time. Diocletian endeavored to improve the pagan worship, as may be seen from an inscription preserved in the Talmud: "I, Emperor Diocletian, established this panegyric of

Tyrus lasting eight days to the genius of my brother Herculius." "Herculius" was the surname of Maximian, Diocletian's associate emperor; Diocletian's surname was "Jovius." This inscription is valuable and significant as regards not only Diocletian, but also as evidence of the conditions in Palestine (Yer. 'Ab. Zarah 39b; compare Rapoport, "'Erek Millin," p. 230; I. Levi, in "Rev. Et. Juives," xliii. 196). It is also worthy of note that Diocletian led 120,000 men into Syria (Yer. Sheb. 34d), and that his measures were so severe that he drove the inhabitants of Paneas into exile, from which they returned after thirty years (Yer. Sheb. 38d). It is also said that Diocletian possessed a piece of virgin gold as large as a Gordianic denarius, and similar to that possessed by Hadrian (Num. R. xii. 4).

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G. S. Kr.

DIODATUS (surnamed **Trypho** = Debauchee): Ruler of Syria 141–138 B.C.; born at Kasiana near Apamea. Originally an officer in the army of Alexander Balas, he opposed the claims of Demetrius II., putting on the throne Antiochus, the young son of Alexander, who was still a minor, with the help of deserters from Demetrius. Diodatus took the city of Antioch; and Jonathan the Hasmonean was willing to throw in his lot with Antiochus. Diodatus, however, had other plans, and feared that Jonathan would stand in his way. He inveigled him from Bethshean to Ptolemais, and put him to death at Baskama or Baska (Josephus, "Ant." xiii. 6, § 6). From Ptolemais, Diodatus went to Judea against Simon Maccabeus, who had followed Jonathan as head of the Jewish forces. His real design now came to light; the young Antiochus was put to death, and Diodatus assumed "the crown of Asia." Simon turned to Demetrius for aid, and from him gained the independence of the Jewish state. Demetrius was taken prisoner in Persia; but his place was taken by another son of Demetrius I., Antiochus VII. (Sidetes), who marched against Trypho, and with the help of Simon shut him up in the city of Dora (Tantura, between Cæsarea and Carmel). Diodatus fled to Orthosia (north of Tripoli), and was besieged by Antiochus in Apamea, where he took his own life.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *I Macc.* xii. xv.; Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. ch. 5, 6, 7; *Strabo*, 668; Von Gutschmid, *Gesch. Irans*, p. 51; Schürer, *Gesch.* i. 131, 183 *et seq.*

G.

DIOGO, JUSTINIANO ALVARES DA ANNUNCIAÇÃO: Archbishop of Cranganor; born at Lisbon in 1654; died at Evora Oct. 28, 1713. Doctor of theology and canon in ordinary, he was charged with a special mission at Rome. Dom Pedro II. rewarded his services by appointing him archbishop of the Indian town of Cranganor, then a Portuguese possession (1692). Diogo never occupied his archiepiscopal seat, and resigned it in 1695 to become coadjutor of the Archbishop of Evora. Besides writing several sermons and separate discourses, he was the author of "Trofeo Evangelico," a collection of sermons, Lisbon, 1693–1713. He left various works in manuscript, among them a work entitled "Turris Davidica Contra Judæos," in which he seeks to demonstrate the coming of the Messiah. The sermon preached by Diogo on the occasion of the auto da fé in Lisbon, Sept. 6, 1705, caused an animated controversy. In 1709 there appeared in Portuguese under the title "Ante Exordio" a reply by an anonymous Jew, a work which must not be confounded with the "Respuesta" in Spanish, attributed to the haham David Nieto of London. The anonymous book, according to a note in the "Antiquities of Mexico," is said to be by Isaac Nieto. On the original copies the author is given as "Carlos Vero" (pseudonym), or as "the author of 'Noticias Reconditas.'"

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G. C. de B.

DION CASSIUS: Historian; born about 155 at Nicæa in Bithynia; held the highest offices of state in the Roman empire; became consul in 221; died about 240. He wrote an extended work in Greek which dealt with the entire history of Rome, and also included Jewish history. Only books lxi.–lxxx. have been preserved intact, in the extract made by Xiphilinus in the eleventh century, the remainder existing merely in fragments. Most important for Jewish history are the fragments of books lx.–lxix., which contain highly valuable information on matters that would otherwise be entirely unknown.

Dion's references to Jewish affairs may be divided into the three following groups:

1. Scattered notices, such as the order against religious assemblies at Rome, under Claudius (book lx. 6); the punishment of the consul Flavius Clemens and others, "who followed Jewish customs and laws" (lxvii. 13); and the references to the Jewish princess Berenice (lxvi. 15).

2. Remarks on the Jewish war under Nero, Vespasian, and Titus (lxvi. 4–15). These because of their accuracy and impartiality, so far as such characteristics were possible in a Roman writing on Jewish matters, do not lose in value even when compared with the account of Josephus. Indeed, they are the only authentic notices of this important war besides Josephus' account, which is colored in favor of the Romans. Dion narrates, quite independently of Josephus, the difficulties of the besieging Romans in getting drinking-water, while the Jews had a plentiful supply. He also says that deserters from the Jewish camp poisoned the water of the Romans. As a similar statement is found in Sextus Julius Africanus (Κεστοί, § 3, in "Mathem. Veteres," p. 290), who probably drew his material from Justus of Tiberias, it is possible that Dion Cassius also used the work of the last-named historian.

Dion says, further, that Titus himself was wounded by a stone (a detail not mentioned by Josephus); that many Romans, believing the city to be impregnable, went over to the Jews; and that the Roman soldiers, because of the sanctity of the Temple, hesitated for days to enter it, even after a breach had been made. All these occurrences are materially toned down by Josephus. Dion describes how the people, the magistrates, and the priests were placed in defending the Temple; and he says that Jerusalem fell on a Sabbath (the Romans took the Sabbath to be a fast-day). In all these matters Dion shows that he had reliable and authentic information. Since Vespasian as well as Titus wrote "Recollections" of the Jewish war, Dion may have used them. Another of his sources is assumed to have been the account of Antoninus Julianus, a Roman general and rhetorician, who took an active part in the war.

3. For an account of the Jewish war under Trajan and Hadrian Dion is the most important source (lxviii. 32, lxix. 12–14), though his descriptions of the cruelties perpetrated by the Jews at Cyrene and on the island of Cyprus are probably exaggerated. While not free from errors, Dion's account is largely confirmed by the Rabbis and by the Church Fathers; and even the fifty walled cities with the capture of which he credits the Jews can be severally located. He is more accurate than Spartianus, one of the authors of the "Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ," who, like Dion, mentions the account of Emperor Hadrian; but of the two, Dion only seems to have taken the Jewish data directly from this authentic source.

Bibliography: The text of Dion Cassius is reprinted in Th. Reinach, *Textes d'Auteurs Grecs Rélatifs aux Juifs*, i.; the passages referring to the Bar Kokba war, in Münter, *Der Jüd. Krieg Unter Trajan und Hadrian*, 1824, pp. 106–110. For an enumeration of the fifty cities, see S. Krauss, in *Magazin*, 1892, xix. 227. For the connection with Antoninus, see Schlatter, *Zur Topographie und Gesch. Palästina's*, 1893, pp. 397 *et seq.*; and for that with Justus, see Büchler, in *Kaufmann Gedenkbuch*, 1900, p. 18. On Hadrian as source, see Schürer, *Gesch.* 3d ed., 1901, i. 674, note 72.

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DIONYSUS, FESTIVAL OF: Historic notices regarding a supposed festival of Dionysus in Judea do not antedate the time of the Maccabees. The general statement in I Maccabees (i. 51, 54, 55) that Antiochus Epiphanes forced the Jews to sacrifice in the Greek fashion, is amplified in II Maccabees (vi. 7; compare III Macc. ii. 29) into the statement that the Jews were forced to take part in the festivals of Dionysus and to deck themselves with ivy (κίσσος); hence Hippolytus ("De Antichristo," pp. 33–35, § 49), a Church father of the second century, regards Antiochus Epiphanes as the prototype of Antichrist.

II Maccabees.

The entire story, however, is regarded as unhistorical. Even the account in III Maccabees, where Egyptian matters are referred to, is not plausible; for though Dionysus was the tutelar deity of the Egyptian Ptolemies, whereas the Syrian Seleucids always worshiped Zeus (Willrich, "Judaica," p. 163, Göttingen, 1900), the Dionysia were celebrated in every country that had come under the influence of Greek culture. Antiochus XI. even bore the by-name "Dionysus" (Josephus, "Ant." xiii. 15, § 1; "B. J." i. 4, § 7); and Nicanor, the general of Demetrius, threatened to consecrate a Temple at Jerusalem to Dionysus unless Judas Maccabeus was delivered to him (II Macc. xiv. 33). The Seleucids may therefore have forced the Jews to a similar worship.

It is certain (III Macc. ii. 29) that the Jews of Egypt were forced to worship Dionysus, although this religious persecution took place probably only within the nomos of Arsinoe. It is further said (*ib.* ii. 30): "Should any among them prefer to enter the community of those initiated into the mysteries, they shall receive the same civic rights as the Alexandrians." Hence the citizenship of the Egyptian Jews was dependent, under Ptolemy IV. Philopator, on their taking part in the worship of Dionysus (Lumbroso, "Ricerche Alessandrine," p. 49, Turin, 1871; Abrahams, in "Jew. Quart. Rev." ix. 56); and as the Jews could not accept this condition, they probably did not become full citizens under that king.

A myth of Dionysus is connected with the Palestinian city of Scythopolis. Pliny ("Historia Naturalis," v. 18, § 74) and Solinus (ed. Mommsen, ch. 36) derive the name of this city from the Scythians, who were settled on that spot by Dionysus in order to protect the tomb of his nurse who was buried there.

According to Plutarch.

The Greeks and the Romans were firmly convinced that the Jews had a cult of Dionysus, basing this opinion on some external point of similarity. Plutarch thinks that the name of the Jewish Sabbath is derived from σάβος, the cry of the ecstatic Bacchantes. More important still is his further statement that the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles, as celebrated in the Temple at Jerusalem, was really a form of Dionysus worship. He reasons as follows: "The Jews celebrate their most important feast in the time of the vintage; they heap all sorts of fruit on their tables, and they live in tents and huts made chiefly from branches of the vine and from ivy; the first day of this festival they call the Feast of Tabernacles. A few days later they celebrate another feast, invoking Bacchus no longer through symbols, but calling upon him directly by name. They, furthermore, have a festival during which they carry branches of the fig-tree and the thyrsus; they enter the Temple, where they probably celebrate Bacchanalia, for they use small trumpets; and some among them, the Levites, play on the cythara" ("Symposium," iv. 5, § 3). Plutarch evidently had certain ceremonies of the Feast of Sukkot in mind. See Crown in Post-Biblical Times. The accusation of Tacitus ("Hist." v. 5) is similar:

"As their priests sing to the accompaniment of flutes and kettle-drums, and as they deck themselves with laurel, and as a golden vine was found in their Temple, many people believe that they worship Bacchus, the conqueror of the East; but the two cults have nothing in common, for Bacchus has established a brilliant and joyous ritual, while the customs of the Jews are bizarre and morose."

The artificial vine, which Herod presented to the Temple, is also mentioned by Josephus ("Ant." xv. 11, § 3); it still existed at the destruction of the Temple (Mid. iii. 8), and was carried off by Titus ("B. J." v. 5, § 4).

Account of Tacitus.

The account of Tacitus is thus based on fact, the same as that of Plutarch in regard to the ritual of the Feast of Tabernacles. Plutarch, furthermore, deduces the Jewish

worship of Bacchus from the garment of the high priest, who wears bells on his mantle, like those that were used in the Bacchanalia at night; he refers also in ambiguous terms to a thyrsus and to drums (*τύμπανα*) which the high priest wears in front (on the frontlet or on the breastplate?) (*ib.*). Grätz ("Gesch." 2d ed., ii. 254) assumes a barrel-opening festival (*πιθοιγία* = "vinalia"), which, however, can not be substantiated.

In describing the garment of the high priest, Plutarch purposely uses expressions reminiscent of the Dionysus worship, and it is probable that just such equivocal expressions, which he may have read in a Hellenistic work, led him to make the impossible assertion that the Jews had a cult of Dionysus. As a matter of fact the palm-branch prescribed for the Feast of Tabernacles was called by the Hellenists *θύρσος* (Josephus, "Ant." xiii. 13, § 5; II Macc. x. 7), which could easily remind a Greek of the Dionysia. He also intimates that he knew something about the "Feast of the Drawing of Water," which in its free joyousness resembled the Bacchanalia (Suk. v. 2; Tosef.: iv. 1–5; Bab. 51b; Yer. 55b). Neither the statements of Tacitus nor those of Plutarch lead to the conclusion, as some scholars assert, that they used as their sources anti-Jewish Alexandrian works, for their statements contain nothing that is hostile to the Jews. A Greek, on the contrary, would consider it a vindication for the Jews if he could derive ceremonies of the Jewish worship from pagan practises.

Dionysus is not mentioned as a god in the rabbinical writings; it is possible, however, that in Haman's fictitious genealogy (I Targ. Esth. v. 1; II Targ. Esth. iii. 1) Dionysus figures as Haman's ancestor (Krauss, "Lehnwörter," ii. 200, Berlin, 1899). Jastrow's statement ("Dict." p. 1306) that the "Dionysia" may be traced in an obscure Talmudic word can not be accepted. In some prayers of the cabalists the name of Dionysus appears, together with other mystic names ("Mitteil. der Gesell. für Jüd. Volkskunde," v. 31, 58, 71). See Ass-Worship.

In Talmud and Cabala.

Bibliography: Grätz, *Gesch.* 2d ed., ii. 254; Reinach, *Textes d'Auteurs Grecs*, p. 143; Büchler, *Die Tobiaden und die Oniaden*, pp. 181, 196, Vienna, 1899; *idem*, in *Rev. Et. Juives*, xxxvii. 182 *et seq.*

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DIOSCORIDES, PEDACIUS or **PEDANIUS:** Greek physician of the first century. His "Materia Medica" is mentioned in a Hebrew medical work called "Midrash ha-Refu'ot," attributed to Asaf ben Berechiah, but compiled from Syriac sources in the tenth or eleventh century. In the tenth century Hasdai ibn Shaprut, minister of finance to 'Abd al-Rahman III., assisted in the translation of the work into Arabic. But no Hebrew translation is known; the only quotations found being reproductions of quotations in other authors. An attempt was made in Salonica to translate into Hebrew Mathioli's commentary on Dioscorides.

Only one short work of Dioscorides has been translated into Hebrew, by a French Jew, Azariah Bonafoux. It is an alphabetical index of drugs which can be substituted one for another. The translator says that he found the manuscript under the Greek title of *'Αντιβαλλομένων*, which he translated "Temurat ha-Sammim."

Bibliography: Grätz, *Gesch.* 3d ed., v. 300, 301; Steinschneider, *Hebr. Uebers.* p. 650; idem, *Hebr. Bibl.* xix. 84; idem, in *Jew. Quart. Rev.* xiii. 98; Phil. Luzzatto, *Notice sur Abou Youssuf Hasdaï*, p. 6; *Cat. Hebr. MSS. Bibl. Nat. Paris*, No. 1124, 5.

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DIOSPOLIS. See Lydda, Council of.

DIRGE. See Kinah.

DISABILITIES, LEGAL. See Blemish; Evidence; Law, Civil.

DISABILITIES.—In Europe: J. E. Scherer in his "Die Rechtsverhältnisse der Juden in den Deutsch-Oesterreichischen Ländern" (Leipsic, 1901) has well pointed out that legislation concerning the Jews during the Middle Ages may be divided into two groups, based upon two different views. The first comprises those laws which treat the Jews as belonging to an alien creed opposed to the established church of the state, against the development of which the latter must be protected in part by preventive, in part by repressive, measures. This legislation afforded the Jews in religious matters a limited sufferance; it protected their lives, liberty, and property, but seriously restricted their civil rights. This principle, traces of which are perceptible in heathen Rome, permeates the Christian-Roman, Germanic-Christian, and Mohammedan systems of law. The second group of laws is based upon the view that the Jews are members of a foreign nation, and are accordingly to be treated as aliens. Early Teutonic law held that foreigners did not share in the rights accorded by the nation to its members; they might at any time be expelled from the country in which they had settled, and their property, which was regarded as belonging not to them, but to the sovereign, might be taken away from them. Rights were secured by them only through grants from the sovereign, and were limited by such grants. Such were the principles of law applied to the Jews in Germany, in the Carolingian empire, in most portions of Austria, and in Aragon, Castile, Portugal, England, France, and south Italy till the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

Principles of Treatment.

The disabilities which the Jews suffered prior to the common era in countries other than those dominated by Greece and Rome—of little direct importance in accounting for their legal status in the civilized world to-day—are treated in the articles on those countries. In regard to pre-Christian Greece and Rome it need only be remarked that their treatment of the Jews showed, though in a minor degree, traces of the antagonism toward aliens which was so common in primitive societies, and which in the case of the Jew the jealous precepts of Jewish monotheism tended to aggravate (see Diaspora). Under Caracalla (211–217) the Jews became Roman citizens; as such they were entitled to all civil and political rights, including even the right to hold public office, though certain obligations, which were regarded as inconsistent with their religion, were not imposed upon them, such as military service and liability to certain Church impositions. These conditions continued for about a century, until the Roman empire

under the emperor Constantine began to yield to Christianizing influences. Some further immunities which they continued to enjoy under Caracalla and his successors carried with them features which may, in one way, be regarded as disabilities. The tax which the Jews in the Roman empire were allowed to collect for Palestine (see APOSTOLÉ) was at a later time appropriated by the government itself, and the tax therefore became increasingly hateful to the Jews. It was soon replaced by irregular exactions, until it was definitely abolished by Julian, and the registers were destroyed. There is reason to believe that other special Jewish taxes were occasionally levied, and that the exemption, or disqualification, from military service, dating from the Pompeys in 49 and Dolabella in 43, was connected with a special counterbalancing tax. However, this taxation can scarcely, in its origin, be regarded as of a discriminatory character.

Before Caracalla.

The period that preceded Caracalla was, however, even less favorable for the Jew, both in the Greek and in the Roman dominions. The Greek cities, certainly at first, did not receive the Jews favorably; in many of them the observance of Jewish rites was absolutely forbidden; in others, like ALEXANDRIA, they were required to live in a special district of the city, though this had been originally granted as a privilege. The Jews acquired in general the good-will, first of the Greek, then of the Roman authorities; and this afforded them a protection against the jealousy and antagonism of the populace. Under the Greeks they did not enjoy exemption from military service. Their fortunes and the degree of their liberties varied from time to time in the Greek cities, never becoming quite as complete as they became under Caracalla, and, generally speaking, they were never collectively Greek citizens. Of course, in the conquered Greek territories they acquired the same rights of citizenship as were enjoyed by their coreligionists in other parts of the Roman empire. In Rome they met with occasional harsh treatment, though their legal status gradually improved till the constitution of Caracalla made them Roman citizens. Hadrian, temporarily, prohibited circumcision; but this was soon changed to apply only to non-Jews, as a check, in the interests of the state religion, to Jewish proselytism. Before Caracalla's reign they were not fully privileged citizens, but "peregrini," and were not, it seems, eligible to public office, but occupied a position in some respects less, in others more, favorable than that of full Roman citizenship.

After the Christianization of Rome.

From the advent of Constantine, Jewish rights became more and more limited, and their disabilities increased. The state became Christian in character, and legislation in support of the state Church and in opposition to the Jews, who would not accept the new religion, became common. The thought that Jews might lawfully give orders to Christians became hateful to the latter, and hence, beginning in 404, it was decided that Jews could not hold public office. Their judicial autonomy was also reduced. The law sought to prevent the Jews from spreading their religion to the detriment of Christianity, by forbidding, under heavy penalties, the building of new synagogues; it forbade a Jew to marry a Christian woman, to convert free Christians, or to keep Christian slaves. The law also endeavored to encourage conversion from Judaism, particularly offensive being provisions forbidding Jewish parents to disinherit, in whole or in part, their converted children. Intercourse between Jew and Christian was also discouraged by law. Jews and heretics were made incompetent to testify against Christians, and offensive special Jewish oaths were prescribed.

In Teutonic lands Jews came to be regarded, in theory at least, as aliens outside the law of the various nations among whom they lived, and as such were entitled only to those rights which the king, by special grant, might choose to confer upon them, individually or collectively. Without such grants they were outside the law. No "Wehrgeld" could be exacted from the slayer when they were unlawfully killed, and the king could at any time lawfully appropriate their possessions. Accordingly they acquired from time to time special grants from the crown, some of which, dating back to the era of Charlemagne, have been handed down to us. In these, as a matter of favor merely, or in return for a consideration, they acquired rights which, in certain particulars, might be greater or less than those enjoyed by their non-Jewish compatriots. The practical application of the theory which denied to Jews all rights except such as the crown chose to confer upon them, is forcibly illustrated throughout the Middle Ages in the cancelation of debts owing to Jews without the consent of the creditors. Not only were the Jews the *servi cameræ* of the emperor, but the rights over them of lesser princes and overlords became generally recognized when the emperors began to convey their own rights over the Jews to their vassals, in this way depriving the Jews of their principal protector. These lesser lords granted, withdrew, or withheld privileges at will.

Historical and Economic Conditions.

It is, moreover, important to note that historical and economic conditions combined in the Middle Ages to curtail or to remove entirely any Jewish privileges or immunities which exceeded those enjoyed by non-Jews, the same causes frequently leading to extensions of their disabilities. These conditions were largely due to the Crusades, which stimulated religious animosities, and led to numerous popular anti-Jewish outbursts and even to massacres. The power of the crown, as against its greater vassals, becoming weaker, the Jews were also deprived of potential protectors against economic jealousy and mob violence. The economic conditions in question were due to the rise, after the pioneer work of the Jew had been performed, of rival traders, who organized themselves for self-protection into municipal corporations and trade-gilds, and secured anti-Jewish decrees when they were economically advanced enough to dispense, wholly or partially, with Jewish aid (see Roscher, "Die Juden im Mittelalter, Betrachtet vom Standpunkt der Allgemeinen Handelspolitik"). These decrees, in a measure at least, led to the exclusion of Jews from various industries and trades, the

list of excluded occupations varying in different communities, and being determined largely by the political influence of various non-Jewish competing interests. Frequently all occupations were barred against Jews, except money-lending and pedling — even these at times being prohibited. The number of Jews or Jewish families permitted to reside in different places was limited; they were concentrated in ghettos, and were not allowed to own land; and they were subjected to discriminatory taxes on entering cities or districts other than their own (see Poll-Tax).

With the acceptance of more modern economic ideas many of these restrictions disappeared. Holland led the way in abolishing Jewish disabilities, and England followed next, though both were more liberal in their treatment of the Jews in their American possessions than they were toward those at home. Germany and France took steps in the same direction even before the French Revolution, though that great movement, as well as its American predecessor, accelerated Jewish emancipation throughout the European continent. The oppressive and comprehensive character of Jewish disabilities as they existed in Europe as late as 1781 are ably described by Dohm in his "Ueber die Bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden," pp. 6–12:

Disabilities of the 18th Century.

"In view of the energetic efforts of the nations to increase their population, it is strange that in most states an exception is still made with respect to a particular class of men. In nearly all the states of Europe the policy of the law and of the whole constitution of the state is directed to preventing as far as possible the increase in number of those unfortunate fugitives from Asia—the Jews. In several states their sojourn has been totally prohibited, and residence for a brief time (often for a night only) is permitted on condition of certain payments, and only to travelers enjoying privileges from the overlord. In most of the other states, the Jews have been received under the most burdensome conditions, not as citizens, but as inhabitants and dependents. The law generally permits that only a specified number of Jewish families shall settle in a country, and this permission is commonly limited to particular places and must be purchased from time to time by the payment of a considerable sum of money. In very many countries the possession of a fortune is an essential prerequisite for securing this necessary license. A large number of Jews find, accordingly, the portals of every city closed to them, are inhumanly turned back at every boundary, and nothing remains for them to do but to starve, or to still their hunger by the aid of crime. If a Jewish father have several sons, he will probably be able to relinquish to only one of them the license to sojourn in the country of his birth; the rest he is obliged to send away with a portion into foreign territory, where they must struggle with equal disabilities. Concerning his daughters, the question arises whether he will be fortunate enough to establish them in one of the families of his native place. Seldom, therefore, can a Jewish father enjoy the happiness of living among his children and grandchildren, or of establishing the fortunes of his family in a permanent manner. For even the wealthy are compelled to constantly divide their fortunes through the necessary separation from their children and the expense of their establishment in different places. If a Jew has acquired permission to remain in a country, he is obliged to repurchase the same annually by heavy payments; he is not permitted to marry without special permission, subject to peculiar conditions and heavy charges; every child increases the size of his tax, and almost all his dealings are thus affected. In every occupation in life the laws are directed against him with utmost rigor, and the mild treatment accorded to those among whom he is living makes his lot seem all the harsher. Besides all these varied imposts, the Jew's means of livelihood are restricted to the utmost. He is absolutely debarred from the honor of serving the state; the prime pursuit, agriculture, is closed to him, and scarcely anywhere may he own landed property in his own name. A gild would regard itself as disgraced if it received one of the circumcised into its membership, and for that reason the Jew is wholly excluded in almost every land from manual and mechanical pursuits. But seldom, among so many disabilities, can sufficient courage and zeal be found surviving—so seldom that, in considering the whole race, individual cases should be wholly disregarded—to undertake the pursuit of the fine arts and of science, of which only geometry, natural science, and medicine remain open to the Hebrew as a means of livelihood. Even those few men who succeed in attaining a high rank in science and art, as well as those who confer honor upon mankind through unblemished righteousness of conduct, can acquire the esteem of but few noble beings; among the mighty ones even supreme merit of mind and heart is canceled by that unpardonable fault—the fault of being a Jew. For this unfortunate being, who is countryless, whose activities are everywhere circumscribed, who is nowhere permitted to exercise his talents untrammeled, in whose virtue no one places credence, for whom scarcely one attainable distinction exists - for him no path leads to the enjoyment of a dignified and independent existence, or even to self-support, other than the path of trade. But here also discriminatory limitations and imposts beset him, and but few of this people have sufficient property to engage in wholesale trade. They are, therefore, mostly confined to a petty retail trade, in which only the constant duplication of small profits suffices to sustain a needy existence; or they are compelled to lend to others the money they can not employ themselves. But in what numerous ways is even this sole remaining pursuit restricted in nearly every country! Many kinds of trade are wholly closed to them; others are open only under legislative regulations concerning time, place, and person; the permitted trades are beset by so many imposts, hampered by so many investigations, and dependent on the caprices of so many petty officials, that the earnings of Jews are extremely small, and can attract only such as are accustomed to the most miserable existence. When in former days, because of such restrictions upon his own employment of his own property, it became necessary for the Jew to lend it to others, it was seen fit to declare such practise—which must, however, be regarded as the most natural consequence of these restrictions—as illegal; and to-day, also, lending money upon interest is scarcely regarded as an honest business. . . . And notwithstanding the fact that the lending of money has been forced upon the Jew, the law almost always favors the debtor, and the latter is compelled by his necessities only too often to drive the Jewish creditor to a violation of the law, and thus to expose him to incessant penalties."

As regards the present disabilities in Russia and Rumania, Leroy-Beaulieu says: "It is widely believed that almost all the Jews in the world, at any rate all European Jews, enjoy civil liberty and equality. This is a mistake. The Israelites who enjoy the rights of citizenship are probably still in the minority. A large number of the descendants of Abraham are still subject to special laws. There remain in Europe but two states (other than Spain and Portugal) which refuse to grant to the Jews the rights accorded to the Christians; but these two states, Russia and Rumania, contain more Jews than all the rest of Europe together. One of them, the Russian empire, holds perhaps fully one-half of all the Jews in the world" ("Israël Chez les Nations," pp. 4, 5). For detailed account of disabilities in Russia see Russia.

See Anti-Slavery Movement; Army; Auto da Fé; Badge; Ghetto; Inquisition; Poll-Tax; Real Estate; Slaves and Slavery; Evidence.

G. *

—In Mohammedan Countries: The basis of Mohammedan legislation concerning Jews was, and still is, in some countries, the group of laws known as the "Pact of Omar," attributed to Omar, the second calif. In taking Jerusalem he is said to have granted protection to the capitulating Christians under certain conditions, which were extended to Jews. The main points of these conditions, according to later Arabic writers, were: that they should not build new houses of worship nor restore the old

ones; that they should admit the followers of Islam to their places of worship; that they should not pray aloud; that they should not teach their children the Koran; that they should entertain a traveling Mohammedan for three days; that they should not harbor a spy; that they should not hinder any one from embracing Islam; that they should show respect to Mohammedans whenever they met them; that their houses should not overtop the dwellings of the Mohammedans; that they should wear a distinct dress; that they should not drink wine in public, nor carry weapons, nor ride on horseback, nor make use of a signet-ring with Arabic inscriptions; that they should pay a poll-tax; that they could not hold public offices, nor have intercourse with Mohammedan women.

It is a matter of doubt whether all of these laws were enacted by Omar; for his subsequent bestowal of privileges upon the Babylonian Jews would have been an act of inconsistency which a man of his character would be very unlikely to commit. However that may have been, there is no trace of the enforcement of these enactments until Omar II. (717–720). This calif passed several restrictive laws similar to those contained in the "Pact of Omar." Only two califs of the Abbassid dynasty, Harun al-Rashid (786–809) and Mutawakkil (847–861), are known to have been guided by these laws with regard to both Jews and Christians, the former calif enforcing them partially, and the latter to their full extent. In Egypt, under the dynasty of the Fatimites, only Al-Hakim (996–1021) enforced them; he, however, not only enforced, but greatly amplified them. In Spain and Africa it was not until the time of the Almoravides that their observance became general. The last Mohammedan government to enforce, and the first to repeal, the "Pact of Omar" was the Sublime Porte.

Until the end of the seventeenth century the legal disabilities of the Jews in Turkey were but few.

Disabilities in Turkey.

They began to multiply only under Mustafa II. (1695–1703), who compelled the Jews to wear black shoes and hats, in contrast to the yellow shoes and red head-gear of their Mohammedan compatriots. The testimony of Jews was not valid, and they were allowed to dwell only in specified districts. Residence in Jerusalem was practically rendered impossible by heavy taxes, which only the richest Jews were able to pay. Similar legislation prevailed in the Turkish possessions of Algeria and Tunis, where residence in certain cities, such as Kairwan, Hammamet, and Tunis, was forbidden to Jews. They were compelled to dress in black, and among other restrictions were forbidden the use of lanterns in the street. In passing before a mosque they had to take off their shoes.

The abolition of Jewish legal disabilities in Turkey was effected by 'Abd al-Majid in 1840; in Algeria, when it was conquered by France; in Tunis,

In Morocco.

through the intervention of France in 1857, when the bey was compelled to emancipate them. Morocco and Persia are now the only Mohammedan countries where Jews are still subject to barbarous discriminating legislation. Not only was the "Pact of Omar," adopted in these countries, but it was used as a basis for new laws for the degradation of the Jews, who thereby became the prey of the mob and of every petty official. The following is a list of the principal disabilities still in force in Morocco: Where Mohammedans are concerned the testimony of a Jew is invalid. Jews can not reside outside the mellahs. They are not allowed to ride through any part of the town outside the mellah, on leaving which they are compelled to walk barefoot and to remove their head-dress. They are not allowed to carry a walking-stick, but the elderly and sick are permitted to use reeds as supports. In Moorish districts the Jew is not allowed to use the foot-paths, but must confine himself to the rougher parts of the highways. He is bound to pass the Moor on the left hand, and if he fail to do so he must retrace his steps. They are not allowed to build houses above a certain height, nor to own property outside the mellah. They are debarred from possessing stores or booths in the Moorish quarters. When government granaries or warehouses are overstocked, or their contents damaged, the Jews are forced to buy at the normal price of undamaged goods. Jews, with their wives and daughters, are compelled to work for any government official whenever ordered, even on Sabbaths and festivals, and to receive payment far below the market rates. They are compelled to do the work which the Moors refuse as degrading—cleaning sewers, carrying away carcasses from government stables, etc. When the heads of rebels or of criminals are to be exposed at the town gate, the Jews are made to salt them before they are exhibited. Jewish purveyors (butchers, grocers, bakers, etc.) are compelled to supply various functionaries gratuitously. A Jew can not appoint a Jewish attorney to plead before the ḳadi against a Moor. Neither is he allowed to act as attorney for a Moor.

Jews are not allowed to follow any of the liberal professions, and are disqualified for public offices or employments. They are required to wear a special costume, consisting of a black skull-cap and black shoes, and are not allowed to adopt any attire that might lead one to mistake them for Moors. They are not allowed to use the public baths, and are even denied the use of baths in the mellah; are not allowed to drink from the public fountains in Moorish quarters, nor to take water therefrom; and are not allowed to carry arms. A Jew's evidence is not admitted in a court of justice. A Jew's life, if taken by a Moor, is compensated by the payment of a sum equal to $300.

A Jew condemned to imprisonment or to flogging must pay the fees of all officials concerned in his punishment. In the prisons and jails they are not allowed the use of the common rooms, but are invariably confined in privies, or the like. If a Jew is suspected of immoral intercourse with a Moorish woman (though she be a prostitute), he is liable to imprisonment for an indefinite period. If he confess, even under torture, or if a witness establish the charge, he is punished by death. If Moors choose to assert that a Jew has abjured his faith, he is compelled to become a Moslem; and should he afterward attempt to conform to the Jewish ritual, he would be liable to be stoned or burned to death.

Almost all these disabilities are in force in Persia also. They have lately increased to such a degree in provinces distant from the capital, where the officials are not hindered from Jew-baiting by the protests of the ambassadors of European powers, that living under them is well-nigh impossible. As a specimen of these laws, the following, effective in Hamadan in 1892, may suffice: Jews may not leave their houses on rainy or snowy days (rain and snow are considered by Mohammedans as conductors of uncleanliness). Jewish women are not allowed to show themselves in public places with their faces veiled. Their "izar" (cloak) must be of two colors. Jews are limited to blue cotton clothing. They are not allowed to wear comfortable shoes. Every Jew is compelled to wear a piece of red cloth on his breast. A Jew must not precede a Moslem in public places, neither may he speak to him in a loud voice. A Jewish creditor must prefer his claim to a Mohammedan debtor in a respectful manner. A Jew insulted by a Moslem must bow his head in silence. A Jew buying meat must keep it covered from the sight of Moslems. Jews are forbidden to erect good buildings; neither may their houses overtop those of their Moslem neighbors. They may not calcimine their rooms. The entrances of their houses must be low. They must not wrap themselves in their cloaks, but must be content with wearing them rolled back under their arms. They are forbidden to cut their beards. They are not allowed to leave town nor to walk in the environs. Jewish physicians are not allowed to ride on horses. A Jew suspected of having recently drunk brandy is not allowed in the streets; otherwise he is liable to the punishment of death. Jewish weddings must be celebrated secretly. Jews are not allowed to eat undamaged fruit.

In Persia.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athir, vii. 20; Ibn Khaldun, *Ta'rikh al-Kamil*, fol. 55; August Müller, *Der Islam*, i. 524, 630; Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. der Fatimid. Chalifen*, p. 179; Fregier, *Les Juifs Algériens*, pp. 8 *et seq.*, Paris, 1865; Durier, *Les Juifs Algériens*, pp. 4 *et seq.*, ib. 1902; Cazès, *Essai sur l'Histoire des Juifs de Tunisie*, ib. 1889; Loeb, *La Situation des Juifs en Turquie*, ib. 1877; *Anglo-Jew. Assoc. Report*, 1886; *Bulletin All. Isr.* 1892; H. A. Hamaker, *De Expugnatione Memphidis et Alexandriæ*, pp. 165–175, Leyden, 1825; Steinschneider, in *Jew. Quart. Rev.* xii. 488 *et seq.*; *idem*, in *Juden (Geschichte)* in Ersch and Gruber, *Encyc.* section ii., part 27, pp. 189 *et seq.*; *idem*, in *Polemische Literatur*, Supplement I. pp. 165–187 (on the "Pact of Omar").

G. I. Br.

DISCOUNT. See Commerce.

DISEASES IN THE BIBLE AND TALMUD. See Medicine in Bible and Talmud.

DISHON (דִּישׁוֹן): 1. A son of Seir, and head of the aboriginal Idumean tribes (Gen. xxxvi. 21, 30; I Chron. i. 38; compare 41). 2. A son of Anah, grandson of Seir, and brother of Aholibamah, Esau's second wife (Gen. xxxvi. 25; I Chron. i. 41). A list of Dishon's sons is given in Gen. xxxvi. 26.

K. B. P.

DISINTERMENT: The act of exhumation, or taking out of the earth or the grave. The removal of dead bodies from one place of burial to another has been a subject of controversy among Jewish authorities, and in recent times has become a cause of litigation in the secular courts. In cases where the relatives desired to transfer their dead to a place designed to serve as the family plot, representative leaders of Orthodox Judaism have forbidden the removal, while other rabbis have claimed that, according to the Jewish code of law, such procedure was not only permissible, but in a certain sense actually desirable. See Burial.

The question hinges upon the interpretation of the halakic rule which says: "It is unlawful to remove the body or the remnants of bones from one place to another, whether from an honorable place to an equally honorable one, or from a lowly place to one equally lowly, or even from a lowly place to an honorable one, not to speak of the reverse. It is, however, permissible to remove the same if the dead is to be reinterred among his own; for it is pleasant for a man to repose alongside of his fathers" (Shulhan 'Aruk, Yoreh De'ah, 362, 1, based upon Yer. M. K. ii. 81b; Massek. Semahot xiii.; Kol Bo cxiv.). Those rabbis who forbid the transfer of a body to unoccupied ground intended to serve as the family plot base their prohibition on the expression "ezel abotaw" (alongside of his fathers); insisting on the occupancy of the place by the remains of relatives who had died previously, and excluding, therefore, a case where a family plot is to be initiated by the burial of the body to be disinterred. They claim that the desire for repose among one's own is supposed to be cherished only with reference to past generations and not with reference to future ones.

Guiding Rule.

Those who favor removal in such a case take the words "it is pleasant for a man to repose alongside of his fathers" in a larger sense, conveying the idea that to be buried in a family plot is presumably desirable to any man, and it matters not whether the family plot has been already brought into use or is to be consecrated for future time. In corroboration of this view they refer to the fact that the older Baraita in Massek. Semahot *l.c.*, as well as the Kol Bo, makes no mention of "alongside of his fathers"; the former simply stating as the reason that "it is conferring an honor upon the dead" ("she-zeh hu kebodo").

R. Moses Sofer, in a responsum ("Hatam Sofer," vi. 37), permits disinterment, and calls it a meritorious act in case it was the wish of the dead to be buried in the burial-place of his fathers; he refers to Mak. 11a, a passage which, however, implies the occupancy of the ground by the remains of relatives who had died previously.

In the case of Cohn versus the Shearith Israel congregation of New York, which came before the New York courts and was discussed in "The American Hebrew" and "Jewish Exponent" for March and April, 1902, Dr. H. P. Mendes, rabbi of the Shearith Israel congregation, opposed the grant by the court of a permit for disinterment, and sustained his opposition by responsa from Dr. H. Adler, chief rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British empire; Dr. Gaster, chief rabbi of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews of England; Dr. Klein, rabbi of the First Hungarian Congregation of New York; Dr. B. Drachman, rabbi of Congregation Zichom Ephraim of New York; and Rev. M. De Sola, minister of the Spanish and Portuguese congregations, Montreal, Canada—all of

Cohn vs. Shearith Israel.

whom declared that remains interred in a cemetery may not be removed for the purpose of reinterment in another cemetery in a plot which has been secured since the death of the deceased in question.

On the other hand, Dr. K. Kohler, rabbi of Temple Beth-El, New York, when consulted as to the view of the authorities of traditional (Orthodox) Judaism, declared that, inasmuch as the law excepts from the prohibition of disinterment every case in which the removal is a benefit to the dead and would be presumably desired by him, the transfer of the body to a family plot to be consecrated is just as lawful as its transfer to a family plot already occupied; the spirit and not the literal meaning of the words "alongside of his fathers" being the essential point. The courts, however, sustained the Congregation Shearith Israel, and the application for a permit for disinterment, contrary to the cemetery regulations of the congregation, was refused.

Bibliography: *The American Hebrew*, March 14, 21, 28, 1902; K. Kohler, *Orthodoxy and Hyperorthodoxy*, in *The Jewish Exponent*, April 18, 1902.

K.

DISKIN, JOSHUA LÖB BEN BENJAMIN: Russian rabbi; born at Grodno, Russia, Dec. 10, 1818; died at Jerusalem Jan. 22, 1898. At thirteen he married Sarah, the daughter of a good family of Volkovisk, known later as "Die Brisker Rebitzin." Diskin obtained a rabbi's diploma at eighteen, and seven years later succeeded his father as rabbi of Lomza. He was successively rabbi at Meseritz, Minsk, Kovno, Sklow, and Brest-Litovsk, whence he was called "Der Brisker Rov." A profound and thorough student, he became a recognized authority on rabbinical law, his admirers comparing him to Akiba Eger. He was, if not aggressive, fearless when once convinced that a thing was right. Thus, when rabbi of Kovno, he insisted upon the dismissal of a meat-tax collector. The Russian government, however, did not share his views, but ordered him to leave the town within forty-eight hours. Again, in 1877, the last year of his rabbinical office at Brest-Litovsk, he gave a legacy decision against the civil authorities. Compelled again to leave the town, Diskin decided upon settling at Jerusalem. There, too, he became a center of controversy by forbidding in 1889, a Sabbatical year, the cultivation of land in Palestine, though several Russian rabbis, among whom was Isaac Elhanan Spector, had decided to the contrary. The statement that Diskin was opposed to colonization in Palestine is not correct; he was not opposed to those who went with sufficient capital to buy and till land. A tireless champion of Orthodox Judaism, he endeavored to counteract the influence of Jewish reformers and English missionaries. He founded at Jerusalem an orphan asylum in opposition to a similar institution established by the liberal Jews, prohibited the use of the English missionary hospital, and refused Jewish burial to patients who died there. He also founded the yeshibah Ohel Mosheh.

Diskin was once accused of having been guilty of actions unbecoming a rabbi, but the charges were groundless. The very men who had been accustomed to visit him, and in whom he had the greatest confidence, committed the deeds with which he was charged. It should be said, furthermore, that his wife was prominent in all the struggles between him and his adversaries.

Bibliography: *Ha-Meliz*, xxix., No. 2; xxxviii., Nos. 44, 50; xl., No. 115; *Ahiasaf*, vi. 347; *Ha-Yehudi*, i., No. 14; *Ha-Ḥabazelet*, xxvii., No. 35; xxviii. No. 14; Eisenstadt, *Dor Rabbanaw we-Soferaw*, iii. 10, 11.

L. G. M. Sel.

DISNA: Town in the government of Wilna, Russia. According to the census of 1897, it has a population of 6,739, about 5,600 being Jews. Most of these are traders. About 265 persons are employed as day-laborers. Truck-farming gives occupation to 8 families, working on 5 deciatines of rented land. About 437 deciatines in the vicinity of the town are owned and cultivated by Jews. There are the usual charitable institutions, and a Jewish public school for boys and girls, with a register of 170 pupils.

H. R. S. J.

DISPECK, DAVID BEN JOEL: Talmudic scholar and homilist; born about the year 1744. He studied in the yeshibah under Joshua Cohen, among his companions being Joseph Steinhard and Jacob Berlin. Later he was named dayyan of Fürth, and in 1771 he became rabbi of Mering (Bavaria) and the Schwarzwald. In 1778 he was invited to direct the yeshibah of Metz, and finally, in 1785, he became rabbi of Beyersdorf and Baireuth. At Beyersdorf he collected his homilies into one book, entitled "Pardes Dawid" (The Garden of David), and arranged in the order of the parashiyyot. Besides the homilies the book contains 365 solutions of difficult pas sages in Maimonides' "Yad ha-Ḥazaḳah" (Sulzbach, 1786). A responsum of his is found in Jacob Berlin's "Be'er Ya'aḳob," ch. xiv., § 117.

Bibliography: Michael, *Or ha-Ḥayyim*, p. 328, No. 728; Fürst, *Bibl. Jud.* i. 209; Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 859; Fuenn, *Keneset Yisrael*, p. 232; Nepi-Ghirondi, *Toledot Gedole Yisrael*, p. 79.

L. G. M. Sel.

DISPUTATIONS (ויכוחים): Public debates on religious subjects between Jews and non-Jews. Religious differences have at all times induced serious-minded men to exchange their views in order to win opponents over to their own side by appeals to reason. Abraham is represented in the Midrash as holding a religious debate with Nimrod (see Jew. Encyc. i. 86). In Alexandria disputations between Jews and pagans were probably quite frequent. The first actual disputation before a worldly ruler took place at Alexandria about 150 B.C., under Ptolemy Philometor, between Andronicus ben Messalam (Meshullam), the Judean, and Sabbeus and Dositheus (Theodosius), Samaritans, with reference to the Scripture text which the Samaritans claimed had been omitted by the Jews in the Septuagint translations (Grätz, "Gesch." iii. 44, 650; compare Josephus, "Ant." xiii. 3, § 4). In the time of the emperor Caligula the first disputation between Jews and pagans before a ruling monarch took place at Rome, the erection of statues of Caligula in the synagogues of Alexandria having caused the Jews to send a deputation under Philo to the emperor, while the anti-Jewish party sent a deputation under Apion. It was typical of all later disputations, inasmuch as the defeat of the Jews was a foregone conclusion. Some of Philo's arguments are probably

preserved in part in his "Legatio ad Caium" (§§ 20–45). Papyri fragments discovered in recent years contain records of disputations held before Claudius and a later emperor ("Rev. Et. Juives," xxxvii. 218–223; Schürer, "Gesch." 3d ed., i. 65–70).

In 'Ab. Zarah iv. 7 and Baraita 'Ab. Zarah 54b is recorded a disputation held in Rome between pagan sages (פילוסופין) and four Jewish elders, whom Grätz properly identifies with Gamaliel II., Eleazar b. Azariah, Joshua b. Hananiah, and Akiba, who went to Rome to have Domitian's decree against the Jews withdrawn (Grätz, "Gesch." 3d ed., iv. 110). The following was the dialogue: "If your God hates idolatry, why, being omnipotent, does He not destroy it?" "Shall sun, moon, and stars, without which the world can not exist, be destroyed on account of the fools that worship them?" "But why are not other idols which are of no consequence destroyed?" "As well should seeds when stolen not grow in the soil, or a child conceived in adultery not be born. No; the world goes on in its prescribed course, and the transgressors shall meet their retribution" (compare Bacher, "Ag. Tan." i. 84). According to Eccl. R. i. 9, R. Meïr was delegated to represent the Jews at a public disputation with the government in Rome, the boar (חזיר), as the Roman emblem, being made the subject of the debate (compare Bacher, *l.c.* ii. 35 *et seq.*). R. Meïr also had disputes with the Samaritans (Gen. R. iv.; Bacher, *l.c.* pp. 32 *et seq.*).

Between Jews and Romans.

Of an altogether different nature were the disputations between Jews and Christians. At first these were bitter and sarcastic in tone, but, like quarrels between members of one household, harmless in their consequences. As they turned chiefly on Scripture interpretations, the Jew easily obtained the victory over his less skilled adversary. A number are recorded in the Talmud and Midrash between Christians called "minim" (heretics) or philosophers and R. Gamaliel II. (Yeb. 102b; Midr. Teh. to Ps. x.; Ex. R. xxx.; see Derenbourg, "Hist." 1867, p. 357; Bacher, *l.c.* i. 87) and R. Joshua b. Hananiah (Ḥag. 5b; see Bacher, *l.c.* i. 176). How prominent these disputations were in the early days of Christianity is shown by the number of fictitious dialogues written by Christians for apologetic purposes, and mainly copied one from the other, with references to the same Scriptural passages, and all of them ending in the same way: the Jew, who seldom knows how to answer, finally yields and embraces Christianity (see Origen, "Contra Celsum," iv. 52, where the disputation between Papiscus the Jew and Jason is referred to; Harnack, in "Texte und Untersuchungen," i. 1–3; Conybeare, "The Dialogues of Athanasius and Zaccheus and of Timothy and Aquila," Oxford, 1898; McGiffert, "A Dialogue Between a Christian and a Jew, Entitled *'Αντιβολὴ Παπίσκου καὶ Φίλωνος 'Ιουδαίων προς Μόναχόν τινα*," New York, 1889). Most valuable as a characteristic example of such a disputation is Justin Martyr's "Dialogue with Tryphon the Jew." The author, who frequently calls himself "philosopher," took the famous R. Tarfon (also pronounced, probably, "Tryphon": Derenbourg, *l.c.* p. 376; Grätz, *l.c.* iv. 58), noted for his fierce opposition to the Christian sect (Shab. 116a), as a typical representative of Jewish teaching, putting into his mouth rabbinical arguments for the sake of refuting them (see M. Friedländer, "Patristische und Talmudische Studien," pp. 20 *et seq.*, 80–137, Vienna, 1878; Goldfahn, "Justinus Martyr und die Agada," in "Monatsschrift," 1873, pp. 49, 104, 145, 194, 257). Often the Jew was horrified at the identification of "Christ" with the "Divine Shekinah," and termed it "blasphemy" (Friedländer, *l.c.* pp. 62 *et seq.*); and as the arguments taken from Gen. i. 26, and similar expressions regarding the Deity used in Scripture, were ever reiterated by these troublesome "heretics," he found these disputations "full of weariness" (Eccl. R. i. 9; compare Sanh. 38b, 105b; Yer. Ber. ix. 12d; Friedländer, *l.c.* pp. 62, 82). In the course of time, however, polemics became a fine art with some of the rabbis, Cæsarea, a place where Christians and Jews constantly met, being the chief school of controversy (Bacher, "Ag. Pal. Amor." i. 92). R. Simlai and R. Abahu were known as keen debaters (Bacher, *l.c.* i. 555, ii. 115). On the fictitious disputation in Rome between Pope Sylvester (314–335) and twelve Pharisaic doctors before the emperor Constantine, see Güdemann, "Gesch. des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden in Italien," 1884, pp. 39, 295.

Between Jews and Christians.

Learned disputations of a harmless nature took place frequently in Italy, and a controversial Jewish literature sprang up in the thirteenth century (see Güdemann, *l.c.* pp. 12, 24, 37, 39, 230) with the declared object of defending the truth without giving offense to the Christian Church (see Polemical Literature). Quite different was the tone of the disputations introduced in the Byzantine empire. Here Basil I., about 880, instituted such disputations, and the Jews were to be forced either to admit or to disprove "that Jesus is the culmination of the Law and the Prophets" (Grätz, *l.c.* v. 229), the result being generally expulsion and persecution. In the West, Jews and Christians disputed freely and on terms of mutual good-will in spite of occasional hostile attacks (see "Rev. Et. Juives," v. 238 *et seq.*). The impression prevailed among Christians that they were no match for the learned and witty Jews, while the latter frequently challenged the former, openly and frankly criticizing the dogmas of the Church. Among these Nathan L'Official and his son in France obtained about the close of the twelfth century great renown as bold and skilful debaters, and the disputes they had with popes, archbishops, and other prelates have been partly preserved (Grätz, *l.c.* vi. 143, 366; Güdemann, "Gesch. des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden in Frankreich und Deutschland," 1880, pp. 18, 140 *et seq.*).

In the Middle Ages.

It was only after Pope Innocent III. had infused the spirit of the Inquisition into Christendom, and the Dominicans had begun their warfare against every dissenter, that the disputations became associated with relentless persecution of the Jewish faith. Being turned into great spectacles by the presence of the dignitaries of Church and state—mock controversial tournaments in which the Jews were bound

to suffer defeat—they became a direct menace to the literature and the very lives of the Jews. In order to secure to the Church the semblance of a victory, Jewish apostates lent themselves to the task of bringing malicious charges against their former coreligionists, supporting these by ferreting out every weak and ambiguous point in the Talmud or the Jewish liturgy that might be construed as a "blasphemy" or as defamation of Jesus and Christian dogma.

Paris and Barcelona.

The first of these famous disputations took place at the royal court of Louis IX. in Paris June 25–27, 1240, in the presence of the queen-mother Blanche and the prelates of Paris, the rabbis Jehiel of Paris, Moses of Coucy, Judah ben David of Melun, and Samuel ben Solomon of Château-Thierry being ranged against Nicholas Donin, the Jewish apostate. The four rabbis were to defend the Talmud against the accusations of Donin, turning mainly upon two points: that the Talmud containes immoral sentiments and blasphemous expressions against the Deity, and that it speaks in an offensive manner of Jesus. R. Jehiel, timid at first, was encouraged by the assurance of protection by the queen, and succeeded in refuting Donin's charges by proving that Jesus, the son of Panthera, can not be the Jesus of the New Testament; that the term "goy" in the Talmud does not refer to Christians; and that the Minim who are made an object of execration in the Jewish liturgy are not born Christians, but only born Jews who have become sectaries or heretics. R. Jehiel's defense, however successful for the moment, did not save twenty-four cartloads of copies of the Talmud from being consigned to the flames two years later in Paris (see Levin in "Monatsschrift," 1869, pp. 97 *et seq.*; Grätz, *l.c.* vii. 401; Loeb, in "Rev. Et. Juives," i. 247, ii. 248, iii. 39).

Disputation Between Jewish and Christian Theologians.
(From Peter Schwarz, "Der Stern Messhiah," 1477.)

The second disputation took place at Barcelona on July 20, 1263, at the royal palace, in the presence of James I. of Aragon and his court, and of many prominent ecclesiastics and knights, between Naḥmanides and Pablo Christiani, who, like Donin, was the accuser and the instigator. The debate turned on the questions whether the Messiah had appeared or not; whether, according to Scripture, the Messiah is a divine or a human being; and whether the Jews or the Christians held the true faith.

Differing from R. Jehiel of Paris, Naḥmanides met his antagonist with fearless courage and with the dignity of a true Spaniard; and when Pablo undertook to prove from various haggadic passages the Messianic character of Jesus, Naḥmanides frankly stated that he did not believe in all the haggadic passages of the Talmud, and he went so far as to declare that he had more regard for the Christian monarch than for the Messiah. As to the question whether the Messiah had come or not, he could not believe that he had come as long as the promised cessation of all warfare had not been realized. It was a triumph for the Jewish cause, yet all the more did both the Jewish and the Christian friends of Naḥmanides warn him against the peril threatening his brethren from the terrible power of the Dominicans in case of defeat, and so, at his own request, the disputation was interrupted on the fourth day. But the enemies of the Jews were not set at rest. They claimed the victory, and when Naḥma-

nides published the frank statements he had made, the king, who had dismissed him with presents and with expressions of his regard, could no longer protect him, and he had to leave the country. Again the Talmud was made the object of attack; but this time, instead of the whole Talmud being proscribed or burned, only the offending passages were singled out for erasure by a censorial committee appointed by the king (see Grätz, *l.c.* vii. 121–124).

Of literary rather than of historical importance are the public disputations held at Burgos and Avila in 1375 by Moses Cohen de Tordesillas with the apostates John of Valladolid and Abner of Burgos, and that held about the same time in Pampeluna by Shem-Ṭob ben Isaac Shaprut of Tudela with Cardinal Don Pedro de Luna, afterward Pope Benedict XIII., the disputations being made the subjects of the books "'Ezer ha-Emunah" (by Moses) and "Eben Boḥan" (by Shem-Ṭob: see Polemics and Polemical Literature).

The most remarkable disputation in Jewish history, for the pomp and splendor accompanying it, the time it lasted, and the number of Jews that took part therein, is the one held at the summons of the antipope Benedict XIII. in Tortosa. It began in Feb., 1413, and ended Nov., 1414, and was presided over by the pope in state, surrounded by the cardinals and dignitaries of the Church who still retained allegiance to him, while hundreds of monks and knights and men of all degrees were among the audience. Joshua Lorqui (Geronimo de Santa Fé), the apostate, was to prove from the Talmud that Jesus was the Messiah, and the twenty-two most distinguished rabbis and scholars of the kingdom of Aragon had the choice of refuting his arguments or—and this was the scarcely concealed purpose of the pope, anxious to regain power and prestige through the conversion of the Jews of Spain—espousing the Christian faith. To judge from the fragmentary records, there was no great erudition or acumen displayed either by the aggressor, who dwelt on a few haggadic passages concerning the Messiah, or by the defenders, who no longer possessed the courage and self-confidence shown by Naḥmanides. The sixty-nine sessions passed without any other result than that neither the blandishments nor the threats of the pope, nor the fierce attack on the Talmud made by Lorqui, the pope's physician and chief adviser, could induce the Jews to become traitors to their heritage. A papal bull (May, 1415) of eleven clauses, forbidding the study of the Talmud and inflicting all kinds of degradation upon the Jews, showed the spirit that had prompted the disputation (see Grätz, *l.c.* viii. 116, 406). Under James II. of Castile, about 1430, Joseph ben Shem-Ṭob and Ḥayyim ibn Musa held frequent disputations with learned Christians at the court of Granada, but henceforth disputations became rare and of no historical importance.

Disputation of Tortosa.

Religious Disputation Between Jews and Christians.
(From Kohut, "Geschichte der Deutschen Juden.")

Belonging to the class of friendly disputations (*ib.* viii. 417, note 4) are those, whether authentic or embellished by legend, mentioned in Solomon ibn Verga's "Shebeṭ Yehudah": (1) Between Don Joseph ibn Yaḥya and King Alfonso V. of Portugal, (*a*) concerning Jesus' miraculous powers; (*b*) regarding the perpetual character of the Mosaic law; (*c*) as to the efficacy of the prayer of a non-Jew; (*d*) whether the hosts of angels are numerable or infinite; (*e*) why sorcery, being based on error, is so severely punished in Scripture. (2) Between three Jewish artisans taken from the street, and Don Joseph ibn Benveniste ha-Levi with Alfonso XI. of Castile, (*a*) on the qualities of God; (*b*) on the distance between earth and heaven; (*c*) on the sun's radiation of heat; (*d*) on the forbidden fat and blood of animals; (*e*) on the night's sleep; (*f*) on the immortality of the soul. (3) Between Don Samuel Abrabalia and Don Solomon ha-Levi and Pope Martin (Hebrew text has מרקו; see Grätz, *l.c.* viii. 128, note), (*a*) concerning the fierce words of Simon b. Yoḥai, "The best of the heathen deserves killing" (טוב שבגוים הרוג: Mek., Beshallaḥ, i.; Yer. Ḳid. iv. 66c; Massek., Soferim, xv. 9; see Müller's ed., note); (*b*) on Jer. l. 12 (Hebr.), "The end of the heathen is shame and desolation"; (*c*) on Simon b. Yoḥai's utterance, "You are called men, but the other nations are not called men" (B. M. 114b; Yeb. 61a; compare Lazarus, "Ethics of Judaism," i. 264, Philadelphia, 1900). (4) Between Don Pedro IV. of Aragon (1336–1387) and his physician, who, when asked why the Jews were not allowed to drink the wine touched by a Christian, had water brought to wash the king's

Friendly Disputations.

feet, of which he then drank to show that the fear of impurity was not the reason of the prohibition (Grätz, *l.c.* i. 12). (5) Between Don Abraham Benveniste, Don Joseph ha-Nasi (ben Abraham ibn Benveniste) and R. Samuel ibn Shoshan of Ecija, and Don Alfonso XI. on the social conduct of the Jews, their usury and avarice, their musical accomplishments, their luxury, the Jewish sages ascribing Jewish usury to Christian legislation; as regards the dishonest means by which the Jews were said to have obtained wealth, they remarked, "We Jews are treated like the mice: one mouse eats the cheese, and people say, 'The mice have done it.' For the wrong-doing of one the whole race is made responsible" (*ib.* viii. 25–27). (6) Between a Christian and a Jew, before Don Alfonso (V.?) of Portugal, on the Messianic passages in Ps. xxii., and on the hyperbolical haggadic passages in the Talmud. (7) The remarkable disputation of Ephraim ben (Don) Sango (Sancho? more probably identical with the famous poet Don Santo de Carrion; see "Orient, Lit." 1851, xii., though disputed by Kayserling, "Sephardim," p. 328, note) with Don Pedro IV. on the question, Which religion is the better, the Jewish or the Christian? the Jewish sage answering with the parable of the two precious jewels and the two sons, obviously the original of the parable of the three rings, taken from Boccaccio by Lessing for his "Nathan the Wise" (see Wünsche, in Lessing-Mendelssohn's "Gedenkbuch," 1879, pp. 329 *et seq.*). The story of a disputation on the question, Which is the best religion? is, however, very old. One is said to have taken place about 740, before Bulan, the king of the Chazars, who, uncertain whether to exchange his heathen religion, which he had come to abhor, for Mohammedanism or Christianity, summoned representatives of these two creeds, as well as of Judaism, for a disputation. None could convince him of the superiority of his faith, and Bulan resolved to espouse the Jewish, since both Christian and Mohammedan referred to it as the basis of their own, and each recognized it as superior to the others (see Chazars). Upon this story the religious disputations in Judah ha-Levi's "Cuzari" are based. The story of a disputation occurs in Russian legends regarding Vladimir's conversion, but with a different result (see Karamsin, "History of Russia," bk. i., ch. vii.).

In order to have a great spectacle to excite the passions of the ignorant masses, John Capistrano, the Franciscan Jew-baiter, arranged in 1450 a disputation at Rome with a certain Gamaliel called "Synagogæ Romanæ magister," but otherwise very little known (see Vogelstein and Rieger, "Gesch. der Juden in Rom," 1895, ii. 14). Disputations of a friendly character were held at the court of Ercole d'Este I. at Ferrara by Abraham Farissol with two learned monks, the one a Dominican, the other a Franciscan, the matter of which is produced in Farissol's "Magen Abraham" and "Wikkuah ha-Dat" (see Grätz, *l.c.* ix. 45). In Germany it was the Jewish apostate Victor of Carben who, under the direction of Herrman, the Archbishop of Cologne, and in the presence of many courtiers, ecclesiastics, and knights, held a disputation with some Jews of the Rhine provinces about 1500, accusing them of blasphemy against the Christian religion; the consequence of this disputation was that the Jews were expelled from the lower Rhine district (*ib.* lx. 70).

In Italy, Germany, and Poland.

Quite different in tone and character were the disputations held by the Jews, both Rabbinites and Karaites, with Christians of various denominations in Poland at the close of the sixteenth century. Here the Jews, untrammeled by clerical or state despotism, freely criticized the various religious sects, and it was considered a difficult task for a Christian to convert a Jew (*ib.* ix. 456; see Isaac b. Abraham Troki). Occasionally disputations for conversionist purposes were arranged at German courts. One is reported to have taken place at the ducal court of Hanover, about 1700, in the presence of the duke, the dowager-duchess, the princes, clergy, and all the distinguished personages of the city, between Rabbi Joseph of Stadthagen and Eliezer Edzard, who had had been the instigator of the disputation. It ended in the complete victory of the rabbi, who not only refuted all the arguments of his antagonist from Scripture and the Midrash, but under the full approval of the court declined to answer under oath the question as to which religion was the best. He said: "We condemn no creed based upon the belief in the Creator of heaven and earth. We believe what we have been taught; let the Christians adhere to what they have been taught" (Bloch in "Oesterreichische Wochenschrift," 1902, p. 785).

An Eighteenth Century Disputation.

Regarding the disputations between the rabbis and the Frankists before Bishop Dembowski at Kamenetz in 1757, and before the canon Nikulski at Lemberg in 1759, see Frank, Jacob. For others, see Steinschneider in "Monatsschrift," 1883, pp. 80 *et seq.*, and his "Uebersetzungen," pp. 305, 461.

Bibliography: Isidore Loeb, *La Controverse Réligieuse Entre les Chrétiens et les Juifs au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1888; I. Ziegler, *Religiöse Disputationen im Mittelalter*, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1894, reproduced in Hamburger, *R. B. T.* Supplement, v. 1900, s.v. *Disputationen*.

G. K.

D'ISRAELI, BENJAMIN: **1.** English merchant and financier; born in Venice Sept. 22, 1730; died at Stoke Newington, London, in 1816. He went to England in 1748, and settled there as a merchant, though he did not take out papers of denization till 1801.

Though a conforming Jew, and though contributing liberally toward the support of the synagogue, D'Israeli appears never to have cordially or intimately mixed with the community; only on one occasion did he serve in a minor office—that of inspector of charity schools in the year 1782.

2. Public notary in Dublin, Ireland, 1788–96; died at Beechey Park, county of Carlow, Aug. 9, 1814, and was buried in St. Peter's churchyard, Dublin.

Bibliography: B. Disraeli, Introduction to Isaac D'Israeli's *Collected Works*, 1858; Picciotto, *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*; *Dict. National Biography*, s.v. *D'Israeli, Isaac*; *Jewish World*, April 22, 1881.

J. G. L.

DISRAELI, BENJAMIN, EARL OF BEACONSFIELD: English statesman; born at London, England, Dec. 21, 1804; died there April 19, 1881. The son of Isaac D'Israeli, he was descended from a wealthy Sephardic family of Venice, his grandfather having come to England to engage in commerce. He was educated at a private school, at which he used to "stand back" when Christian prayers were recited; but at the suggestion of the poet Rogers was baptized in 1817, immediately after the death of his grandfather, Benjamin D'Israeli. At the age of seventeen Disraeli was articled to Swain & Stevenson, solicitors, in the Old Jewry, and in 1824 entered Lincoln's Inn, but withdrew his name in 1831. At the age of twenty-two Disraeli wrote the novel "Vivian Grey," a political satire, and leaped into sudden notoriety. His health giving way, he spent the next three years traveling in the East. On this journey he visited Jerusalem, whence he derived the impressions which distinguish "Tancred," and probably those which afterward determined his philo-Turkish policy. Returning to England, he unsuccessfully contested High Wycombe (1834) and Taunton (1835). At Taunton he attacked the policy of O'Connell, the Irish patriot, who had written him a commendatory letter when he stood for Wycombe. O'Connell, replying, spoke of "the impenitent thief who died on the cross, and whose name, I verily believe, must have been Disraeli." Disraeli challenged the son of O'Connell to a duel on behalf of his father, but the affair came to nothing.

(After the painting by Sir J. E. Millais.)

By this time Disraeli was well known. He had written in 1828 "The Infernal Marriage," "Ixion in Heaven," and "Popanilla," satirical burlesques. In 1836 his "Letters from Runnymede," directed against the government, caused considerable comment. Disraeli now mingled in the best society, though handicapped by a tendency to obtrude his personality. He adopted eccentricities of dress and opinion which nearly ruined his political prospects. Between 1831 and 1839 he wrote "The Young Duke," "Contarini Fleming," "The Wondrous Tale of Alroy"—the only novel by him dealing entirely with a Jewish subject (see Alroy)—"The Rise of Iskander," "Vindication of the British Constitution," "The Revolutionary Epic," "Venetia," "Henrietta Temple," and "The Tragedy of Count Alarcos."

On the dissolution of 1837 Disraeli was returned for Maidstone with Mr. Wyndham Lewis. Disraeli's first speech in the House of Commons was a fiasco. His extraordinary appearance, his theatrical delivery, and above all the enmity of the O'Connell faction robbed him of the leniency usually shown to the maiden speeches of new members, and he was not allowed to finish; he sat down with the memorable prediction that the time would come when they would hear him. Sir Robert Peel, however, by no means acquiesced in the adverse judgment. In 1839 Disraeli married Mrs. Wyndham Lewis, the widow of his late colleague, and was thenceforth free from pecuniary cares. He now purchased the country estate of Hughenden, and in 1841 was returned for Shrewsbury as a follower of Peel. The alliance did not last long. Peel gradually turned toward free trade, though his party had been elected pledged to protection, Disraeli becoming the spokesman of the malcontents. About this time he published two remarkable novels, "Coningsby" and "Sybil." The main idea of "Coningsby" was that the crown, released by the Reform Bill from an aristocracy which had usurped its functions, might regain its suspended powers, and thus solve many of the difficulties of the time. But "Coningsby" contains more than that. The most impressive character in the book is Sidonia, a Jew of immense wealth, through whom Disraeli expounds many of his views.

Views on Judaism.

Disraeli was proud of his Hebrew descent. He regarded Christianity as developed Judaism. "One half the world worships a Jew and the other half a Jewess," he said. Disraeli classed the Jews among the Caucasian nations, and claimed that no amount of persecution could destroy an unmixed and splendidly organized race. The Jews, he claimed, were

the aristocracy of nature. Disraeli did not plead for toleration, but for the admission of Jews to full privileges on account of their especial merits. "If the Jews had not prevailed upon the Romans to crucify our Lord, what would have become of the Atonement?" he asks in "Tancred." In "Coningsby" Sidonia says: "The Jews, independently of the capital qualities for citizenship which they possess, are a race essentially monarchical, deeply religious, and essentially Tories. The fact is, you can not crush a pure race of Caucasian organization. It is a physiological fact, a simple law of nature, which has baffled Egyptian and Assyrian kings, Roman emperors, and Christian inquisitors." He then remarks that the Jews lead all the intellectual movements in Europe, monopolize professorial chairs, and enter into political affairs. He, however, makes the blunder of classifying Soult and Masséna as Jews. Disraeli appears genuinely to have believed in Christianity as developed Judaism. He detested Colenso and the essayists of his school. In rejecting Darwinism he said: "I am on the side of the angels."

Advocates Jewish Emancipation.

In his "Life of Lord George Bentinck" Disraeli devotes a chapter to a statement of the Jewish case. He begins by declaring that the Roman massacres, and the fact that the Diaspora had begun long before the death of Christ, make it impossible that the Jews of to-day can be descended from those who attended the crucifixion. Further, he says, the theory that the Jews are now expiating their offense is not dogmatically sound. "The native tendency of the Jewish race," he continues, "is against the doctrine of the equality of man. They have also another characteristic —the faculty of acquisition. Thus it will be seen that all the tendencies of the Jewish race are conservative. Their bias is to religion, property, and natural aristocracy, and it should be the interest of statesmen that . . . their energies and creative powers should be enlisted in the cause of existing society." Disraeli consistently and honorably supported all the bills for the removal of Jewish disabilities, and his conduct in this regard earned him the admiration of his great rival, Mr. Gladstone. "Sybil" deals with the squalor and wretchedness of the factory-workers. Here the Church is to play the part ascribed to the crown in "Coningsby." In 1847 "Tancred" appeared. In this book the hero, a duke's son, of course, goes to Jerusalem to seek inspiration, and Disraeli then describes the scenes which he had visited in early life.

He now bade farewell to literature for nearly five and twenty years. In 1848 Isaac D'Israeli died, and in the same year the death of Lord George Bentinck gave the Conservative leadership to Disraeli. During the next three years he reorganized the party, and won back the Peelites to Conservatism. In 1852 Lord Derby came into office and Disraeli became chancellor of the exchequer; but his budget was defeated in the first few months of the administration, and the Coalition Cabinet came into power. In 1852 he wrote the "Life of Lord George Bentinck," in which, besides his plea for the Jews, he gives a graphic account of the free-trade struggle. During the war with Russia he loyally supported the Coalition, but when the Aberdeen ministry fell in consequence of the mismanagement of the war, Lord Derby refused to take office without the aid of Mr. Gladstone or Lord Palmerston. This scornful treatment of his own followers angered Disraeli exceedingly. Disraeli was then forty-five years of age: he had lost an opportunity which did not again come to him for many years. In 1858 he and Lord Derby took office for a few months, but were beaten on their new Reform Bill. This year was distinguished by the admission of Jews to Parliament. The elections failed to give Lord Derby a clear majority, and the ministry was turned out of office on the ground of its failure to prevent the war between France and Austria. In 1863 Disraeli came into possession of the fortune of Mrs. Brydges Willyams, a lady of Jewish parentage who had taken great interest in him owing to his Jewish birth and connection with the De Laras, with whom her own family, the Mendez da Costas, had intermarried.

In Office.

The great question which now agitated England was that of reform. In 1865 Lord Palmerston died, and the new premier, Lord John Russell, introduced a bill which was defeated on a matter of detail. He resigned, and Derby and Disraeli came into power. There had been some talk of ignoring Disraeli in favor of another leader, as he had made several tactical errors; but he had lived down his eccentricities and reconstructed his party, and though he had failed on the whole to win their confidence, he was too formidable to be overlooked. It was now that he made the celebrated "leap in the dark," which drew down upon him the wrath of Carlyle, who described him as "a superlative Hebrew conjurer, spellbinding all the great lords, great parties, great interests, of England." His new policy was bitterly denounced by many of his own party, but nevertheless restored the Conservatives to public confidence. Perceiving that reform was inevitable, he outbid the Whigs and introduced a bill of a far more radical nature than that proposed by his opponents. He lost three of his party in the process, Lord Cranborne (afterward Lord Salisbury), Lord Carnarvon, and General Peel; but the measure became law.

Lord Derby now retired from political life and Disraeli became premier. In 1869 the elections went against him, and he yielded office to Mr. Gladstone. Refusing a peerage on giving up office, he nevertheless had his wife created Viscountess of Beaconsfield in her own right; four years later she died. In 1874 he was once more returned to power. It was the first time there had been a clear Tory majority for more than thirty years; and since 1848 he had had no real chance to display his abilities. Now nearly seventy, he was compelled to exchange the House of Commons for the less strenuous atmosphere of the House of Lords, becoming Earl of Beaconsfield in 1876. At this time several Turkish provinces were in rebellion, and Russia, in defiance of treaty obligations, declared war upon the sultan. Public feeling was greatly excited against Turkey by the atrocities committed by the irregular troops in Bulgaria (which, however, were subsequently found to be greatly exaggerated), and Lord Beaconsfield was

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THE BERLIN CONGRESS, 1878

BENJAMIN DISRAELI, EARL OF BEACONSFIELD IN CONFERENCE WITH PRINCE GORTSCHAKOFF

overruled in his desire to intervene on behalf of Turkey. His political enemies accused him of "Semitic instincts," though the Turks are not a Semitic race. But when Russia had practically effaced the Turkish empire in Europe by the treaty of San Stefano, Lord Beaconsfield sent the British fleet into the Dardanelles and brought Indian troops to Malta as an indication of the intentions of the British government. This latter act subjected him to the accusation of undermining the liberties of England by unconstitutional procedures. Russia submitted, and agreed to the discussion of the whole affair at the Congress of Berlin. Lord Beaconsfield went as a delegate, accompanied by the Marquis of Salisbury, and succeeded in compelling Russia to modify materially the terms of the treaty. By this congress it was decreed that Rumania should grant full religious freedom to her subjects. Disraeli's public interference on behalf of the Jews of Rumania consisted in supporting M. Waddington, who introduced the subject on behalf of France; but it is believed that he was more active, and took the initiative behind the diplomatic scenes. His whole conduct of affairs at the congress extorted the admiration of the assembled diplomats of Europe, and he had reason to boast on his return that he had brought back "peace with honor" (see Berlin Congress).

At Berlin Congress.

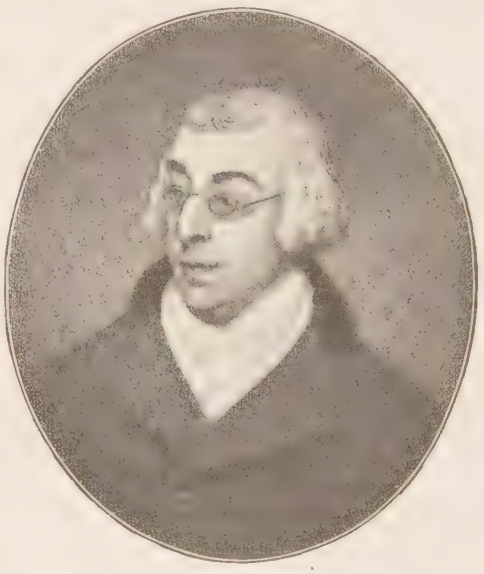
Among the other acts of Lord Beaconsfield during his administration was the enactment of the law by which Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India. He annexed Cyprus, and in return for it guaranteed the protection of the Turkish dominions in Asia Minor. By a clever piece of business foresight he purchased a number of shares in the Suez Canal, which have since increased in value to an enormous extent. This was done at his own personal initiative, acting on a hint of Mr. Greenwood, and was carried through with the aid of the Rothschilds, who took some risks in buying the shares before Parliament had ratified the sale. Disraeli was on familiar terms with the Rothschild family, and would often listen at their table to the Hebrew grace after meals intoned according to the usual cantillation. "I like to listen to the old tunes," he remarked on one occasion.

In 1880 Mr. Gladstone was again returned on questions of domestic legislation. Lord Beaconsfield had no prospects of surviving Gladstone's administration, but nevertheless continued to direct the affairs of his party until his death. During his later years he wrote two more novels: "Lothair" (1870) and "Endymion" (1880). The anniversary of his death is celebrated as "Primrose Day," and in connection with it a large Conservative organization has grown up, known as the "Primrose League."

Bibliography: *Dictionary of National Biography*; Froude, *Earl of Beaconsfield*; Georg Brandes, *Lord Beaconsfield*.

J. V. E.

D'ISRAELI, ISAAC: English author; born at Enfield, Middlesex, May, 1766; died at Bradenham Jan. 19, 1848. He was the only son of Benjamin D'Israeli, and after completing his studies and travels, he first appeared in print (Dec., 1786) with a vindication of Dr. Johnson's character in the "Gentleman's Magazine." In 1790 he published his first volume in verse, entitled "A Defense of Poetry." An attack on "Peter Pindar" (Dr. T. Wolcot) first drew attention to D'Israeli, and he soon obtained introductions to various literary men. Now finally adopting a literary career, the following twenty years of his life were spent in the production of a succession of literary works, which rapidly made his reputation and met with considerable success. In 1791 he issued anonymously a collection of ana entitled "Curiosities of Literature," which had an immediate vogue. He added a second volume in 1793, a third in 1817, two more in 1823, and a sixth in 1834. "A Dissertation on Anecdotes" appeared in 1793, "An Essay on the Literary Character" in 1795, "Miscellanies of Literary Recollections" in 1796, "Calamities of Authors" in 1812–13, and "Quarrels of Authors" in 1814. These works con-



I. D'Israeli

(From a drawing by Drummond, published in the "Monthly Mirror," 1797.)

tain a large amount of interesting matter, not always very reliable, on the lives of authors, and have formed a fund of anecdotage from which succeeding writers have drawn copiously. Their accuracy was impugned by Bolton Corney, who opened with D'Israeli a fresh chapter of the "quarrels of authors" in 1837–38.

D'Israeli also tried his hand at romances; but these were never successful. In 1797 three were published—viz., "Vaurien: A Sketch of the Times"; "Flim-Flams, or the Life of My Uncle"; and "Mejnoun and Leila, the Arabian Petrarch and Laura," said to be the earliest Oriental romance in the English language and which was translated into German in 1804. D'Israeli's last novel, "Despotism, or the Fall of the Jesuits," appeared in 1811.

Meanwhile his reputation was growing apace. His article on Pope in the "Quarterly Review" for 1820 aroused a controversy in which Bowles, Byron,

Roscoe, and Campbell took part. Between 1828 and 1830 appeared in 5 vols. D'Israeli's "Commentary on the Life and Reign of Charles I.," based on original documents. In recognition of this production he was made a D.C.L. at Oxford in 1832. In 1833 he issued anonymously the "Genius of Judaism," in which he wrote enthusiastically of Israel's past history, but deplored its social exclusiveness in his own day. He had expressed similar views in his "Vaurien" (1797), and in an article on Moses Mendelssohn in the "Monthly Review" for July, 1798.

Religiously, Isaac D'Israeli was a man far in advance of his times, and was perhaps the first English Jew who took the modern attitude toward Jewish ceremonial. In 1813 D'Israeli was elected warden of the Bevis Marks Synagogue, to which both he and his father had been attached. This office he declined, expressing surprise that he should have been elected at so late a period in his life. No notice was taken of his communication; and in accordance with established usage the recalcitrant was fined £40. Some correspondence ensued, in which D'Israeli, after expressing his unwillingness to pay the fine, finally saying: "I am under the painful necessity of wishing that my name be erased from the list of your members of Yehedim." D'Israeli never returned to the Jewish fold, and his sons and connections embraced the Christian faith. D'Israeli himself did not, however, receive baptism, and never evinced any desire to exchange Judaism for Christianity. He attended the inauguration ceremonies of the Reformed Synagogue at Berkeley street, London.

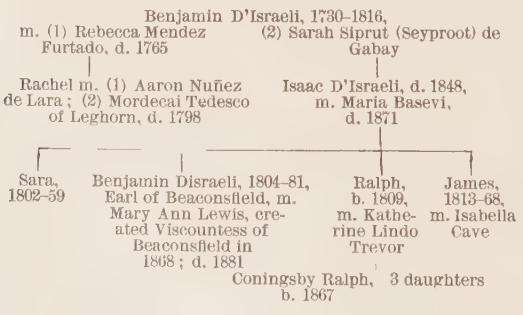
Toward the close of 1839 D'Israeli suffered from paralysis of the optic nerve; and he was totally blind for the rest of his life. He managed, however, to complete his "Amenities of Literature" (1840), which was followed by a revised edition of the "Curiosities" (1841) and a paper in the "Gentleman's Magazine," his last work.

D'Israeli married Maria Basevi, sister of Joshua Basevi, and left as issue four sons and one daughter, of whom the best known was Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield.

Bibliography: *Jewish World*, April 22, 1881; Picciotto, *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*; *Dict. National Biography*; B. Disraeli, Memoir prefixed to Isaac D'Israeli's *Collected Works*, 1858.

J. G. L.

DISRAELI PEDIGREE: The following is a genealogical tree of the Disraeli family:


Benjamin D'Israeli, 1730–1816,
m. (1) Rebecca Mendez Furtado, d. 1765
(2) Sarah Siprut (Seyproot) de Gabay
Rachel m. (1) Aaron Nuñez de Lara; (2) Mordecai Tedesco of Leghorn, d. 1798
Isaac D'Israeli, d. 1848, m. Maria Basevi, d. 1871
Sara, 1802–59
Benjamin Disraeli, 1804–81, Earl of Beaconsfield, m. Mary Ann Lewis, created Viscountess of Beaconsfield in 1868; d. 1881
Ralph, b. 1809, m. Katherine Lindo Trevor
James, 1813–68, m. Isabella Cave
Coningsby Ralph, b. 1867
3 daughters

Lord Beaconsfield could trace his ancestry only back to his grandfather of the same name, who arrived in England from Venice in 1759 (though he himself dated his grandfather's arrival 1748). Benjamin Disraeli, however, claimed that the Disraelis were of Sephardic stock, exiled from Spain in 1492, and that they had settled in Venice for the intervening 250 years. As will be seen from the pedigree, the English branch intermarried with the families of Mendez Furtado, Nuñez de Lara, Tedesco, Siprut, Basevi, and Lindo. A Benjamin Disraeli of Dublin (d. 1814) was also probably a relation, though the connection has not been defined.

Bibliography: J. Foster, *Collectanea Genealogica*, i. 6 *et seq.*, London, 1883.

J. H. Gut.

DISTAFF: A stick on which flax or wool was wound ready for hand-spinning before the spinning-wheel came into use. It was held under the left arm, or stuck in the girdle, of the spinner. The fibers were drawn from it and twisted by the thumb and forefinger of the right hand. The thread so spun was wound on an oval reel, generally provided at its thickest part with a ring hanging from the thread and turning with it during spinning in order to insure regularity of the movement. In Israel the use of the distaff was deemed the "wisdom" of women (אין חכמה לאשה אלא בפלך, Yoma, 66b); and the articles manufactured were sold even in foreign countries (Pes. 50b; Ket. 106a; Prov. xxxi. 24). The spinning-women had a share in equipping the sanctuary (Ex. xxxv. 26). According to Parḥon, Prov. xxxi. 19 reads: "[The housewife] stretches her hands out to the distaff [כישור], and her fingers lay hold of the spindle [פלך]"; but Ḳimḥi and Abu al-Walid invert the meanings, "kishar" being the spindle or ring, and "pelek" the distaff (compare II Sam. iii. 29, Hebr., "pelek" = staff).

In the Talmud the distaff is known as אימה (עימה) (Kel. xi. 6, xxi. 1) and as ארנס or אורנס, the Arabic "'irnas" (Shab. 91b). An extended description of the spinning implements is given by Maimonides in his commentary on Parah xii. 8 (ed. Derenbourg, "Seder Ṭohorot," pp. 241 *et seq.*, Berlin, 1889).

Bibliography: Riehm, *Bibl. Handwörterbuch*; Smith, *Dict. of the Bible*, s.v. *Spinning*; Rieger, *Versuch einer Technologie und Terminologie der Handwerke in der Mischnah*, pp. 14 *et seq.*, and Preface (*Litteraturangabe*).

M. Sc.—E. G. H.

DITTEL, LEOPOLD RITTER VON: Austrian surgeon; born at Fulneck, Moravia, May 15, 1815; died at Vienna July 28, 1898. He was educated at the gymnasia of Troppau and Brünn, and at the University of Vienna, whence he was graduated as doctor of medicine in 1840.

After acting for a short time as assistant physician at the gymnastic-orthopedic institute of Zink in Vienna, he engaged in practise as a physician at Trentschin-Teplitz, Hungary. Being busy only during the summer months, he studied during the winter in Vienna under Skoda, Rokitansky, and Hebra, and in 1852 became assistant to Dlauhy in Vienna. From 1853 to 1857 he was assistant to Dumreicher and assistant surgeon at the hospital of the University of Vienna. In 1856 he became privat-docent at the university; in 1861 he was appointed surgeon-in-chief of the Allgemeine Krankenhaus, and in 1865 he was made assistant professor. Dittel was the founder (1864) and for a long time chief of the surgical-

anatomical institute of the university. Resigning his academic position in 1875, he refused in 1880 the appointment of professor at the university in succession to Dumreicher. Soon afterward he was ennobled.

Dittel made a special study of urinology, in which branch he was very eminent. In 1894 he made a report on 800 operations for stone performed by him. His greatest achievements were: the construction of a carrier for drugs for local treatment of the urethra; the endoscopic diagnosis, especially of tumors of the bladder; the electrical lamp instead of the platina wire on the end of the cystoscope; operations on the bladder through the rectum (see Albert's memorial speech on Dittel in "Wiener Klinische Wochenschrift," 1898, No. 42).

Dittel embraced the Catholic faith. He was a prolific writer. Of his many essays and works may be mentioned: "Ueber Klumpfuss," 1851; "Skoliose," 1853; "Beiträge zur Pathologie und Therapie der Männlichen Geschlechtstheile," 1859; "Sekundäre Luxation des Hüftgelenkes," 1861; "Der Katheterismus," 1864; "Beitrag zur Lehre der Hypertrophie der Prostata," in "Oesterreichischer Medizinischer Jahrbericht," 1867; "Der Steinsauger," in "Allgemeine Wiener Medizinische Zeitung," 1870; "Die Stricturen der Harnröhre," in Pitha-Billroth's "Handbuch der Chirurgie," ii., part 2, 1872; "Zur Behandlung der Hypertrophie der Vorsteherdrüse," in "Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift," 1876; "Operationen der Blasensteine," *ib.* 1880; "Nierencalculose," *ib.* 1881.

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S. F. T. H.

DIVEKAR, ABRAHAM SAMUEL: Beni-Israel soldier; born near Bombay about 1830. He enlisted in the Nineteenth Regiment native infantry March 1, 1851; was promoted to the rank of a jemedar Jan. 1, 1872; and was appointed subedar Sept. 10, 1878. Divekar was present at the battles of Multan, Gujarat, Punjab, and received a medal and two clasps. He was also in the Afghan war of 1878–80, where he lost his right arm in the battle of Deh-Khoja (Aug. 16, 1880), again obtaining a medal for bravery.

J. J. Hy.

DIVEKAR, SAMUEL EZEKIEL (Samajee Hasajee): Soldier in the service of the East India Company and second founder of the Beni-Israel congregation of Bombay; born at Cochin in 1730; died there in 1797. He enlisted in the East India Company's army about 1760, and rose to the rank of native commandant in the Sixth Battalion. While serving in the second Mysore war, under General Matthews, he was taken prisoner with several other Beni-Israel by Tippu Sahib, and he and his companions were about to be executed; but when they stated that they were Beni-Israel the mother of Tippu Sahib, who was familiar with that name in the Koran, begged their lives; and Divekar and his companions were cast into prison. He made a vow that if he were released he would devote his life to reviving Judaism among the Beni-Israel of Bombay; and on escaping in 1795, he went to that city, and by his exertions induced the Beni-Israel to build a synagogue and adopt the ritual and Jewish observances current in Cochin. A synagogue was erected in 1796; but Divekar died the following year in his native place, whither he had gone to obtain scrolls of the Law for the new congregation.

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J.

DIVINATION: The forecasting of the future by certain signs or movements of external things, or by visions in certain ecstatic states of the soul (see Dreams and Prophecy). Divination rests on the belief that spirits inhabit the various elements of life and are able to impart the knowledge of the future to man, and it is, like all idolatrous practises, forbidden by the Law. "Neither shall ye use enchantments nor practise augury." "Turn ye not unto them that have familiar spirits nor unto the wizards" (Lev. xix. 26, 31, Hebr.). "There shall not be found with thee . . . one that uses divination, one that practiseth augury, or an enchanter, or a sorcerer, or a charmer, or a consulter with a familiar spirit, or a wizard, or a necromancer. For whosoever doeth these things is an abomination unto the Lord, and because of these abominations the Lord thy God doth drive them out from before thee" (Deut. xviii. 10, 11, Hebr.).

The general term for "divination" in Hebrew is קסם (Deut. *l.c.*; I Sam. vi. 2, xv. 23 [A. V. "witchcraft"], xxviii. 8: קסמי נא לי באוב, "divine unto me by the familiar spirit"; Ezek. xii. 24; Isa. iii. 2 [A. V. "prudent"]; Zech. x. 2; and elsewhere). Balaam used divination (Num. xxii. 7, xxiii. 22; Josh. xiii. 22 [A. V. "soothsayer"]). For the original meaning or etymology of קסם reference has been made to Ezek. xxi. 26 (21), where Nebuchadnezzar is represented as standing at the parting of the ways and shaking the arrows to and fro to determine which way he should go, whether to Jerusalem or to the capital of the Ammonites. Accordingly "ḳasam" is explained after the Arabic "istaḳsam" (to obtain a divine decision), from "ḳasam" (distribute, or divide), as signifying the casting of lots by throwing the arrows from the quiver, a practise familiar to the Arab Bedouins (see Jerome to Ezek. *l.c.*; Herodotus, iv. 67; Gesenius, "Thesaurus," *s.v.*; W. R. Smith, in "Journal of Philology," xiii. 276; Wellhausen, "Skizzen und Vorarbeiten," 1887, pp. 126 *et seq.*).

Specific forms of divinations are mentioned in Lev. xix. 26 (מעונן, "enchantments"); Deut. xviii. 10, 14 (R. V. "augury"); Judges ix. 37 (Hebr. "the soothsayers' terebinth"); II Kings xxi. 6; Isa. ii. 6 ("the Philistines are filled with מקדם [probably to be emended to מקסם = "divination"] and soothsayers"); Isa. lvii. 3 (בני עוננה, A. V. "ye sons of the sorceress"); Jer. xxvii. 9; Micah v. 11 (12). The real meaning and etymology of the word are obscure. Smith (*l.c.*) explains it from the Arabic "'ann" (to murmur, or hum hoarsely), this being the practise of the Arabic soothsayer. The explanation suggested by the Hebrew and adopted by most commentators and lexicographers is "the observation of the movements of the clouds" (ענן; compare Jer. x. 2; Josephus, "B. J." vi. 5, § 3). Lenormant

("Magie und Wahrsagekunst," p. 456), quoting a Babylonian rule, "When bluish dark clouds rise on the horizon the wind will blow during the day," and a divination from the movement of the clouds from the time of the Byzantine emperor Leo I. favors this explanation of מעונן, offered also by Ibn Ezra on Lev. *ad loc.* Also the "terebinth of the soothsayers" (Judges *l.c.*; compare II Sam. v. 24) indicates "the practise of divination from the movements of air-currents (see Baudissin, "Studien zur Deutschen Religionsgeschichte," 1878, ii. 226). Luther's translation, "Tageswächter" (Observer of Auspicious Times; see Rashi *ad loc.*), rests on an etymological combination with עת, עונה (= "time").

מנחש (lit. "he that observes the movement or the hissing of the serpent," נחש; see Baudissin, *l.c.* i. 287) is a term used in general for one who observes omens (Gen. xliv. 5, 15, A. V. "divineth"; Lev. xix. 26, A. V. "augury"; Num. xxiii. 23, xxiv. 1; II Kings xvii. 17, xxi. 6, A. V. "enchantments"; compare Gen. xxx. 27; I Kings xx. 33). The term is applied in the story of Joseph (Gen. *l.c.*) to the observation of figures formed by water or oil in a cup, called by the Greeks "hydromancy." It was known also to the Romans, who ascribed its origin to the Persians, with whom the practise was especially in vogue, as may be learned from the cup of Jemshid in the Shah Nameh. But the Chaldeans and Arabians were also familiar with it (see Lenormant, *l.c.* pp. 463 *et seq.*; Lane, "Customs and Manners of the Modern Egyptians," ii. 362). Another form of divination is the casting of rods (see Hosea iv. 6): "My people ask counsel at their stock, and their staff declareth unto them"—a practise called "rhabdomancy" or "xylomancy" by the Greeks, and similar to the casting of arrows mentioned above (see the commentaries *ad loc.* and Wellhausen, *l.c.*).

ראה בכבד (Ezek. *l.c.*), "looking in the liver," is the Greek "hepatoscopy." (See Lenormant, *l.c.* p. 153, for the Chaldean, Phenician, Greek, and Roman practises.) The convulsive motions of the lung and liver when taken from the sacrificial victim (the liver was regarded as the seat of life, Prov. vii. 23) were watched as a means of forecasting the future.

For other forms of divination and for divination in rabbinical literature see ASTROLOGY; AUGURY; NECROMANCY; SUPERSTITION; WITCHCRAFT.

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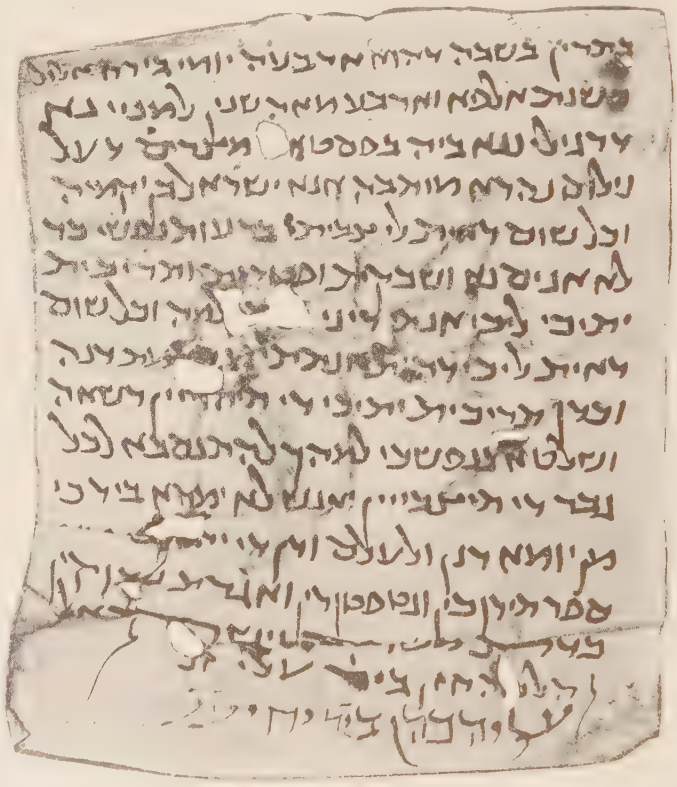
K.

DIVINE JUDGMENT. See JUDGMENT, DIVINE.

DIVINE SERVICE. See LITURGY.

DIVORCE: Dissolution of marriage. The origin of the Jewish law of divorce is found in the constitution of the patriarchal family. The fundamental principle of its government was the absolute authority of the oldest male ascendent; hence the husband, as the head of the family, divorced the wife at his pleasure. The manner in which Hagar was dismissed by Abraham illustrates the exercise of this authority (Gen. xxi. 9–14). This ancient right of the husband to divorce his wife at his pleasure is the central thought in the entire system of Jewish divorce law. It was not set aside by the Rabbis, though its severity was tempered by numerous restrictive measures. It was not until the eleventh century that the absolute right of the husband to divorce his wife at will was formally abolished.



Hebrew Bill of Divorce, or Get, from the Cairo Genizah, Dated 1400 Seleucid Era = 1088 C.E.
(In the New York Public Library.)

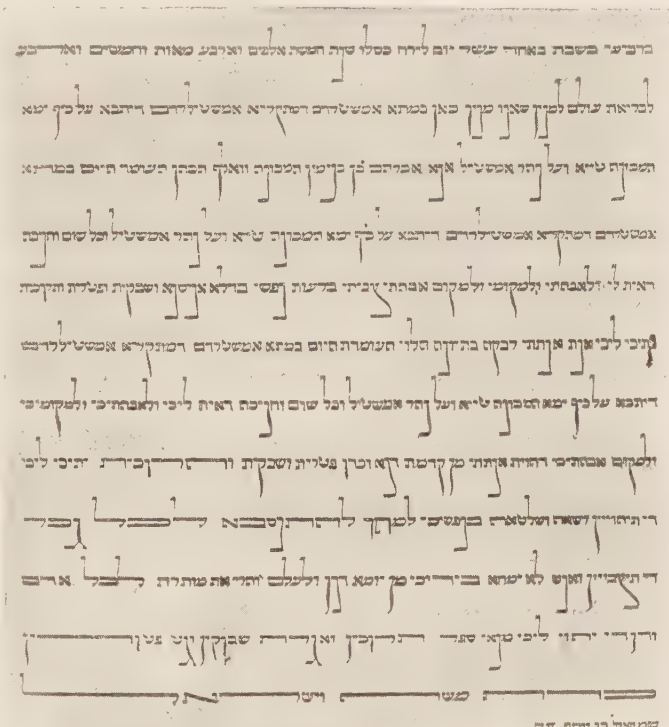
The earliest restrictions of this right are found in the Deuteronomic code. In two cases the law provided that the husband "shall not be at liberty to put her away all his days": (1) if he falsely accused her of antenuptial incontinence (Deut. xxii. 13–19); (2) if he had ravished her before marriage (Deut. xxii. 28, 29). In the Mishnaic period the theory of the law that the husband could divorce his wife at will was challenged by the school of Shammai. It interpreted the text of Deut. xxiv. 1 in such a

manner as to reach the conclusion that the husband could not divorce his wife except for cause, and that the cause must be sexual immorality (Giṭ. ix. 10; Yer. Soṭah i. 1, 16b). The school of Hillel, however, held that the husband need not assign any reason whatever; that any act on her part which displeased him entitled him to give her a bill of divorce (Giṭ. *ib.*). The opinion of the school of Hillel prevailed. Philo of Alexandria ("Of Special Laws Relating to Adultery," etc., ch. v.; English ed., ii. 310, 311) and Josephus ("Ant." iv. 8) held this opinion. Jesus seems to have held the view of the school of Shammai (Matt. xix. 3–9).

Although not overthrown, the ancient theory of the husband's unrestricted right was still further modified by the Mishnah. To the two restrictions mentioned in Deuteronomy the Mishnah adds three others. It provides that the husband can not divorce his wife, (1) when she is insane (Yeb. xiv. 1), (2) when she is in captivity (Ket. iv. 9), or (3) when she is a minor, so young as to be unable to understand or to take care of her get, or bill of divorce (*ib.*). The Mishnah furthermore modified the right of the husband indirectly by making the divorce procedure difficult, and bristling with formalities in ordering, writing, attesting, and delivering the get. The matter required the assistance of one learned in the law (Ḳid. 6a), whose duty it became to attempt to reconcile the parties, unless sufficient reason appeared for the divorce.

Modifications.

Another check on the exercise of the theoretical right of the husband to divorce his wife was the law compelling him to pay her the dowry or the amount of her Ketubah. Rabban Gamaliel deprived the husband of the power to "annul" his get (see Cancelation of Documents) (Giṭ. iv. 2). If the husband was insane, he could not divorce his wife; and if he was temporarily deranged or delirious, or intoxicated, he was for the time being incapable of performing this as well as other legal acts (Yeb. xiv. 1; Giṭ. vii. 1, 67b). A deaf-mute could not divorce his wife unless he had married her after he had become a deaf-mute (Yeb. xiv. 1). These many qualifications of the theoretical right of the husband to give a get to his wife at his pleasure, resulted in gradually eliminating from the popular mind the notion that such a right existed. The views of the moralists were opposed to divorce (Giṭ. 90b), and finally (as stated above), in the eleventh century, by a decree of Rabbi Gershon of Mayence, this theoretical right of the husband was formally declared to be at an end. The substance of this famous decree is thus stated (Responsa "Asheri," xlii. 1): "To assimilate the right of the woman to the right of the man, it is decreed that even as the man does not put away his wife except of his own free will, so shall the woman not be put away except by her own consent." Where either of the parties, however, shows good cause for divorce the marriage will be dissolved against the will of the guilty party (Shulḥan 'Aruk, Eben ha-'Ezer, 119, 6, gloss).



Hebrew Bill of Divorce, or Get.
(From Bodenschatz, "Kirchliche Verfassung," 1748.)

The wife's right to sue for divorce was unknown to the Biblical law. There is a germ of this right in Ex. xxi. 11, but it was not until the Mishnah that this right was established. The wife never obtained the right to give her husband a get, but when the court decided that she was entitled to be divorced from him, he was forced to give her a get. During the reign of the Herodians, under the influence of Roman practise, cases are recorded in which women sent bills of divorce to their husbands (Josephus, "Ant." xv. 11, xviii. 7). These were recognized as breaches of the law, and never became precedents. The following causes are recognized as entitling the wife to demand a bill of divorce from her husband: refusal of conjugal rights (Ket. v. 6); impotence (Ned. xi. 12); when the husband has some loathsome disease, or leprosy, or is engaged in some malodorous business (Ket. vii. 9); the husband's refusal to support her (Ket. 77a); cruel treatment and

deprivation of her lawful liberty of person (Ket. vii. 2–5, v. 5); wife-beating (Eben ha-'Ezer, 154, 3, gloss); the husband's apostasy (Maimonides, "Yad," Ishut, iv. 15)—in the last-named case the Jewish courts, having lost their authority over him, could appeal to the courts of the Gentiles to carry out their mandate ("Bet Joseph," 134); the husband's licentiousness (Eben ha-'Ezer, 154, 1, gloss).

After the parties had been divorced, the law favored their remarriage ('Eduy. iv. 7). But if the wife had married another man after her divorce, she could never be remarried to her first husband (Deut. xxiv. 1–5). To this Biblical law forbidding remarriage of the parties, the Mishnah adds five other cases. They can not remarry after a divorce (1) if the woman has been divorced upon suspicion of adultery; (2) if she was divorced because she had subjected herself to the obligation of certain vows (Giṭ. iv. 7); (3) if she was divorced because of her barrenness (Giṭ. iv. 11); (4) if a third person had guaranteed the payment of her ketubah; the reason in this case being that a scheme to defraud might result through collusion of the husband and wife against the guarantor of the ketubah; she might receive the divorce, collect the amount of the ketubah from the guarantor, and then remarry her husband to enjoy the benefit of the fraud with him (B. B. x. 9); (5) if the husband has consecrated all his property to religious uses subject to his wife's ketubah ('Ar. vi. 2).

Remarriage After Divorce.

In some cases the courts will compel the separation of the husband and wife on grounds of public policy, against the will of both parties. Among these cases are the following: the marriage of persons within the prohibited degrees enumerated in Lev. xviii.; the marriage of a Jew and a non-Jew ('Ab. Zarah 36b); the marriage with a "mamzer" or a "natin" (Yeb. viii. 3); the marriage of an adulteress and her paramour (Soṭah v. 1; Yeb. ii. 8).

DIVORCE SCENE IN GERMANY.
(From Kirchner, "Jüdisches Ceremoniel," 1726.)

The same rule applies if one of the parties becomes afflicted with leprosy (Ket. 77b); or if they have been married for ten years and no children are born to them (*ib.*), although the practise of enforcing separation in the latter case fell into abeyance (Eben ha-'Ezer 1, 3, gloss 154, 10).

The divorced woman was "sui juris," and could give herself in marriage to whom she pleased, with certain exceptions. She could not marry the man suspected of having committed adultery with her (Yeb. ii. 8), nor the messenger who brought her the get from her husband (*ib.* 9). She was not permitted to be remarried within three months after her divorce, in order that the paternity of the child with which

SCENES AT DIVORCE.

1. Writing the get. 2. Reading it aloud. 3. Throwing the get to the husband. 4. Husband throwing the get to the wife.

(From Bodenschatz, "Kirchliche Verfassung," 1748.)

she might be pregnant might not be in doubt (Yeb. iv. 10).

The children of the divorced woman remained in her custody; but the custody of the boys could be claimed by the father after their sixth year (Ket. 65b, 102b). According to later decisions, however, the court awarded the custody of the children according to its discretion (Eben ha-'Ezer, 82, 7, gloss).

For further information concerning the bill of divorce, its preparation, attestation, and delivery, see GET.

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S. S. D. W. A.

DIZAHAB: Name occurring but once in the Bible—in the topographical description in Deut. i. 1. Its identity has not been successfully established. The context, locating it indefinitely in the trans-Jordanic region, and mentioning it among localities connected with similar difficulties, gives no clue. Inviting by its form etymological interpretations, the ancient versions have accordingly translated it *καταχρύσεα*, "ubi auri est plurimum," and די זהב ("a sufficiency of gold"). Onkelos expands it into a Midrash (on account of the golden calf), and is followed in this by Rashi.

This idea is still more fully enlarged upon by Targ. Yerushalmi and pseudo-Jonathan; they also see in it an allusion to the golden calf, but hold that the sin thus committed was pardoned in consideration of Israel's having covered the Ark of the Covenant with "shining gold." Ibn Ezra simply suggests that it and the other *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* in this passage may be unusual designations for places otherwise denoted by different names. According to the school of Rabbi Jannai, Moses in this verse refers to the golden calf, "to make which Israel was tempted by the superabundance of gold and silver poured out over them by God until they protested 'it is enough'" (Ber. 32a). Cheyne proposes to emend into "Me-zahab," which Sayce among others has urged as corresponding, in Gen. xxxvi. 39, to "Di-zahab" in Deut. i. 1. This "Me-zahab," however, Cheyne holds again to be a corruption of "Mizraim," the name for the northern Arabian land, Mizri or Mizrim, adjoining Edom. Burckhardt ("Travels in Syria," 1822, p. 523) suggests "Mina al-Dhahab" as its equivalent, but this view has been abandoned by modern commentators.

E. G. H. M. SEL.

DLUGOSZ, JEAN. See POLAND.

DLUGOSZ (דלוגנטש; not De Lantes), SAMUEL B. MOSES: Biblical commentator and poet of the seventeenth century; born in Grodno, Lithuania. He edited the Prophets and the Hagiographa in the Judæo-German translation of the Bible, "Ha-Maggid," to which he added a commentary on the Book of Judges entitled "Aguddat Shemuel" (Amsterdam, 1699; Wandsbeck, 1737). He was also a liturgical poet; to his translation of the Bible (1699) he added an Aramaic selihah in rime, and two dirges, which were reprinted entire in the "Tikkun Shobabim" (Mantua, 1732) and elsewhere.

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G. M. K.

DOB BAER B. JUDAH LOEB. See TREVES, DOB BÄR B. JUDAH.

DOB BAER B. LOEB: Polish rabbi; died in Lemberg 1779. In 1745 he was rabbi at Koznitz in the government of Lublin; in 1754, rabbi of Kroshnik, about which time he went to Yaroslav to meet the rabbis who defended the cause of Jonathan Eybeschütz against Jacob Emden. In 1758 he was rabbi of Reshaw. Finally he became rabbi and chief of the yeshibah of Lemberg, where he remained till his death.

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L. G. N. T. L.

DOBRITZ: Town in Bulgaria, twenty-six miles north of Varna. It contains about 200 Jews in a total population of 14,000. This little community, which was founded in 1870, is administered by three of the leading Jews. It has a synagogue, erected in 1897, and a small mixed school. The Jews are occupied as ironmongers, tinsmiths, watchmakers, and small traders. Four or five Jewish families live at Baltchik, not far from Dobritz.

D. M. FR.

DOBROJE. See MOHILEV GOVERNMENT.

DOBROVELICHKOVKA. See KHERSON.

DOBRUSKA, MOSES: Austrian writer and poet; born July 12, 1753, in Brünn, Moravia; guillotined April 5, 1793, at Paris. The son of a wealthy Jew, Dobruska was originally destined for the career of a rabbi, and accordingly received a careful Talmudic education. Later the acquaintance of a Jew engaged in the study of Hebrew poetry, rhetoric, and Oriental languages induced him to give up theological subjects and to devote himself to the humanities, but not until after a painful struggle with his father, who protested against his plans being so radically brought to naught. Having overcome the paternal opposition, Dobruska eagerly began to study the old German classics and poets. Especially the idyls of Gessner made a deep impression upon him and instigated him to the further study of the German poets. In his ardent pursuit of literary occupations he even succeeded in persuading his father to allow him a considerable sum of money (1,500 florins) for the purchase of books. Besides German he also studied English, French, and Italian.

On Dec. 17, 1773, Dobruska embraced the Roman Catholic faith, and at his baptism in Prague assumed the name of Franz Thomas Schönfeld. Subsequently, together with his brothers, he was raised to the nobility (1778); and for some time he held the position of associate director of the famous Garelli Library in Vienna. Nothing is known in regard to the cause of Dobruska's execution.

Besides several posthumous poems that appeared in Becker's "Taschenbuch zum Geselligen Vergnügen," Dobruska published: "Etliche Gedichte zur Probe," Vienna, 1773; "Schäferspiele," Prague, 1774; "Theorie der Schönen Wissenschaften," Prague; "Ueber die Poesie der Alten Hebräer," *ib.*;

"Ein Schäfergedicht in Hebräischer Sprache," *ib.*; "Eine Hebräische Poetische Uebersetzung des Pythagoras' Goldener Sprüche," Prague, 1775; "Gebet oder Christliche Ode in Psalmen," Vienna; "David's Kriegsgesänge, Deutsch aus dem Grundtexte," Vienna and Leipsic, 1789.

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S. B. B.

DOBSEWITCH (DOBSEVAGE), ABRAHAM BAER B. JOSEPH EZRA: Russian Hebraist and exegete; born in Pinsk Oct. 17, 1843; died in New York Jan. 14, 1900. At the age of thirteen he had written a commentary to the Canticles. In 1861 he went to Yekaterinoslav, where he settled as teacher of Hebrew and contributed to various Hebrew periodicals. In 1874 he removed to Kiev, where he became private tutor to the sons of Brodski and of other wealthy families. He went to the United States in 1891, and lived in New York, leaving it only for a short time in 1895.

Dobsewitch's chief published work is "Ha-Mezaref" (The Refiner), a collection of rationalistic interpretations of various passages of the Aggadah, Odessa, 1870. Dobsewitch's two later works, "Be-Ḥada Maḥeta" (With One Sweep), a collection of articles, Cracow, 1888, and "Lo Dubbim we-lo Ya'ar" (Neither Bears nor Forest), Berdychev, 1890, as well as numerous articles in Hebrew periodicals, are devoted to criticisms directed against Shatzkes, Weissberg, and others. He continued his literary activity in the United States, and contributed to "Ha-'Ibri," "Ner ha-Ma'arabi," and various Yiddish publications. Some of his correspondence was published in "Ha-Modi'a le-Ḥadashim," i., New York, 1900.

Dobsewitch left several works in manuscript, including one on the Masorah, one on the Samaritan text of the Pentateuch, and one on the wit and humor of ancient Jewish literature. Short extracts from the last-named work were published in the United States.

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H. R. P. Wi.

DÓCZY (DUX), LUDWIG: Hungarian poet; born at Sopron [Oedenburg], Hungary, Nov. 30, 1845. After finishing his preliminary education he studied law in Vienna, joining at the same time the staff of the "Presse." His political articles, which advocated the "Ausgleich" (agreement) with Austria, were very favorably received, and on the recommendation of Balthasar Horváth, then minister of justice, he was appointed (1868) clerk in the office of the prime minister. When Count Julius Andrássy became minister of foreign affairs (1872) Dóczy accompanied him to Vienna, and was soon appointed "Sectionsrath," and later "Hofrath," at the Foreign Office. In 1899 he was elevated to the rank of baron, and in 1902 retired from public life. He resides at present (1903) in Budapest.

Dóczy's reputation rests not on the services he rendered to the state, but on his achievements as a dramatic writer and as a translator. "Csók" (The Kiss), his best-known comedy, which is played in German as well as in Hungarian theaters, gained the prize of the Hungarian Academy in 1871; the German translation was made by the author himself. Among his other plays are: "Utolsó Szerelem" (Last Love), 1879; "Széchy Mária," 1886; "Vegyes Párok" (Mixed Marriages), 1889; "Vera Grófnö," 1891; "Ellinor Királyleány," tragedy, 1897. Besides these he translated Schauffert's comedy "Schach dem König," 1873, and wrote the libretto to Goldmark's "Merlin" and to Strauss's "Ritter Pázmán." His Hungarian translation of Goethe's "Faust" and his German adaptation of Mádach's "Az Ember Tragédiája" were universally admired. His collected poems and novels appeared in 1890. His latest work is a Hungarian translation of Schiller's poems (1902). Dóczy is a convert to Christianity.

Bibliography: *Szinnyei, Magyar Irók Élete*, s.v.

S. L. V.

DODAI (DUDAI) BEN NAḤMAN: Babylonian scholar of the eighth century and gaon of the academy at Pumbedita (761–764). Little is known of his life. He was a brother of the famous Judah b. Naḥman, gaon at Sura (759–762), and with him was instrumental in preventing the eventual founder of Karaism (see Anan b. David) from succeeding to the exilarchate made vacant by the death of Solomon b. Ḥasdai, Anan's uncle.

Bibliography: Sherira, *Iggerot*; Grätz, *Gesch.* v. 176, 418; Halevy, *Dorot ha-Rishonim*, iii. 81a, 102a.

L. G. S. M.

DODANIM: Name of sons of Javan, brothers to Elishah, Tarshish, and the Kittim, in the ethnographic table in Genesis (x. 4). The ancestor being Javan (= Ionian), the Dodanim must represent also a Greek clan. This can not be Dodona in the interior of Epiros, as both the association with the Kittim (= Cyprians) and Gen. x. 5 indicate a people settled on the seashore. Dardanians (the northern Ionians) have been suggested, but it is not likely that the author of this list had such detailed knowledge of the subdivisions of the Greek population. In I Chron. i. 7 the reading is "Rodanim," as it is in the Samaritan, the Septuagint, and Jerome. In Gen. x. 4 these are the inhabitants of the island Rhodus, well known to the Phenicians of old (compare Homer's "Iliad," ii. 654). The only difficulty in the way of this identification is the long "o" in the Hebrew, where the Greek has the short sound. The modern commentators, Baentsch and Holzinger, accordingly change the ד (d) into a ר (r), and read "Rodanim." E. G. H.

DODAVAH (R.V. **Dodavahu,** "loved of God"): The father of Eliezer of Mareshah (II Chron. xx. 37). The latter preached against the alliance between Jehoshaphat and Ahaziah, and saw in the wreck of the ships sent out by Jehoshaphat divine punishment for the alliance. The Septuagint reads the name Ὠδεια. It is perhaps a corruption of "Dodayahu."

E. G. H. G. B. L.

DODO (דודו): **1.** The father of Eleazar, "one of the three mighty men with David, when they defied

the Philistines that were there gathered together to battle" (II Sam. xxiii. 9; R. V. "Dodai"). I Chron. xi. 12 reads "Dodo, the Ahohite," while in the Hebrew of the II Samuel passage he is termed "the son of an Ahohite." I Chron. xxvii. 4 gives "Dodai" as captain over a division of the army in service during the second month. These three passages seem to refer to one and the same person. The same name appears on the Moabite inscription, where it may be read either "Dodo" or "Dodah." The name "Dudu" is found on the Tell el-Amarna tablets as the name of an Egyptian official. **2.** The father of Elhanan (II Sam. xxiii. 24), one of David's thirty mighty men. **3.** Dodo, the father of Puah, the father of Tola, one of the judges of Israel (Judges x. 1).

E. G. H. I. M. P.

DOEG.—Biblical Data: An Edomite; chief of the herdsmen of Saul. When David, warned by Jonathan, fled from Saul to the priest Abimelech at Nob, he found Doeg there. On pretense of being on the king's service, David was hospitably entertained, received the sword of Goliath from Abimelech, and escaped (I Sam. xxi. 2–11). Saul, upon hearing of David's escape, accused his servants of aiding David, whereupon Doeg revealed what had taken place at Nob (*ib.* xxii. 6–10). Saul took Abimelech to task for what he had done (*ib.* 11–13), and ordered his runners to kill the priests of Nob (*ib.* 17); the runners refused to obey, and thereupon Doeg at Saul's command fell upon the priests, and also destroyed Nob (*ib.* 18, 19). Psalm lii., according to its introductory verse, is directed against Doeg.

J. JR. C. J. M.

——**In Rabbinical Literature:** Doeg is the subject of many rabbinical legends, the origin of which is to be found in part in Psalm lii. Though he died at the early age of thirty-four years (Sanh. 69b), he is regarded by the rabbis as the greatest scholar of his time, the epithet אדומי being supposed to have been applied to him because he made every one with whom he disputed "blush" (Midr. Teh. lii. 4; ed. Buber, p. 284). He could bring forward 300 different questions with reference to one single ritual case (Ḥag. 15b). But he was lacking in inward piety, so that God was "anxious" (דואג) concerning his end, and "mourned" (דויג) for him (Sanh. 106b). His most unfortunate qualities, however, were his malice, jealousy, and calumnious tongue. He sounded the praise of David before Saul (I Sam. xvi. 18) only in order to provoke his jealousy, ascribing to David qualities that Saul lacked (Sanh. 93b; compare Midr. Shemuel xix., end). He cherished a grudge against David, whose opinion prevailed over his own in determining the site for the Temple at Jerusalem (Zeb. 54b), and he had well-nigh succeeded in proving by his arguments that David, as a descendant of Ruth the Moabite, could not, according to the Law, belong to the congregation of Israel, when the prophet Samuel interposed in David's favor (Yeb. 76b, 77a; Midr. Shemuel xxii.). He also declared David's marriage with Michal to be invalid, and induced Saul to marry her to another.

Doeg not only disregarded the sanctity of marriage (התיר גלוי עריות), but he also slew with his own hands the priests of Nob, after Abner and Amasa, Saul's lieutenants, had refused to do so (Gen. R. xxxii.; Midr. Teh. lii. 4). As it often happens with those who strive for something to which they are not entitled, he lost that which he possessed (Gen. R. xx.). God sent the three "angels of destruction" (מלאכי חבלה) to Doeg; the first caused him to forget his learning, the second burned his soul, and the third scattered the ashes (Sanh. 106b; differently, Yer. Sanh. x. 29a). According to some he was slain by his own pupils when they found that he had forgotten his learning (Yalḳ., Sam. 131); others maintain that he was slain by David when he (Doeg) informed him of the death of Saul and of Jonathan (II Sam. i. 2; Pesiḳ., ed. Buber, iii. 28b; Ginzberg, "Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvätern," i. 38).

According to another Midrash, Doeg tried to preserve the life of Agag, the king of the Amalekites-Edomites, by interpreting Lev. xxii. 28 into a prohibition against the destruction of both the old and the young in war (Midr. Teh. lii. 4). Doeg is among those who have forfeited their portion in the future world by their wickedness (Sanh. x. 1; compare *ib.* 109b). Doeg is an instance of the evil consequences of calumny, because by calumniating the priests of Nob he lost his own life, and caused the death of Saul, Abimelech, and Abner (Yer. Peah i. 16a; Midr. Teh. cxx. 9 [ed. Buber, p. 504]).

E. C. L. G.

——**Critical View:** The Hebrew text of I Sam. xxi. 7 is difficult, and consequently the genuineness of that verse has been unnecessarily suspected; it is presupposed by xxii. 9 (see H. P. Smith, "Commentary on Samuel," p. 198). The designation, however, of Doeg as "mightiest of the shepherds" (הרעים) of Saul is unusual and unlikely. Budde ("S. B. O. T.") proposes "mightiest of the runners" (רצים) (after Grätz, "Gesch. der Juden," i. 183, note 4), while Lagarde ("Mittheilungen," iii. 350) reads "driver of the mules" (אוביל עירים)—a reading confirmed by xxii. 9 in Septuagint, and by Judges x. 4; I Sam. ix. 3; II Sam. xvi. 2; and I Chron. xxvii. 30. Doeg was probably detained at the sanctuary by a taboo when he saw David (compare W. R. Smith, "Religion of the Semites," 2d ed., p. 456). The mention of Doeg in the title of Ps. lii. is a late interpolation of no critical value.

J. JR. G. A. B.

DOG (כלב).—Biblical Data: The dog referred to in the Bible is the semisavage species seen throughout the East, held in contempt for its fierce, unsympathetic habits, and not yet recognized for his nobler qualities as the faithful companion of man. He is used chiefly by shepherds or farmers to watch their sheep or their houses and tents, and to warn them by his loud barking of any possible danger (Job xxx. 1; Isa. lvi. 10). He lives in the streets, where he acts as scavenger, feeding on animal flesh unfit for man, and often devouring even human bodies (Ex. xxii. 31; I Kings xiv. 11, xvi. 4, xxi. 23; II Kings ix. 10, 36; Jer. xv. 3). At night he wanders in troops from place to place, filling the air with the noise of his barking (Ps. lix. 7–14; compare Ex. xi. 7), and it is dangerous to seize him by the ear in order to stop him (Prov. xxvi. 17). He is of a fierce disposition (Isa. lvi. 11; A. V. "greedy")

and therefore the type of violent men (Ps. xxii. 17 [A. V. 16], 21 [20]). Treacherous and filthy (Prov. xxvi. 11), his name is used as a term of reproach and self-humiliation in such expressions as: "What is thy servant, which is but a dog" (II Kings viii. 13, R. V.); or "Am I a dog's head?" (II Sam. iii. 8); or "After whom dost thou pursue? after a dead dog?" (I Sam. xxiv. 15 [A. V. 14]; compare II Sam. ix. 8, xvi. 9; Cheyne's emendation in "Encyc. Bibl." *s.v.* "Dog," seems unnecessary).

Term of Contempt.

The dog known to the Hebrews in Biblical times was the so-called pariah dog, the shepherd-dog (Job xxx. 7) being the more ferocious species. The Assyrian hunter's dog was probably unknown. The A. V. translation of זרזיר מתנים ("well girt in the loins") in Prov. xxx. 31 by "greyhound" is incorrect; R. V. (margin) has more correctly "war-horse" (see commentaries *ad loc.*).

The dog being an unclean animal, "the breaking of a dog's neck," mentioned as a sacrificial rite in Isa. lxvi. 3 (compare Ex. xiii. 13), indicates an ancient Canaanite practise (see W. R. Smith, "Rel. of Sem." p. 273). The shamelessness of the dog in regard to sexual life gave rise to the name כלב ("dog") for the class of priests in the service of Astarte who practised sodomy ("kedeshim," called also by the Greeks *κυναίδοι*, Deut. xxiii. 19 [A. V. 18]; compare *ib.* 18 [17] and Rev. xxii. 15; see Driver *ad loc.*), though כלבם as the regular name of priests attached to the temple of Ashtoret at Larnaca has been found on the monuments (see "C. I. S." i., No. 86).

——**In Rabbinical Literature:** Two different dogs are mentioned: the ordinary dog and the small Cyprian (not, as commonly explained, "the farmers' dog," כלב הכופרי). The former species resembles the wolf; the latter the fox; and the crossing of these is forbidden as "kilayim" (mixture of species; Kil. i. 6; compare Aristotle, "Historia Animalium," viii. 27, 8, where the one species of dogs is declared to be a crossing of dogs and wolves, and the other [the Laconian] a crossing of dogs and foxes). While the ordinary dog is counted by R. Meïr among domestic animals ("behemah"), the Cyprian dog is declared to be a wild animal ("ḥayyah"; Yer. Kil. 27a). In the dusk the former is difficult to distinguish from the wolf (Ber. 9b).

As a rule, the dog does not scratch and tear like beasts of prey (Ḥul. 53a), but when driven by hunger he tears and devours young lambs (B. Ḳ. 15b); he bites men, but does not break a bone (Pes. 49b). "With his sharp scent he smells the bread hidden three fists deep in the soil" (Pes. 31b). Shepherd-dogs are fed on bread made of flour and bran (Ḥallah i. 8). Two shepherd-dogs are required to save the flock from the attack of wolves (B. M. vii. 9). While dogs hate one another, they are ready to unite against the attacking wolf (Pes. 113b; Sanh. 105a). The dog depends chiefly on the nourishment furnished him by man, but is as a rule greatly neglected, wherefore God has provided him with the faculty of retaining his food in the stomach for three days (Shab. 154b; Beẓah 21a). At times, however, he eats his excrement (B. Ḳ. 92b). The excrement of dogs is used for tanning (Ber. 25a; Ket. 77a).

The barking of dogs at midnight (Ber. 3a) gives people a feeling of safety, wherefore the rule is given: "Dwell not in a town where no barking of dogs is heard" (Pes. 113a). "A dog in a strange city will not bark, and it takes him seven years to feel at home" ('Er. 61a).

The dog is the most shameless of animals (חצוף בחיות, Ex. R. xlii.); he was one of those who would not abstain from cohabitation in the Ark (Gen. R. xxxvii.). The Mishnah (B. Ḳ. vii. 7) forbids the keeping of dogs unless they are chained; in cities, near the seacoast or the frontier, they may for safety's sake be let loose at night (B. Ḳ. 83a). According to Tosef., B. Ḳ. viii. 17, and B. Ḳ. 80b, the raising of small Cyprian dogs is allowed. These seem to be the little dogs (*κυνάρια*) that "eat of the crumbs which fall from their master's table" (Matt. xv. 26, 27).

The Keeping of Dogs.

In the time of the Amoraim the ordinary dog does not appear to have been regarded as ferocious; for it is said: "One should not raise a bad dog [כלב רע] in the house, this being a transgression of Deut. xxii. 8, 'Thou shalt not bring blood upon thine house'" (B. Ḳ. 16b, 46a; compare Shab. 63a; Yer. B. Ḳ. vii. 6a, with reference to Job vi. 14, Hebr., where לֵמס is interpreted as *λαμὸς* = "dog"; see Krauss, "Lehnwörter," *s.v.*). "A dog before the house withholds kindness from one's neighbor, because no one can enter the house."

A wild dog (כלב אגריון = *ἄγριος*) is mentioned as dangerous to handle (Gen. R. lxxvii.), as is also a young dog ('Er. 86a). A mad dog is so dangerous that he may be killed even on Sabbath (Shab. 121b). Rabies is the effect of an evil spirit or of witchcraft; and its signs are: the dog keeps the mouth open; his saliva is constantly flowing; his ears hang down; his tail lies closely upon his loins; he walks on the sideways of the street, and does not bark (Yoma 83b). The cure for hydrophobia is the eating of a part of the dog's diaphragm (Yoma viii. 6; see Folk-Medicine).

In the course of time a certain affection for the dog seems to have been developed among the Jews. In Hor. 13a the dog is said to be distinguished from the cat in that he recognizes his master while the latter does not. In the more recent versions of Tobit vi. 1 and xi. 4 (see Grimm's commentary *ad loc.*; but compare Abrahams in "Jew. Quart. Rev." i. 288) the dog follows Tobias on his journey from home and back. According to Rab, in Gen. R. xxii., the sign given by God to Cain (Gen. iv. 15) is to be explained that he was given a dog as companion or guardian. Idle housewives were known to play with dogs (Ket. 61b). "For his friendly conduct at the exodus of the Hebrews when he did not 'move his tongue against man or beast' (Ex. xi. 7), God compensated the dog by telling the people that the meat forbidden to them should be cast unto him" (Mek., Mishpaṭim, 20, on Ex. xxii. 30).

The Faithful Dog.

Especially noteworthy is the fact that the story of the faithful dog which Dunlop ("History of Prose Fiction," ch. vii.; see Index, *s.v.* "Gellert") and Benfey ("Panchatantra," 1859, i. 482) have traced through the various literatures of the East and the West, is

found for the first time in Yer. Ter. viii. 46a and Pesiḳ. x. 79b as one of R. Meïr's fables used as a haggadic illustration of Prov. xvi. 7. Some shepherds had curdled milk for a meal, when in their absence a serpent ate of it and thus (as was the belief) instilled poison into it. The dog, which had witnessed the act, began to bark when his masters, on their return, proceeded to eat it; but they would not heed his voice of warning. So he hastened to eat it all up and fell down dead, having thus saved his masters' lives. In gratitude, the shepherds reverently buried the faithful dog, and erected a monument to him which is still called "The Dog's Monument" (נפישא דכלבא).

The Jewish belief was that the howling of dogs (כלבים בוכים) betokened the presence of the angel of death, or death itself in the vicinity (compare Wuttke, "Der Deutsche Volksaberglaube," 1869, § 268); their cheerful (sportful) barking (כלבים משחקים), the presence of the prophet Elijah — that is, some joyful event (B. Ḳ. 60b). "If one goes out to select a wife for himself and hears the barking of dogs, he may divine in their voices an omen of good or of evil" (Gen. R. lix.; the reading, however, is doubtful).

The idol Nibhaz (II Kings xvii. 31; "Nibhan," נבחן, according to David Ḳimḥi) was taken to have been the image of a dog (Sanh. 63b). The name of "Pene Melek" (Moloch's Face) was to be changed into "Pene Keleb" (Dog's Face; 'Ab. Zarah 46a). The Egyptian dog or jackal-god, as guardian of the dead, together with the two golden images of dogs (jackals) which were used as symbols of the two hemispheres (Brugsch, "Religion und Mythologie der Alten Aegypter," 1888, p. 670), appears in the Haggadah in the following legendary form:

Golden Dogs Barking.

> "The Egyptians, in order to prevent Joseph's body from being taken from them, had two dogs of gold [or brass] placed on his tomb and endowed by witchcraft with the power of frightening away every intruder by their loud barking. When Moses came to take the bones of Joseph the two dogs began to bark, but he addressed them, saying: 'You are the work of deceit, and you would not move your tongues if you were genuine dogs'" (according to Ex. xi. 7; Pesiḳ. x. 86a; Ex. R. xx.; see Brüll's "Jahrb." i. 150; also p. 151, note, for cabalistic comments upon the passage).

"Dog" is also the synonym in rabbinical literature for shameless and relentless people, and therefore for wicked heathen. The time of general degeneracy is a time when "the generation will have the face of the dog" (Soṭah ix. 15). R. Joshua ben Levi compares the righteous to the guests invited to the king's table, and the wicked heathen to the dogs who obtain the crums that fall therefrom (Midr. Teh. to Ps. iv. 8, based upon Isa. lvi. 10, 11). R. Ishmael b. R. Jose called the Samaritans dogs, as "being as adhesive to idolatrous customs as the dog is to the flesh of carcasses" (Gen. R. lxxxi.). Just as the dog must be beaten by the master, so must the wicked be smitten by God (Ex. R. ix., with reference to Ps. lix. 7; compare Sanh. 109a: "As the dog scents food from afar, so do the wicked scent the bones of the rich for pillage"). The epithet "dog" used for heathen in the New Testament (Matt. xv. 26; Phil. iii. 2) is explained hereby; but the statement of Eisenmenger, "Entdecktes Judenthum," i. 714–716, that the Jews call non-Jews (Christians) "dogs," repeated often and referred to in Meyer's commentaries to Matthew, *l.c.*, as well as the Talmudical quotations in Herzog-Hauck's "Real-Encyc." *s.v.* "Hund," and in Cheyne and Black, "Encyc. Bibl." *s.v.* "Dog" (obviously based on the misunderstood passage in Wünsche, "Neue Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Evangelien," 1878, p. 189), are altogether incorrect. The epithet "keleb" (dog) is given as a nickname to miserly Jews (see Tendlau, "Sprichwörter und Redensarten," 1860, Nos. 270 and 909).

The dog is equally prominent in Jewish folk-lore and in Chaldean magic (see Lenormant, "Magie und Wahrsagekunst der Chaldäer," Jena, 1878, p. 471); being especially connected in mythology with death or the nether world (see the dogs of Hecate in Rhode, "Psyche," 1894, pp. 221, 363, 367, 375; the jackal dog-god Anubis in Egypt in Brugsch, *l.c.*, pp. 252, 670; Zend Avesta, Vendidad, v. 29, in "Sacred Books of the East," iv. 58; compare "Shayast la Shayast," ii. 1, x. 10; Nork, "Etymologisch-Symbolisch-Mythologisches Realwörterbuch," *s.v.* "Hund").

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S. S. K.

DOHM, CHRISTIAN WILHELM VON: German historian and political writer; advocate of the Jews, and friend of Moses Mendelssohn; born in Lemgo Dec. 11, 1751; died on his estate near Nordhausen May 29, 1820. Dohm, who was deeply moved by the humanitarian ideals of the era of enlightenment, wrote a work in two volumes on Jewish emancipation in 1781. He did this at the suggestion of Mendelssohn, to whom the Alsatian Jews had appealed for aid, but who thought that such a work would produce a better effect if written by a Christian. Dohm's work dealt not only with French Jews, but with the condition of the Jews in the different stages of their history, and argued for their political equality on grounds of humanity and justice. The work appeared at Berlin under the title "Ueber die Bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden," and passed rapidly through two editions. Dohm demanded that the Jews be treated as human beings, and declared that his work was no apology for them. Their religious convictions would not prevent their performance of the duties of citizenship. His book aroused wide interest, and he was even accused of standing in Jewish pay. He was fêted by the Jews, and the communities of Berlin, Halberstadt, and Surinam passed votes of thanks. The adverse criticisms of Dohm's work, moreover, drew Mendelssohn into the arena, and he expressed his views on Jewish emancipation in the preface to Marcus Herz's translation of Menasseh ben Israel's "Vindiciæ Judæorum." Mendelssohn criticized some of Dohm's contentions, especially those in which he sought to favor the legislation initiated by Frederick the Great. Dohm also wrote an article in French on the colony of Surinam.

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D. A. M. F.

DOKSHITZY: Town in the government of Minsk, Russia. The census of 1897 shows a population of 3,647 (other authorities place it at 5,720), of whom more than 3,000 are Jews; in 1860, according to Semenov, "Slovar Rossiskoi Imperii," there were only 790 Jews. The latter are engaged in commerce and trades. There are 368 artisans. Since 1893 the stocking-making industry has developed in the town. The remuneration of labor, particularly of female labor, is very low. For this reason merchants from Wilna find it profitable to supply Jewish girls with machinery and raw material for the making of stockings. The annual value of the stockings made there and sent to Wilna is 25,000 rubles. The abundance of flax in the district enables about 120 Jews to find employment in cleaning it, and there are about 207 day-laborers.

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H. R. S. J.

DOLAN BELLAN: French physician; lived at Carcassonne in the fourteenth century. He was a contemporary of the physician Jacob de Lunel, who removed from Carcassonne to Tarascon, where he practised in 1424. Dolan Bellan is probably identical with Maystre Bellant, a surgeon who, with Bénédit du Canet of Arles (Maestro Bendig) and Moses Marveaux or Marnan of Marseilles, was summoned to attend King Louis XI. in 1419–20. A Jew called "Bellan" was known in Carpentras in 1357 ("Rev. Et. Juives," xii. 193).

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G. S. K.

DOLARO, SELINA: Anglo-American actress and singer; born at London in 1852; died in New York city Jan. 23, 1889. She studied music at the Paris Conservatoire under Auber, and made her début Jan. 20, 1870, as the Spanish princess in "Chilperic" at the Lyceum Theater, London. On account of her good voice she was selected to sing in the première of a production of "Carmen" in English, and subsequently as *Clarette* in "Mme. Angot," *Geneviève de Brabant*, and in an English version of "Les Dragons de Villars." Then she leased the Haymarket Theater, London, and produced Gilbert and Sullivan's "Trial by Jury." In 1877 she went to the United States as a member of Colonel Mapleson's Opera Company; but her voice lacking strength, she severed her connection with the impresario. In 1879 she appeared at the Folly Theater, New York, as the heroine in "The First Night." Four years later Mme. Dolaro appeared as *Olivette* in Planquette's opera of that name at the Bijou Theater. Her voice failing, she forsook opera and joined the company of Mrs. Fiske (then Minnie Maddern), supporting her in Sardou's "Agnes."

Mme. Dolaro wrote two plays, "Justice" and "Fashion"; a novel, "Bella Demoina"; and an autobiography under the rather startling title "Mes Amours."

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A. E. Ms.

DOLITZKI, MENAHEM MENDEL: Russian Hebrew poet; born in Byelostok April 3, 1856. He began to compose poetry and prose very early, often supplementing and spicing the quarrels of his schoolmates with lampoons in Biblical Hebrew. In 1880 Dolitzki left Byelostok, and after spending some time in Kiev settled as a teacher in Moscow. In 1892 he went to the United States, and settled in New York.

His first considerable work was the satirical poem "Likḳuy Shene ha-Meorot," which appeared in "Ha-Shaḥar" (ix.). It was afterward published separately (Vienna, 1879). His model letter-writer, "Shebeṭ Sofer," was published in Vienna in 1883; and his "Betok Leba'im" (St. Petersburg, 1884), a novel, first appeared serially in "Ha-Meliẓ." Another novel, "Mi-Bayit umi-Ḥuẓ" (Wilna, 1891), describing the persecutions of the Jews in Rumania, is considered a masterpiece (see Perez in "Jüdische Bibliothek," ii. 69, Warsaw, 1892). His other model letter-writer, "Nib Sefatayim" (Wilna, 1892), has been reprinted many times. The first attempt to collect his poetical works was made in America, "Kol Shire Menaḥem" appearing in New York (1895), followed by "Shire Menaḥem" (*ib.* 1899). They contain poems which have appeared in various Hebrew periodicals in America and abroad. In America Dolitzki also essayed works of fiction in Yiddish, and some of his novels, as "Der Gebildeter Merder" (Chicago, 1897), or "Shtarker von Eisen" (New York), attained popularity. He furthermore edited the Yiddish monthly magazine "Die Zeit," which appeared in New York from Dec., 1897, to Sept., 1898. The unfinished poem "Ha-Ḥalom we-Shibro," which appeared in "Ha-'Ibri," 1893, Nos. 8–19, and which describes the sufferings of a Jewish CANTONIST, is considered by him to be the best of his poems.

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H. R. P. Wi.

DOMAIN, PUBLIC (רשות הרבים, literally, "of the many"): As distinguished from private domain (ר' היחיד), public domain is prominent in many branches of rabbinic lore, especially in the law of Sabbath observance; for on the Sabbath it is forbidden to carry anything but one's clothing and ornaments from the private into the public domain, or vice versa; or from one man's private domain to that of another; or for a distance of four cubits within the public domain. But the character of the place, whether public or private, may also affect property rights, as is pointed out in the article ACCIDENT and ALIENATION, where it is shown that the "semita" (סימטא), or sidewalk near the houses, which probably, along with its Latin name, came into vogue under the Roman occupation, has a character and effect of its own.

It appears from the whole tenor of the Mishnah (compare COMMUNITY, ORGANIZATION OF; COR-

PORATION) that in the cities of Palestine the smaller houses were grouped around an open place; this place, or the whole group of buildings with it, being known as a court (חצר), which had one covered entrance (מבוי). A court having more than one entrance from the street, or even a house with more than one opening, seems to have been exceptional.

Besides the small houses thus grouped around an open court, mention is made of a many-roomed house (בירה, literally "a palace") corresponding to the "insula" of the Romans. Each of such houses had at its front from eight to twelve pillars, the space between which was part of the private domain. Between the pillars was the well for the house, so that water might lawfully be drawn from it and brought into the house on the Sabbath. Minute directions concerning both "courts" and "palaces" are given in the treatise 'Erubin (ch. i., ii.; houses with two openings are referred to in ix. 3), which directions must be followed to raise the desired character of privacy for Sabbatic purposes.

Speaking generally, the highways—that is, streets and public places in the town, and roads in the settled part of the country—are public domain. But the wilderness, or unsettled country, having generally no private owner, is preeminently "domain of the many" beyond any other spot; yet within the wilderness a private domain can be improvised by forming a corral of the wagons and other implements of a caravan (שיירא); this with the space enclosed is treated like a court within a town ('Er. i. 8).

A navigable body of water is public domain; but here the laws, either civil or ritual, are not fully applicable. A ship is for all purposes private domain. Compare SABBATH.

L. G. L. N. D.

DOMBROVA. See GRODNO.

DOMBROVITZA: Town in the government of Volhynia, Russia. It has a total population of about 25,000, including 6,000 Jews, about 1,000 of whom are artisans. The most general occupations are tailoring and shoemaking, each employing about 195 persons. The manufacturing output of the town is sold at the neighboring fairs. There are about 600 day-laborers, who receive from fifteen to twenty cents a day as wages. Considerable attention is paid to the culture of tobacco, in which 260 Jews are engaged. There are 19 Jewish gardeners, 40 truck-farmers, and 27 dairy-farmers.

H. R. S. J.

DOMEIER, ESTHER. See BERNARD, ESTHER.

DOMICIL: Place of abode; dwelling; the place where a man has his true, fixed, permanent home and principal establishment, and to which, whenever he is absent, he has the intention of returning.

The place in which a man establishes himself with the intention of remaining there permanently, becomes, according to Jewish law, his domicil for all purposes, civil as well as religious. This intention may be either avowed or implied. When the intention is avowed he is immediately considered in all respects a member of the locality in which he has settled, and he is obliged to follow all the laws and customs peculiar to it. If the intention is not avowed it may be implied in different ways, as will be demonstrated.

One who had lived in a place for twelve months, or who had bought a dwelling-house for himself, was compelled to share in the taxes and all other imposts levied on the people of that place (see COMMUNITY, ORGANIZATION OF). If, however, he inherited a house, or a house was given to him in that town, it did not become his domicil, and he was exempt from the obligations placed on the citizens of the town. A residence of twelve months made the place his domicil only when he remained of his own free will. If he was compelled to stay there on account of sickness or the like, it was not considered his domicil (B. B. 7b; Maimonides, "Yad," Shekenim, vi. 5; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 163, 2, Isserles' gloss).

Regarding Membership of Community.

Regarding a man's obligation to contribute to the different charitable organizations of the town, the law varied. One who had lived in a place for thirty days was compelled to contribute to the free kitchen ("tamḥuy"); for three months, also to the general charity; for six months, also to the funds for providing garments for the poor; for nine months, also to the funds for defraying the funeral expenses of the poor; for twelve months, to all the expenses of the community (B. B. 8b; compare "Yad," Mattenot 'Aniyim, ix. 12; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Yoreh De'ah, 266, 5).

Two distinct classes of residents were recognized by the Rabbis: (*a*) the men of the town, comprising all those who had lived there more than twelve months, and (*b*) the inhabitants of the town, or all those who had lived there more than thirty days, but less than twelve months. Hence, one who vowed not to derive any benefit from the "inhabitants" of a certain place, included in his vow all the people that had lived there more than thirty days. But if he said in his vow "the men of the place," he might still derive benefits from all those who had lived there less than twelve months (Yer. Ned. iv. 5; Sanh. 112a; "Yad," Nedarim, ix. 17; Yoreh De'ah, 217, 32). If a man lived for thirty days in a place whose inhabitants turned to idolatry, and he joined in their worship of idols, he was killed by the sword, the punishment for communal apostasy, and not by stoning, the punishment for individual apostasy; the Biblical expression in that connection being (Deut. xiii. 16): "Thou shalt surely smite the *inhabitants* of that city with the edge of the sword" (Sanh. 112a; Maimonides, "Yad," 'Ab. Zarah, iv. 9).

Domicil of Married Women.

A married woman was obliged to make her domicil with her husband; and if she refused to follow him he might divorce her and decline to pay the stipulated sum of her marriage contract ("ketubah"). He could not, however, compel her to change her domicil from a large to a small city, or vice versa, or from a costly to a cheap house, or vice versa. If he wished to go to Palestine, she had to follow him under all circumstances, unless she pleaded the danger of travel on

certain roads (Ket. 110a; "Yad," Ishut, xiii. 17; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Eben ha-'Ezer, 75).

The privacy of one's domicil could not be violated. Neither the creditor nor the court-messenger could enter one's house to take a pledge for a debt of money (Deut. xxiv. 10). If it was a debt of wages or of hire of any kind, the creditor might enter the debtor's house to take a pledge (B. M. 115a; compare Sifre, Deut. *ad loc.*). In all cases the house of the surety might be entered for the purpose of taking a pledge (B. M. 113a; "Yad," Malweh, iii. 4, 7; Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 97, 6, 14).

On the Sabbath one might walk two thousand cubits on all sides from the place of his residence. By a legal fiction, the Rabbis decided that if before the Sabbath a man placed food for two meals in some safe place, such place became his domicil for that day, and he might walk two thousand cubits from that point on all four sides ("'Erube Teḥumim"; "Yad," Shabbat, xxvii.; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Oraḥ Ḥayyim, 408 *et seq.*).

L. G. J. H. G.

DOMINICANS. See FRIARS.

DOMINICO IROSOLIMITANO or **HIEROSOLYMITANO** (דומיניקו ירושלמי): Talmudist, physician, author, and expurgator of Hebrew books; born in Safed, Palestine, about 1550; died in Italy about 1620. He was educated at the rabbinical college in his native city, studying not only Talmud, but also medicine. After having been granted the degree of doctor and the title of "Rab," he lectured on Talmudic law in Safed. His fame as a physician spread far and wide, and finally reached the ears of the Sultan of Turkey, who summoned him to Constantinople as court physician.

Yerushalmi subsequently became a convert to Christianity; he went to Rome, and was received at the College of the Neophytes, where he taught Hebrew. During the most active period of the expurgation of Hebrew books under the Inquisition in Italy Dominico's services were in great demand; and first in Venice (1578–92 ?), later as chief reviser of the censorship commission in Mantua (1595–97), he had opportunity for placing his signature in more books and manuscripts than any other of the Italian expurgators. His activity in this direction continued at intervals—in places, however, not yet identified—almost until his death.

Dominico's works included, according to his own statement, "Ma'ayan Gannim" (Fountain of the Gardens), on the fundamental principles of the Christian faith. He also translated into Hebrew the whole of the New Testament, and most of the Apocryphal books (1615–17). He was the compiler of the "Sefer ha-Zikḳuḳ" (Book of Expurgation), still in manuscript, one copy of which (in the library of Cardinal Berberini, Rome) shows revision by him as late as 1619.

Bartolocci dates Dominico's conversion at the beginning of the seventeenth century, at about his fiftieth year. But even if it be assumed that the dates of his earliest censorship have been misread, it is certain that he acted as censor before 1595. Furthermore, Bartolocci and Wolf state that Nicolaus Mursius in his "Relatione della Città di Constantinopoli" (Bologna, 1671) mentions as court physician of the Turkish sultan a Jew who later became converted under the name of "Dominico Ierosolymitano." Wolf holds that he is identical with the subject of this article; Bartolocci, on the other hand, states that Mursius speaks of one whom he (Mursius) had himself seen in his travels, and who was still living as a Christian in Constantinople in direst poverty, though as a Jew he had held, under the name of Pelaso, third place among the sultan's physicians.

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G. W. P.

DOMITIAN (Titus Flavius Domitianus): Roman emperor 81–96; born in 51; assassinated in 96. In 69, when his father Vespasian was proclaimed emperor, Domitian was the center of the Flavian party in Rome. Succeeding his brother Titus in the government, he provoked the vigorous resistance of the aristocracy by his despotic measures, which aimed at the complete supersession of the powers of the Senate. His mistrust and financial embarrassment drove him, after a short period of moderation and good administration, to sanguinary measures. He maintained the pagan faith against the various dissenting sects; and twice (89 and 95) expelled the philosophers from Rome. He dealt most severely with converts to either Judaism or Christianity, the penalty being either death or confiscation of property. Even his cousin, the consul Flavius Clemens, was put to death for embracing the Jewish faith; while the latter's wife Domitilla was exiled to the isle of Pandataria (95). The severe measures projected at this time against the Jews, which occasioned the journey to Rome of R. Gamaliel and his colleagues, were frustrated probably by Domitian's assassination. During his reign the Jew tax was collected in a most cruel manner. Characteristic of his distrust of Judaism and Christianity is the fact that he summoned the descendants of David to appear before him, and released them only after he had satisfied himself of their harmlessness.

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G. H. V.

DOMITILLA, FLAVIA. See FLAVIA DOMITILLA.

DOMNINUS or **DOMNUS:** Jewish philosopher; lived between 400 and 480. He was a native of Laodicea, or Larissa, in Syria; the pupil of Syrian, whom he perhaps succeeded as teacher of the Neoplatonic school at Athens. He was a contemporary of the philosopher Proclus, whose pupil Marinus often mentions Domninus. His own pupil Gesius, who supplanted him in his old age, is identical with the Jasius whom Arabian writers mention. The sources speak of him as a Jew, and Suidas relates that when Domninus was afflicted at Athens with "blood-spitting," he did not hesitate to eat

pork, while his companion Plutarchus, a pagan, who also was ill, refrained from that remedy. Suidas therefore does not consider Domninus as a true philosopher; he is credited with being a fine mathematician, but superficial in other branches of philosophy. A follower of Plato, and therefore attacked by Proclus, he defended himself in a work entitled Καθαρτικὴ τῶν Δογμάτων Πλάτωνος ("A Purge of Plato's Theories").

Not one of his works is extant. Like other Neoplatonists, Domninus practised theurgy. He died at an advanced age, probably at Athens.

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K. S. Kr.

DOMUS CONVERSORUM: House in London founded by order of Henry III. in the year 1232 to provide a home and free maintenance for Jews converted to Christianity. As, up to 1280, on conversion all their property was escheated to the king, they were left destitute. The buildings and the chapel attached to them were erected in Chancery Lane, London, on the site now occupied by the rolls office. The hope was entertained that by the establishment of this refuge there would result a conversion en masse of the English Jews. The conception of the scheme for the Domus originated

Domus Conversorum, London.
(After a drawing by Matthew Paris.)

with the clergy, a similar institution on a much more modest scale having been commenced by the clergy of Southwark in 1213. A chaplain was appointed to instruct the converts, and a warden ("custos"; in Norman French, "le gardien") to attend to their temporal affairs. Each male inmate received 1½*d.*, equal to about 2*s.* 6*d.* of the present currency, and each female 1*d.* During the fifty-eight years that elapsed from the time of the founding of the Domus until the year of the great expulsion (1290), about a hundred Jews in all participated in the benefits of the institution—a small proportion of weaklings out of the 16,000 Jews in England. All the expenses of the Domus were borne by the royal treasury, while some of the bishops left bequests to augment its funds. In addition to these sources of income a poll-tax, called the "chevage," was levied upon all Jews above the age of twelve in support of their converted brethren. The treasury grant amounted annually to £202.0.4 (in present cur-

Rolls Chapel, Chancery Lane, London, Formerly Part of the Domus Conversorum.

rency about £4,000). At times this contribution was not forthcoming; and the "conversi" were reduced to sore straits of poverty. In 1271 the king addressed a letter to the mayor of London and to the warden of the Domus, complaining of numerous irregularities in the management of the house; and it was not until the year 1280, under the custos John de St. Denys, that definite regulations for the control of the institution were drafted. In 1281 a rabbi of Oxford, Belager by name, entered the home. Nine years later, when the expulsion of the English Jews took place, the number of converts stood at eighty.

After the Expulsion.

The value of the history of the Domus after the year 1290 consists in the testimony that its records afford of the steady stream of Jews into England in spite of the edict of expulsion. A few of these persons allowed themselves to be baptized, and accepted the shelter of the Domus. These people came from France, Spain, Portugal, Germany, and the Barbary states.

In 1305 there were twenty-three men and twenty-eight women, whose baptismal names are all known, residing in the Domus. From 1331 there exists a series of manuscripts in the rolls office giving valuable information upon the important subject of the presence of Jews in England from the reign of Edward I. to that of James I. These documents range themselves under three heads: (1) orders for the admission of a convert, frequently supplying personal details; (2) the statement of annual expenses of the warden, who from about the year 1330 also held the post of master of the rolls (in these returns the names of the converts are inserted); (3) a large number of receipts, some signed in Hebrew, given once a year by the converts.

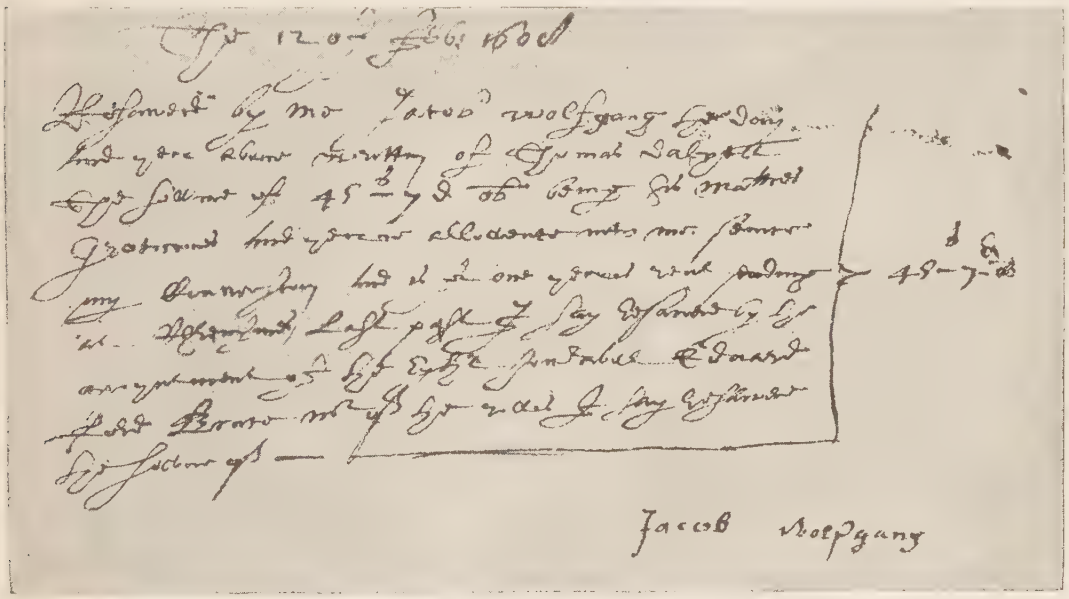
In 1330 there still remained eight men and thirteen

women from the pre-expulsion period. By the year 1353 the Domus possessed only one convert, a woman named Claricia of Exeter, who had been admitted several years before the expulsion. She died in 1356; and a month after her death a Spanish Jew, John of Castile, found his way to England and the Domus. From the year 1330 until 1393 eighteen men and two women were admitted. Two of these, Aseti Briarti and Perota Briarti, of France, were husband and wife; while Thomas Levyn (Levi), of Spain, ran away suddenly after a stay of thirty-two days. In 1399 a woman named Elizabeth, described as the daughter of Rabbi Moses, "episcopus Judæorum," joined the converts. She remained for seventeen years, and married a London tailor named David Pole. In 1409 two women, a mother and her daughter, who had apparently been

Names of Converts.

tioned in the records from the year 1492 to 1538, Edward Scales from 1503 to 1527, and Elizabeth Baptista from 1504 to 1532. In the latter year two women were admitted, and were given the names "Katherine Wheteley" and "Mary Cook." In 1506 Thomas Cromwell, the vicar-general of Henry VIII., who had been appointed master of the rolls and warden of the Domus Conversorum, lived in the home.

After 1551, in which year Mary Cook died, the Domus remained empty until 1578, when an interesting convert, Nathaniel Menda (formerly called Jehooda Menda), was admitted. He remained till 1608. This man had come from the Barbary states and had been publicly baptized in London by John Foxe, the author of the "Book of Martyrs." The receipts given by Menda for his annual pension are, with one exception, all signed in Hebrew characters.



Receipt for 45s. 7½d. Paid by the Domus Conversorum of London to Jacob Wolfgang (1608).

living in Dartmouth for some time, were admitted into the Domus. There is no indication in the records of how they came to be in Dartmouth or of their native country. The mother, Johanna, died after a stay of forty years, and the daughter, Alice, after forty-five years. The longest period of residence was that of Martin, son of Henry of Woodstock (1413–68); while other converts who lived in the Domus for many years were John de Sancta Maria of Spain (1371–1405), Henry of Stratford (1416–41), John Durdragt of Dordrecht, Holland (1425–55), John Seyt (1448–88), Edward of Westminster (1461–1503), and John Fernando of Spain (1487–1503). In the year 1400 there were two inmates; by 1450 this number had grown to five; and in 1500 there were four converts. The expulsions from Spain and Portugal appear to have had little effect in increasing the number of residents of the Domus. A woman called Elizabeth Portingale (of Portugal) is mentioned in the records from the year 1492 to 1538, Edward Scales from 1503 to 1527, and Elizabeth Baptista from 1504 to 1532. In the latter year two women were admitted, and were given the names "Katherine Wheteley" and "Mary Cook." In 1506 Thomas Cromwell, the vicar-general of Henry VIII., who had been appointed master of the rolls and warden of the Domus Conversorum, lived in the home.

In 1581 Fortunati Massa (originally "Cooba," *i.e.*, Jacob, Massa) joined Menda until 1598. The presence of these two quondam Jews in the Chancery Lane home is coincident with the production of Marlowe's "Jew of Malta" and Shakespeare's "Merchant of Venice."

In 1598 Philip Ferdinandus, a learned Polish Jew, became a recipient of the benefits of the Domus. This man had been professor of Hebrew at Oxford and Cambridge, and later on at Leyden University. He died in the Domus in 1600; and three years later there entered Elizabeth Ferdinando, perhaps the widow of Philip. In the year of the Gunpowder Plot, Arthur Antoe was admitted, and in the following year, Jacob Wolfgang, a German.

Philip Ferdinandus.

The records end at the year 1608; and summing up the results of these investigations it is found

that from the year 1331 to 1608 thirty-eight men and ten women entered the Domus Conversorum, while mention is made in the records of the period of four other converts of whom nothing is said in the archives of the Domus.

As late as the year 1717 a London converted Jew petitioned King George I. for a grant from the funds of the Domus. The buildings once occupied by the converts were later used as storehouses for the rolls of Chancery, and have since been demolished. It is a curious fact that in the year 1873 Sir George Jessel, a professing Jew, was appointed to the post of master of the rolls, which formerly was combined with the office of warden of the home for converted Jews. The last trace of the Domus was legally swept away by an act of the year 1891.

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J. M. A.

DONATH, EDUARD: Austrian chemist; born in Wsetin, Moravia, Dec. 8, 1848. He became assistant in Zinřek's chemical institute in Berlin, 1869; assistant at the technical high school in Brünn, 1870; assistant agricultural chemist at the experiment station in Vienna, 1874; and associate at the Bergakademie in Leoben, 1875. At present he is professor at the technical high school in Brünn. He embraced the Christian faith in 1876.

Besides papers in various chemical journals, he has published: "Monographie der Alkohol-Gährung als Einleitung in das Studium der Gärungstechnik," Brünn, 1874; "Die Prüfung der Schmiermaterialien," Leoben, 1879; (with K. Pollak) "Neuerungen in der Chemie des Kohlenstoffes und Seiner Anorganischen Verbindungen," in "Sammlung Chemischer und Chemisch-Technischer Vorträge," Stuttgart, 1898; (with B. M. Margoscher) "Das Wollfett, Seine Gewinnung, Zusammensetzung," etc., *ib.* 1901.

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S. N. D.

DONATH, LEOPOLD: Rabbi; born 1845 at Waag-Neustadtl, Hungary; died 1876 at Güstrow, Mecklenburg; pupil of Israel Hildesheimer. After studying at Berlin University, he took his degree at Rostock, and became rabbi and preacher at Güstrow, Mecklenburg. He wrote, in addition to various articles in Berliner's "Magazin für Jüdische Geschichte und Litteratur," the following: "Die Alexandersage in Talmud und Midrasch," Fulda, 1873; "Geschichte der Juden in Mecklenburg von den Aeltesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart," Leipsic, 1874; "Aus der Zeit auf der Kanzel," five short sermons, Fulda (no date).

S. A. Bla.

DONATI, CESARE: Italian novelist; born at Lugo, Romagna, Sept. 21, 1826. Persecuted by the Austrian government for having taken part in the revolution of 1848, he left his home in Finale in 1849 and went with his family to Toscana. He completed the study of law at Pisa (1852), but on account of his father's death studied journalism in order to support his widowed mother and his brothers and sisters. In 1859 he was received into the Ministry of Education, was afterward made director of museums and art galleries in Florence, and finally became chief of the department. He was also created a knight of the Cross of Merit of Savoy. Besides contributing to the "Spettatore," "Indicatore Letterario," "Nuova Antologia," and "L'Eco d' Europea," Donati wrote a collection of novels, "Foglie Secche," 2d ed., Florence, 1884; "Rivoluzione in Miniatura," his best work (1876); "Bozzetti Romani," Rome, 1884; "Storie Bizzarre," 1888. Donati now (1903) lives at Rome.

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S. I. E.

DONATI, MARCO: Italian lawyer; born in Padua Sept. 4, 1842; died at Terni June 11, 1901. Before he had completed his academic career he left the university in order to fight under Garibaldi. He served in the war with distinction, and on his return completed his law studies, and then opened an office at Padua, where he soon became one of the most popular lawyers. For many years he sat in the Italian Chamber, representing first Belluno and then Conegliano. For some years he was president of the Jewish community of Padua. He was created commander of the Order of the Crown of Italy.

Donati published a small volume on the art of advocacy and a memorial oration on King Humbert I.

Bibliography: *Vessillo Israelitico*, June, 1901.

S. I. E.

DONATO D'ORVIETO. See Nathan Jedidiah ben Eliezer.

DONIN, NICHOLAS, OF LA ROCHELLE: Jewish convert to Christianity; lived at Paris in the first half of the thirteenth century. Having expressed his doubts as to the value of the oral tradition, he was in 1225 excommunicated by R. Jehiel of Paris in the presence of the whole congregation and with the usual ceremonies. Having for ten years lived in the state of excommunication, though still clinging to Judaism, he became dissatisfied at last with his position, and embraced Christianity, probably under the influence of Christian propagandists, who saw the benefit they could derive from such a recruit, embittered as he was against his coreligionists. Donin joined the Franciscan order. His first act of retaliation was to stir up the Crusaders to the bloody persecutions in Brittany, Poitou, and Anjou, in which 3,000 Jews were killed, 500 accepting the alternative of baptism. In 1238 Donin went to Rome, presented himself before Pope Gregory IX., and denounced the Talmud. Thirty-five articles were drawn up, in which Donin stated his charges.

The pope was easily convinced of the truth of the accusation, and despatched to the authorities of the Church transcripts of the charges formulated by Donin, accompanied by an order to seize all copies of the Talmud and deposit them with the Dominicans and Franciscans. If an examination substantiated the charges of Donin, the books were to be burned. This order was generally disregarded, except in France, where the Jews were compelled under pain of death to surrender their Talmuds

(March, 1240). Louis IX. ordered four of the most distinguished rabbis of France—Jehiel of Paris, Moses of Coucy, Judah of Melun, and Samuel ben Solomon of Château-Thierry—to answer Donin in a public disputation. In vain did the rabbis disprove the charges of blasphemy and immorality which were the main points of Donin's arraignment. The commission condemned the Talmud to be burned.

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K. I. Br.

DÖNMEH: A sect of crypto-Jews, descendants of the followers of Shabbethai Ẓebi, living to-day mostly in Salonica, European Turkey: the name (Turkish) signifies "apostates." The members call themselves "Ma'aminim" (Believers), "Ḥaberim" (Associates), or "Ba'ale Milḥamah" (Warriors); but at Adrianople they are known as "Sazanicos" (Little Carps)—a name derived either from the fish-market, near which their first mosque is supposed to have been situated, or because of a prophecy of Shabbethai that the Jews would be delivered under the zodiacal sign of the fish. The Dönmeh are said to have originated with Jacob Ẓebi Querido, who was believed to have been a reincarnation of Shabbethai.

The community is outwardly Mohammedan (following the example set by Shabbethai); but in secret observes certain Jewish rites, though in no way making common cause with the Jews, whom they call "koferim" (infidels). The Dönmeh are evidently descendants of Spanish exiles. Their prayers, as published by Danon, are partly in Hebrew (which few seem to understand) and partly in Ladino. They live in sets of houses which are contiguous, or which are secretly connected; and for each block of houses there is a secret meeting-place or "kal" ("ḳahal"), where the "payyeṭan" reads the prayers. Their houses are lit by green-shaded lamps to render them less conspicuous. The women wear the "yashmak" (veil); the men have two sets of names: a religious one, which they keep secret, and a secular one for purposes of commercial intercourse. They are assiduous in visiting the mosque and in fasting during Ramadhan, and at intervals they even send one of their number on the "ḥajj" (pilgrimage) to Mecca. But they do not intermarry with the Turks.

They are all well-to-do, and are prompt to help any unfortunate brother. They smoke openly on the Sabbath day, on which day they serve the other Jews, lighting their fires and cooking their food. They work for the Turks when a religious observance prevents other Jews from doing so, and for the Christians on Sunday. They are expert "katibs" or writers, and are employed as such in the bazaars and in the inferior government positions. They have the monopoly of the barber-shops. The Dönmeh are divided into three subsects, which, according to Bendt, are: the Ismirlis, or direct followers of Shabbethai Ẓebi of Smyrna, numbering 2,500; the Ya'ḳubis, or followers of Jacob Querido, brother-in-law of Shabbethai, who number 4,000; and the Kuniosos, or followers of Othman Baba, who lived in the middle of the eighteenth century. The last-named sect numbers 3,500. Each subsect has its own cemetery. Bendt says that the first shave the chin; the second, the head; but the third allow the hair to grow upon both. Danon calls the first "Tarpushlis," those who wear a special form of turban; the second, "Cavalieros," who wear a peculiar pointed shoe; the third, "Honiosos" or "Camus," who can be distinguished by their flat noses.

The ordinances which govern the Dönmeh, as given by Grätz and Bendt, number sixteen; but as Danon has published them in Ladino, they number eighteen (אינקומי נדאנסאם סדרים). These refer to the unity of God, to Shabbethai His Messiah, to abstention from murder, to the reunion on the Sixteenth of Kislew to study the mysteries of the Messiah; they forbid fornication, false testimony, forced conversion, intermarriage with Mohammedans, and covetousness; and enjoin charity, daily reading of the Psalms in secret, observance of the new moon, Mohammedan usages, and circumcision. Danon also gives a list of their twelve festivals, the most sacred of which are the Ninth of Ab, the birthday of Shabbethai; and the Sixteenth of Kislew. The latter is preceded by a fast-day. During their festivals they transact their business as usual. It is only in the evening that, with lighted candles and closed doors, they rejoice. The Dönmeh communities are administered by rabbis appointed by the ab bet din. These rabbis are well versed in Holy Scripture, they know almost by heart the Zohar, and understand Judæo-Spanish, which they regard as a holy language. Children are left in ignorance of their true religion, and are not initiated therein, among the Ismirlis and the Kuniosos, till the age of thirteen, and among the Ya'ḳubis at marriage. Neither the Ismirlis nor the Ya'ḳubis believe in the death of their respective saints, and they are always awaiting their return. Every Saturday the Ya'ḳubis send a woman and her children to the seashore to inquire whether the ship which is to bring Jacob is sighted; and every morning the elders scrutinize the horizon for a similar purpose.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grätz, *Ueberbleibsel der Sabbat. Sekte in Salonichi*, in *Monatsschrift*, xxxiii. 49 *et seq.*; idem, *Gesch.* 3d ed., x. 306; J. T. Bendt, *Die Dönmes oder Mamin in Salonichi*, in *Ausland*, 1888, pp. 186–190, 206–209; E. N. A[dler], in *Jew. Chron.* Oct. 14, 1895, p. 15; A. Danon, in *Allg. Zeit. des Jud.* 1887, pp. 538 *et seq.*; idem, in *Rev. Etudes Juives*, xxxv. 264 *et seq.*; idem, *Actes du Onzième Congrès des Orientalists*, section iii., p. 57, Paris, 1899, and in *Sefer ha-Shanah*, 1900, i. 154 *et seq.* (most fully in the last); *Revue des Ecoles de l'Alliance Israélite*, No. 5, pp. 289–323, Paris, 1902.

K. G.

DONNOLO (*Δομνουλος*, diminutive of "Dominus"), or **Shabbethai b. Abraham b. Joel:** Italian physician, and writer on medicine and astrology; born at Oria, in 913; died after 982. When twelve years of age he was made prisoner by the Arabs under the leadership of the Fatimite Abu Aḥmad Ja'far ibn 'Ubaid; but was ransomed by his relatives at Otranto, while the rest of his family was carried to Palermo and North Africa. He turned to medicine and astrology for a livelihood, studying the sciences of "the Greeks, Arabs, Babylonians, and Indians." As no Jews busied themselves with these subjects, he traveled in Italy in search of learned non-Jews. His especial teacher was an Arab from Bagdad. According to the biography of Nilus, abbot of Rossano, he practised medicine for some time in that city. The alleged grave-

stone of Donnolo, found by Firkovich in the Crimea, is evidently spurious.

Donnolo is the earliest Jewish writer on medicine, and one of the few Jewish scholars of South Italy at this early time. What remains of his medical work, "Sefer ha-Yaḳar" (Precious Book), was published by Steinschneider in 1867, from MS. 37, Plut. 88, in the Medicean Library at Florence, and contains an "antidotarium," or book of practical directions for preparing medicinal roots. Donnolo's medical science is based upon Greco-Latin sources; only one Arabic plant-name occurs. He cites Asaph. In addition, he wrote a commentary to the "Sefer Yeẓirah," dealing almost wholly with astrology, and called "Ḥakemani" (in one manuscript, "Taḥkemoni"; see II Sam. xxiii. 8; I Chron. xi. 11). At the end of the preface is a table giving the position of the heavenly bodies in Elul, 946. The treatise published by Neubauer ("Rev. Et. Juives," xxii. 214) is part of a religio-astrological commentary on Gen. i. 26 (written in 982), which probably formed a sort of introduction to the "Ḥakemani," in which the idea that man is a microcosm is worked out. Parts of this introduction are found word for word in the anonymous "Orḥot Ẓaddiḳim" (or "Sefer Middot") and the "Sheḇeṭ Musar" of Elijah Kohen. It was published separately by Jellinek ("Der Mensch als Ebenbild Gottes," Leipsic, 1845). The style of Donnolo is worthy of note; many Hebrew forms and words are here found for the first time. He uses the acrostic freely, giving his own name not only in the poetic mosaic of passages from the Book of Proverbs in the Bodleian fragment, but also in the rimed prose introduction to the "Ḥakemani." He is also the first to cite the Midrash Tillim. In the Pseudo-Saadia commentary to "Yeẓirah" there are many citations from Donnolo, notably from a lost commentary of his on the Baraita of Samuel. A. Epstein has shown that extensive extracts from Donnolo are also to be found in Eleazar Roḳeaḥ's "Yeẓirah" commentary (ed. Przemysl, 1889), even to the extent of the tables and illustrations. He is also mentioned by Rashi (to 'Er. 56a), by Samuel of Accho (who calls the "Ḥakemani" the "Sefer ha-Mazzalot"), and by Solomon b. Judah (1424) in his "Ḥesheḳ Shelomoh" to Ha-Levi's "Cuzari."

Bibliography: Preface to *Ḥakemani*, published by Geiger, in *Melo Chofnajim*, p. 29 (p. 95 of German text), the whole by D. Castelli; *Il Commenti di Sabb. Donnolo sul Libro della Creazione*, Florence, 1880 (reprinted in *Sefer Yeẓirah*, pp. 121-148, Warsaw, 1884). Text of medical fragments, edited by Steinschneider—*Donnolo, Fragment des Aeltesten Med. Werkes*, etc., 1867; translation in idem, *Donnolo* (Berlin, 1868; from *Archiv für Pathologische Anatomie*, vols. xxxviii.-xlii.). See, also, *Biography of Nilus*, in *Acta Sanctorum*, vii., 313; Zunz, *G. V.* 2d ed., p. 375; Steinschneider, *Cat. Bodl.* col. 2231 *et seq.*; idem, *Hebr. Uebers.* p. 446; *idem*, in *Monatsschrift*, xlii. 121; A. Epstein, in *ib.* xxxix. 75 *et seq.*; Grätz, *Gesch.* 3d ed., v. 292; Buber, *Leḳaḥ Ṭob*, p. 22; Berliner's *Magazin*, 1892, p. 79; Weiss, *Dor*, iv. 227, Vienna, 1887.

G.

DOOR AND DOOR-POST (דלת): Doors were suspended and moved by means of pivots of wood ("potot") which projected from the ends of the two folds above and below. The pivots were inserted in sockets ("ẓirim," Prov. xxvi. 14). Doors were fastened by a lock (מנעול, Cant. v. 5; Neh. iii. 3) or by a bar (בריח, Judges xvi. 3; Job xxxviii. 10), and were opened by a key, called "mafteaḥ" (Judges iii. 25), generally of wood. The rich and powerful probably used keys of metal, which may sometimes have been adorned with an ivory handle. Such a key may have been the one assigned to the steward of the royal palace as a mark of his office, and which he carried on his shoulder (Isa. xxii. 22).

The expression "door-post" occurs twice in the Old Testament, rendering two different terms; viz., "saf" (Ezek. xli. 16), "sill," or, as translated in Judges xix. 27, "threshold," and "mashḳof" (Ex. xii. 7), also rendered (Ex. xii. 22, 23) as "lintel." In Ex. xii. 7, 22 the Israelites were commanded to sprinkle the blood of the Passover lamb on the lintel and side-posts of their houses; and in Deut. vi. 9 Moses enjoined the Israelites to write the divine commands "upon the posts ["mezuzot"] of thy house."

E. G. H. B. P.

These injunctions prove that among the Hebrews, as among many other peoples, the door-posts were an important feature in the religious and superstitious rites, the purpose of which was to protect the house and its inmates against evil spirits and notably against the evil eye. The Deuteronomic law clearly presupposes the practise, and intends the replacing of obnoxious idolatrous inscriptions by the words here given. In modern Mohammedan countries it is still the custom to write over or on the door quotations from the Koran (Lane, "Modern Egyptians," 5th ed., 1871, i. 7, 319, quoted by Driver, "Deuteronomy," p. 93). A similar device to secure "a good abode" is reported of the ancient Egyptians (Wilkinson-Birch, "Ancient Egyptians," 2d ed., 1878, p. 361, in Driver, *l.c.*).

The nailing over the door of a horseshoe, or the hanging of a sprig with appropriate inscriptions, has been generally in vogue among the Teutonic races, and survived even after the introduction of Christianity. Of the Sephardic Jews in Palestine and Africa it is reported that they paint on their door in red a hand with five outspread fingers to secure immunity from the evil eye (Luncz, "Jerusalem," i. p. 19 of Hebrew part, Vienna, 1882). For the rabbinical interpretation of the Deuteronomic law see Mezuzah.

E. G. H.

DORBOLO or **DURBAL** (דורבל, דורבאלי), **ISAAC BEN:** Rabbi about 1150; he traveled much, and knew Poland, Russia, Bohemia, France, and Germany from his own observations. Some time after 1140 he visited R. Tam in Rameru. In Worms, where he remained for some time, he reports having seen a responsum from the rabbis of Palestine in answer to a question addressed to them in 960 (at the time of Otto I.) by the Rhenish rabbis concerning the reported appearance of the Messiah. Though this responsum is mentioned in different sources—the Bern MS. of the small 'Aruk ("Grätz Jubelschrift," p. 31) and Liwa Kirchheim's "Minhage Worms" ("Kaufmann Gedenkbuch," p. 297)—its historical character has been questioned (Brüll's "Jahrbuch," ii. 77; "Jubelschrift," *l.c.*; but see Rev. Et. Juives, xliv. 237). Several additions to the Maḥzor Vitry are in the name of Isaac Dorbolo; he is not the compiler of the Maḥzor, as C. Taylor supposes. They are indicated either by the author's full name or by a simple ת (= Tosefet). According to Zunz ("G.

S." ii. 32), Isaac's father is identical with the correspondent of Rashi and the martyr of the First Crusade of the same name; but this is chronologically impossible. Rapoport wrongly connected Isaac with R. Isaac of Ourville, author of the lost "Sefer ha-Menahel"; and Schiller-Szinessy, with Isaac of Russia.

Isaac is also mentioned in the "Sefer Asufot" (Berliner's "Magazin," x. 75), in "Shibbole ha-Leket," and in "Kol Bo" ("Monatsschrift," xli. 307).

Bibliography: Gross, in Berliner's *Magazin*, x. 75; Perles, in *Grätz Jubelschrift*, p. 31; Introduction to the *Mahzor Vitry*, ed. Hurwitz, p. 36; Berliner, *ib.*, pp. 176, 177; Epstein, in *Monatsschrift*, xli. 307; C. Taylor, *Appendix to the Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, pp. 12 *et seq.*, Cambridge, 1900.

I. E.—G.

DORIS: First wife of Herod, whom he married about 45 B.C. The names of her parents are not mentioned, probably because they belonged to the masses, for Josephus says expressly ("Ant." xiv. 12, § 1) that Doris came from the people (*δημότις*) and that she was a Jewess (*ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους*), this statement contradicting "B. J." i. 12, § 3, where it is said that she was not of mean origin (*οὐκ ἄσημος*); she was a native of Jerusalem ("B. J." i. 22, § 1). After Herod came to the throne in 37 B.C., he put Doris, by whom he had his eldest son Antipater, away, and married the princess Mariamne (*ib.*). But he preferred Antipater, and recalled Doris in order to humiliate Mariamne's sons ("Ant." xvi. 3, § 3; "B. J." i. 23, §§ 1, 2). Doris, as Antipater's mother, was now much honored at court ("B. J." i. 24, § 2), but she was the first to feel the king's wrath. Herod being aroused by a conspiracy, she was deprived of all her jewels, worth several talents, and was again put away (*ib.* i. 30, § 4); however, she still found means to warn her son against his father's anger (*ib.* i. 32, § 1). Her subsequent fate is unknown.

Bibliography: Grätz, *Gesch.* 4th ed., iii. 195; Schürer, *Gesch.* 3d ed., i. 407.

G. S. Kr.

DORMIDO, DAVID ABRAVANEL (also known as **Manuel Martinez Dormido**): Warden of the Jewish communities at Amsterdam and London in the seventeenth century; born in one of the principal cities of Andalusia (Spain), where he held the offices of alderman and life-treasurer of the customs and of the royal revenues. He was, however, imprisoned for five years (1627–32) by the Inquisition, and tortured, together with his wife and sister. On his release he went to Bordeaux, and after staying there eight years went to Amsterdam (1640), where he engaged in Brazilian trade. The conquest of Pernambuco by the Portuguese in 1654 ruined him. At this time the question of the readmission of the Jews to England came up, and Dormido was entrusted with the negotiations by Manasseh ben Israel. He went to London; and on Nov. 3, 1654, presented a petition to Cromwell, which the latter recommended to the Council. Cromwell also interceded with the King of Portugal for the restitution of Dormido's fortune. In 1663 Dormido settled in London, where he became president of the first synagogue. His son Solomon was allowed to become a broker of the city of London in 1657, without taking the usual Christological oath.

Bibliography: Godwin, *History of the Commonwealth*, iv. 248; Grätz, *Gesch.* 3d ed., x. 97; Kayserling, *Bibl. Esp.-Port.-Jud.* pp. 6, 69; *Transactions Jew. Hist. Soc. Eng.* iii. 88; Lucien Wolf, *Manasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell*, xxxii., xxxiii.

J. V. E.

DORMITZER, MEÏR HA-LEVI: Austrian scholar; died at Prague Jan. 25, 1743. He was the author of a work entitled "Ha'ataḳah" (Translation), explaining the foreign words (בלע"ז) in Bertinoro's commentary to the Mishnah (Prague, 1809).

Bibliography: Zeitlin, *Bibl. Post.-Mendels.* pp. 68, 189; Benjacob, *Oẓar ha-Sefarim*, p. 143; Hock, *Mishpeḥot K. K. Prag*, p. 76.

L. G. M. Sel.

DOROS. See Crimea.

DOROTHEUS: Son of Nathanael; one of the embassy sent by the Jews to Rome in 45 C.E., and which induced the emperor Claudius to consent that the garment of the high priest should remain in the hands of the Jews (Josephus, "Ant." xx. 1, §§ 1, 2).

Bibliography: Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*, 4th ed., iii. 363.

G. S. Kr.

DORTMUND (Latin, **Tremonia**; Hebrew, טירמוניא): Capital of the circle of the same name, in the district of Arnsberg and the Prussian province of Westphalia, situated on the Emster. That there were Jews in Dortmund in the middle of the twelfth century is shown by the fact that several Jews living at Cologne at that time were designated as natives of Dortmund (compare Höninger, "Das Judenschreinbuch der Laurenzpfarre zu Köln," p. 9). A letter of protection was granted to the Jews of the city in 1250 by Archbishop Conrad of Cologne, Dortmund having been pledged to him in 1248 by King William of Holland. For this they were to pay 25 marks in Cologne pfennigs. They had also to pay to the king a tax of 84 marks sterling every eighteen months. About 1250 the municipality issued regulations concerning the form and ceremonial to be observed in administering an oath to Jews (see Oath).

The jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Cologne over the Dortmund Jews was confirmed by Albrecht I. in 1298. A year later, in consequence of extortions on the part of the followers of the Margrave of Mark, many Jews left the city. Albrecht rebuked the municipal authorities for having allowed these extortions, and ordered them to recall the Jews and give them adequate protection.

Like many other German communities, that of Dortmund was wiped out in 1349, at the time of the Black Death. But in 1372 Engelbert of Mark allowed the municipality to admit Jews. But every Jew who wished to settle at Dortmund had to conclude an agreement with the municipality, fixing the amount of his taxes. In 1596 the municipality decreed the banishment of the Jews. It is uncertain whether this decree was carried out; and if so, for how long a time. Jews lived at Dortmund at the beginning of the eighteenth century, as is shown by an edict of the municipality dated 1705, forbidding the Jews to trade in horses.

During the eighteenth century the municipality of Dortmund was remorselessly severe in enforcing the poll-tax; and on festivals and Sundays the city was closed to Jews.

During the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century the Dortmund Jews enjoyed the rights of French citizens. From 1815 the history of the community of Dortmund differs in no essential particular from that of other German communities. The Dortmund Jews in 1898 numbered 998 in a total population of 66,544; in 1901, 1,950 in a total of 142,418.

Bibliography: Koppmann, in Geiger's *Jüd. Zeit.* v. 81 *et seq.*; Salfeld, *Martyrologium*, p. 247; Wiener, in *Monatsschrift*, xii. 422; Kayserling, *ib.* ix. 84; Stern, in L. Geiger's *Zeitschrift für Gesch. der Juden in Deutschland*, iii. 343.

G. I. Br.

DOSA (or **DOSAI**; an abbreviated form of "Dosithai" or "Dositheos," Δοσίθεος): Father of the tannaite Ḥanina b. Dosa, famous for his piety.

S. S. W. B.

DOSA (also known as **Dosai**): Palestinian amora, probably of the fourth century. The Jerusalem Talmud has preserved two of his halakic decisions, and Midrashic literature several of his haggadic utterances. Among the latter is the assertion that the dangerous "snare" from which God will protect man (Prov. iii. 26) is the function of judging in matters of religious law. Dosa died on the new moon of Nisan. This date was especially recorded, because on that occasion refreshments were offered to the mourners (Yer. Mek., end), a custom not usually observed on semi-holidays.

Bibliography: Bacher, *Ag. Pal. Amor.* iii. 693.

S. S. W. B.

DOSA BEN SAADIA: Son of Saadia Alfayyumi. Dosa was a Talmudic scholar and philosopher, but he did not succeed his father as gaon. A responsum by him has been preserved. According to Abraham ibn Daud's chronicle, he entered into correspondence with the nasi Ḥasdai ibn Shaprut of Spain, and Judah Almadari in his commentary on Alfasi includes him in the list of gaons; while in a glossary to Maimonides' "Moreh Nebukim" he is counted among the philosophers who combated the Greek conception of the eternity of the universe. Some scholars declare Dosa identical with David ben Saadia, who wrote a Talmudic work in Arabic (cited in Bezalel Ashkenazi's "Shiṭṭah Meḳubbeẓet" to B. M. 104b) which concerns itself with the refutation of several decisions found in the "Halakot Gedolot," and which contains a reference to another work written by David in Arabic on oath-taking.

Bibliography: S. F. Rappaport, *Biography of Saadia*, in *Bikkure ha-'Ittim*, ix., note 13; Harkavy, *Studien und Mittheil.* iv. 355; S. Munk, *Guide*, i. 462.

G. A. K.

DOSA B. ṬEBET: Palestinian amora of the fourth century, in whose name the following curious sentences on the two most dangerous instincts of man are handed down by the eminent haggadist Huna (Cant. R. vii. 8): "In His world God has created two instincts, that of idolatry and that of illicit love. The first one has long since been uprooted [in Israel]; the second still exists. 'Whomsoever,' says God, 'can resist this latter instinct I shall consider as having resisted both.'" The father's name, "Ṭebet," which does not occur elsewhere, is an interesting example of the use of names of months as surnames.

Bibliography: Bacher, *Ag. Pal. Amor.* iii. 694.

S. S. W. B.

DOSETAI or **DOSITHEUS** (Δοσίθεος): A name, corresponding to the Hebrew "Mattaniah" or "Nethaneel," which seems to have been a favorite one both in Palestine and in Alexandria (Josephus, "Ant." xiii. 9, § 2; xiv. 10, § 18; xv. 6, § 2). It has been borne by the following:

Dosetai of Kefar-Yatma, a pupil of Shammai ('Orlah ii. 5). **Dosetai b. Matun,** a tannaite mentioned in a Baraita (Ber. 7b; Meg. 6b) as the author of a haggadic sentence, which in another place (Derek Erez, ii.) is ascribed to **Dosetai b. Judah.** According to Yoma 30b, an amora, Dosetai b. Matun, handed down a sentence of Johanan's; but the correct reading is "Justai b. Matun," which is found in the parallel passage, Zeb. 99a, and is confirmed by the Jerusalem Talmud (Yer. B. Ḳ. vii. 6a). On **Abba Jose b. Dosetai** see Bacher, "Ag. Tan." ii. 388.

Of those from the time of the Amoraim who have borne the name the following may be mentioned:

Dosetai, the father of Apotriḳi or Patriḳi. (Ḥul. 64b; compare B. M. 5a). He is perhaps the same Patriḳi or Patriḳ who is mentioned as the brother of Derosa (Yer. Yoma iv. 41d). **Dosetai the Elder** (Yer. Ned. x. 42b; Yer. Ḥag. i. 76d), mentioned with a younger Dosetai. He is probably the Dosetai frequently referred to in Midrashic literature as having handed down the sentences of Samuel b. Naḥman and of Levi (Bacher, "Ag. Pal. Amor." i. 488, 492, 503; ii. 431; iii. 695).

Dosetai b. Jannai: Tanna of the latter half of the second century, known especially as having handed down sentences of the tannaim Meïr, Jose b. Ḥalafta, and Eleazar b. Shammu'a. On a journey to Babylon he was ill-treated at Nehardea by the Jewish-Persian authorities, and took revenge by giving a satirical description of the latter. The account of the affair is preserved in two different versions (Giṭ. 14a, b; Yer. Giṭ. i. 43d; Yer. Ḳid. iii. 64a).

Examples of Dosetai's humor are to be found in his answers to his pupils' questions on the differences between man and woman (Niddah 31b), and in his reply to the question why Jerusalem did not have thermæ like Tiberias: "If Jerusalem had warm springs," he answered, "the pilgrims coming up for the feasts would have dwelt on the pleasures of the baths offered them, instead of considering how best to fulfil the regulations for the pilgrimage" (Pes. 8b). The words of Eccl. xi. 6 ("In the morning sow thy seed," etc.) he explained as a reminder to the farmer to be diligent in his sowing and planting (Ab. R. N. iii.). In another sentence (*ib.* xi.) he showed how the person who does not work during the six week-days will soon find himself compelled to work on the Sabbath. One of Dosetai's sermons praises almsgiving, interpreting Ps. xvii. 15 thus: "Through charity shall I see thy face, and enjoy thy sight on awakening" (B. B. 10a).

In a later Midrashic legend (Tan., Wayesheb, 2; Pirḳe R. El. xxxviii.) **Dosetai b. Jannai** is the name of one of the two teachers sent by the Assyrian king to convert the pagans who had settled in

Israel (later on, the Samaritans). The name was probably suggested by its similarity to that of the Samaritan sect of the Dositheans (Bacher, "Ag. Tan." ii. 385–387). Compare DOSITHEUS.

Dosetai b. Judah: Tanna of the latter half of the second century. He was the author of several halakic sentences (see B. Ḳ. 83b; Ḳid. 69a, and parallels) and transmitted those of Simon b. Joḥai. On one occasion Dosetai's opinion was opposed to that of Judah I., the patriarch ('Ar. 30a). Four interpretations of Deut. xxxii. bear his name (Sifre, Deut. 306, 309, 318, 320; comp. Bacher, "Ag. Tan." ii. 390 *et seq.*).

Dosetai of Biri: Palestinian amora of the early part of the fourth century. 'Ulla, a native of Biri in Galilee, once addressed a halakic question to him ('Ab. Zarah 40a). The Babylonian Talmud contains three interpretations of Scripture from Dosetai's sermons, which were perhaps handed down in the schools of Babylon by 'Ulla, who had come up from Palestine. One of these refers to Num. x. 36 (B. Ḳ. 83a; compare Sifre to Num. lxxxiv., and the Baraita, Yeb. 64a); another, to I Sam. xxii. 1 *et seq.* ('Er. 45a); while the third is an original exposition showing how David in Ps. xix. 13 *et seq.* gradually begs forgiveness for his sins, like a Samaritan peddler unfolding his wares one after the other (Sanh. 107a). Palestinian sources do not mention Dosetai of Biri (Bacher, "Ag. Pal. Amor." iii. 695; Krauss, in "Monatsschrift," xli. 561).

Dosetai of Kokaba: Contemporary of the tanna Meïr. He asked the latter what was meant by the sentence, "The belly of the wicked shall want" (Prov. xiii. 25), and Meïr answered by relating an incident characteristic of the pagan's vain and intemperate love of pleasure (Pesiḳ. vi. 59b; Pesiḳ. R. xxvi. 82b; Midr. Mishle xiii. 25 [where instead of Kokaba, Be-Yeshebab is mentioned as the home of Dosetai]; Tan., Pinḥas, 13; Num. R. xxi.). According to another version of this story, Meïr was the questioner and Dosetai the narrator. It is unnecessary to assume (compare Oppenheim in Berliner's "Magazin," i. 68, and Goldberg in "Ha-Maggid," xii. 62) that "Dosetai" is here a generic term, meaning a Dositheau (Bacher, "Ag. Tan." ii. 32).

J. SR. W. B.

DOSITHEUS: Founder of a Samaritan sect; lived probably in the first century of the common era. According to Pseudo-Tertullian ("Adversus Omnes Hæreses," i.), he was the first to deny the Prophets—a heresy that gave rise to the party of the SADDUCEES. Jerome gives the same account ("Contra Luciferianos," xxiii.). Hippolytus I. begins his enumeration of the thirty-two heresies by mentioning Dositheus; hence this sect is made to appear older than the Sadducees (compare Clement of Rome, "Recognitiones," i. 54), and on this heresy is based the system of Philaster ("De Hæresibus," §§ 4, 5). The Samaritan chronicler Abu al-Fatḥ of the fourteenth century, who used reliable native sources, places the origin of the Dositheau sect in the time before Alexander the Great (Abu al-Fatḥ, "Annales," ed. E. Vilmar, 1865, p. 82). The rabbinical sources also (Tan., Wayesheb, 2; Pirḳe R. El. xxxviii.) contain obscure references to Dositheus and Sabbæus as the two founders respectively of the Samaritan sects of the Dositheans and Sabuæans (compare Epiphanius, "Hæres." 11, 12, 13 [14]). These have been identified with the Samaritans Sabbæus and Theodosius, of whom Josephus relates ("Ant." xiii. 3, § 4; compare "Chronicon Paschale," in Migne, "Patrologiæ," Greek series, xcii. 441) that they defended before the Egyptian king Ptolemæus Philometor, against Andronicus, the advocate of the Jews, the sanctity of Mt. Gerizim (Grätz, "Gesch." 4th ed., iii. 45). The Samaritan chronicles (the Book of Joshua and Abu al-Fatḥ's "Annales") recount a similar discussion between Zerubbabel and Sanballat. As Josephus says that the Samaritans had two advocates, he doubtless meant the two apostles Dositheus and Sabbæus, whose doctrine—including the sanctity of Mt. Gerizim, rejection of the prophetical books of the Old Testament, and denial of the resurrection—was on the whole identical with that of the Samaritans.

Founder of the Dositheans.

According to Hegesippus (Eusebius, "Hist. Eccl." iv. 22, § 5), Dositheus lived later than Simon Magus, the first heresiarch of the Church; other authors speak of him as the teacher of Simon (Clement of Rome, *l.c.* ii. 8; several passages in Origen; Epiphanius, *l.c.*), at the same time confounding him with Simon Magus, connecting his name with Helena, and stating that he was the "being" (ἑστώς = "stans"). Origen says that Dositheus pretended to be the Christ (Messiah), applying Deut. xviii. 15 to himself, and he compares him with THEUDAS and JUDAS THE GALILEAN (see "Contra Celsum," i. 57, vi. 11; in Matth. Comm. ser. xxxiii.; "Homil." xxv. in Lucam; "De Principiis," iv. 17). Origen also says that Dositheus' disciples pretended to possess books by him, and related concerning him that he never suffered death, but was still alive ("In Joann." xiii. 27). To this must be compared the story of Epiphanius ("Hæres." 13) regarding his death by starvation in a cave. Epiphanius adds that while some of the Dositheans lead loose lives, others preserve a rigid morality, refrain from the use of meat, observe the rite of circumcision, and are very strict in keeping the Sabbath and in observing the laws of Levitical purity. These statements may, however, refer to another Dositheus, who belonged to the Encratites (Harnack, "Gesch. der Altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius," i. 152, Leipsic, 1893).

A Samaritan Messiah.

Origen says ("Contra Celsum," vi. 11) that the Dositheans were never in a flourishing state, and that in his time they had almost entirely disappeared, scarcely thirty of them being left. The Midrash, however, speaks of Dositheans, with whom Rabbi Meïr had dealings (Pesiḳ., ed. Buber, 59b; Pesiḳ. R. 16; Midr. Mishle xiii. 25, Yalḳuṭ § 950), and two names, "Dosion and Dosthion," are also mentioned (Ab. R. N., ed. Schechter, p. 37; compare "Shibbole ha-Leḳeṭ," ed. Buber, p. 266), which either refer to two Dositheau sectarians or form a double designation for the heretic Dositheus. Yet the fact that the patriarch Eulogius of Alexandria (who probably lived 582–603) disputed successfully against the Samaritan followers of Dostan (Δοσθήν) or Dositheus, and wrote a work expressly against them (Photius, "Bibliotheca," cod. 230), shows that the

Dositheans existed and even exercised a certain power in the sixth century. Origen possibly refers to a Christian sect of the Dositheans, who in fact left no traces, while the Samaritan sect certainly continued to exist. In Egypt especially, this sect was probably numerous enough to induce the Christian patriarch of Alexandria to engage in polemics against it.

In Egypt the Arabic writers may have become acquainted with the Dositheans, though some may have survived also in Syria and Palestine, as is evident from the rabbinical sources. Mas'udi, of the tenth century, says that the Samaritans were divided into two sects—that of the Kushan, or ordinary Samaritans (="Kuthim"), and that of the Dostan (Dositheans; compare Δοσθήν). Shahrastani (ed. Cureton, i. 170; Haarbrücker's transl., i. 258) calls them "Kusaniyyah" and "Dusitaniyyah." Abu al-Fatḥ (*l.c.*; compare p. 151, and "Chronique Samaritaine," ed. Neubauer, p. 21, Paris, 1873, דוסתים. "Dosthis") says of the Dostan—*i.e.*, the Samaritan Dositheans—that they abolished the festivals instituted by the Mosaic law, as well as the astronomical tables, counting thirty days in every month, without variation. This reminds one of the Sadducees (A. Geiger, "Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel," p. 149; see Judah Hadassi, "Eshkol ha-Kofer," § 97), and is a further proof that the Dositheans were their spiritual predecessors. The statement that the festivals were abolished, probably means that the Dositheans celebrated them on other days than the Jews; but as, according to a trustworthy statement of Epiphanius, the Dositheans celebrated the festivals together with the Pharisaic Jews, an approximation may well be assumed toward the Karaites, a sect with which the Samaritans had much in common in later times. The determination of the months by means of the testimony of witnesses may also have been a Karaite custom, although that practise may go back to a time before the opposite view of the Pharisees existed. Under the Abbassid califs the Samaritans persecuted the Dositheans, although they themselves had to suffer much. Under Ibrahim (218–227 of the Hegira) the synagogue of the Samaritans and Dositheans at Nablus was burned by heretics, but it was subsequently rebuilt. Yusuf ibn Dasi, governor of Palestine, entirely forbade the worship of the Dositheans; and the sect may in consequence have been absorbed by the Samaritans.

In Arabic Sources.

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K. S. Kr.

DOSTOYEVSKI. See Russia.

DOUGH. See Ḥallah.

DOVE: One of the most familiar species of pigeon. The most common term for dove in the O. T. is "yonah," comprising the whole family of *Columbidæ*, but in particular denoting the dove (*Columba*), as distinguished from the turtle-dove (*Turtur*), for which "tor" is used exclusively. The dove is first mentioned in the account of the Deluge (Gen. viii. 8–12) as one of the birds sent out from the Ark. In the sacrificial code the dove and turtle-dove were the only birds admitted as sacrifices (Lev. v. 8; xii. 6, 8; xiv. 5, 22; xv. 14, 29). The dove seems to have been early domesticated in Palestine (compare Isa. lx. 8, where the dove-cot ["arubbah"] is referred to). Four species of *Columbæ* and three of *Turtur* at present inhabit Palestine in large numbers (see Tristram, "The Natural History of the Bible," pp. 214, 216, London, 1889).

The Talmud mentions about ten species or varieties of *Columbidæ*, among them being: "tasil" or "ta'zil" (Ḥul. 62a, 140b; B. B. 75a); "zulzalta" and "zilzela," abbreviated into "zuzla" (Sanh. 100a; Shab. 80b); "ḥamimta" (Giṭ. 69b); "dazipe" and "kupshana," explained to be "turtles of the street" (Ḥul. 62a); "torin shel reḥabah" (= half-tamed doves). The young dove is called "ben yonah" or "bar gozala" (Ḥul. 22a, 76b). More specific terms for the young of a dove are "pargeyot" and "peridah" (B. M. 24b, 84b; compare Rashi); "niful" denotes the unfledged dove, while "gozal," as in the Bible, indicates the young of any bird, and is even used of helpless babes (Pes. 49a). Of domesticated doves three varieties are mentioned: (1) those kept in the dove-cot ("shobak"); (2) those kept in the house (properly the attic, "'aliyyah"); and (3) Herodian doves ("hordesi'ot"; Beẓah 24a; Shab. 155b; Ḥul. 138b). The last variety is so named because Herod was accustomed to keep them in pigeon-towers in the gardens surrounding his palace (compare Josephus, "B. J." v. 4, § 4). For the regulations concerning the breeding and rearing of doves see B. Ḳ. 79b; B. B. 22b, 24b; Shab. 155b.

Betting on the swiftness and endurance of doves was well known in Talmudic times, and those who practised it ("mafriḥe yonim") were placed in one category with gamblers and usurers, and were not admitted as witnesses in court (Sanh. 24b; R. H. 22a). According to Rashi to B. B. 80a, the dove begins to lay when it is two months old, and breeds every month, with the exception of the month of Adar (compare Cant. R. i. 15, iv. 1). For illustrations of the fertility of the dove see Ber. 44a; Lam. R. ii. 4; and Ker. 28a. Mustard is considered the favored food of doves (Shab. 128a). The Temple had a special officer to care for the doves ("ḳinnin") used for sacrifice (Yer. Shek. v. 1). Turtle-doves were preferred for sacrifices because mentioned in the first place in the sacrificial code (Ker. 28a).

The gentleness and grace of the dove make it a favorite simile for female beauty and tenderness (Cant. i. 15; iv. 1; v. 2, 12; vi. 9; compare Ber. 56b), and its faithfulness to its mate is a symbol of conjugal fidelity and devotion ('Er. 100b). It is especially an emblem of unjustly persecuted Israel (Ps. lxxiv. 19; compare B. Ḳ. 93a), and its wings, iridescent with silver and gold (Ps. lxviii. 13), are compared with the commandments which hedge around and protect Israel (Ber. 53b; Shab. 49a, 130a). For a detailed comparison of the dove with Israel see Cant. R. i. 15, iv. 1. It is often contrasted with the cunning

and treacherous raven (Git. 45a; Ḳid. 70b; compare Sanh. 100b). It is also an image of the Spirit of God (Ḥag. 15a; Targ. to Cant. ii. 12; Rashi to Gen. i. 2; compare Sanh. 108b).

The anecdote of the Samaritans having worshiped the image of a dove on Mt. Gerizim (Ḥul. 6a; compare Yer. 'Ab. Zarah v. 44d) probably arose from the fact that after Hadrian the Romans erected a brazen bird there (compare Jost, "Gesch. der Juden," i. 61, 75; Herzfeld, "Gesch. Israels," ii. 596).

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E. G. H. I. M. C.

DOWRY (Aramaic, **Nedunya**): The portion or property which a wife brings to her husband in marriage. In patriarchal times the dowry was not known. As among all other nations of antiquity, in Israel the bridegroom named a price or ransom ("mohar") to the father of the bride (Gen. xxiv. 12; Ex. xxii. 17; compare Hos. iii. 2). It is, however, doubtful whether this mohar was given in the form of a ransom to the father or of a gift to the bride. Both cases are mentioned in the Bible; *e.g.*, Eliezer, the servant of Abraham, brought costly gifts to Rebekah when he betrothed her for his master's son; while Jacob served Laban for fourteen years for his two daughters (see MARRIAGE; compare Saalschütz, "Das Mosaische Recht," cii., § 3).

Besides this custom of the bridegroom making gifts to the bride or paying a ransom to her father the Bible also makes frequent mention of property which the woman brought to her husband at marriage. Rebekah brought to her new home female slaves from her father's household (Gen. xxiv. 59, 61). Laban made similar gifts to Leah and to Rachel (Gen. xxix. 24, 29). Othniel at marriage received from his father-in-law, Caleb, a field of springs (Judges i. 15). Solomon received from Pharaoh, his father-in-law, a city as the portion ("shilluḥim") of the princess (I Kings ix. 16). Later, the practise of giving a dowry to a daughter, as it is now understood, entirely superseded the gift or ransom given by the groom; so that in Talmudic times it ("nedunya") is spoken of as a long-established custom.

Gifts to Daughters.

The Rabbis ordained that a man must give some of his property to his daughter when about to be married. The minimum amount was fifty zuzim (Ket. 67a); but every parent was obliged to give in proportion to his means. The minimum amount was paid to a poor girl out of the charity funds of the community, even when they were not in a flourishing condition. Although the court could compel a father to give his daughter in marriage, it could not compel him to pay a set dowry as long as he secured a husband for his daughter without it, or by paying a smaller sum (Shulḥan 'Aruk, Eben ha-'Ezer, 71, 1, Isserles' gloss). If the groom agreed not to ask for the dowry, he was obliged—even while the bride was still in her father's house, in the period between betrothal and marriage—to provide her with all necessary garments (Ket. 67a). The dowry might be withheld by the bride's father if the groom maltreated his bride during the period of betrothal. In such a case the money was deposited with a trustee until peace was established in the family (Shulḥan 'Aruk, Ḥoshen Mishpaṭ, 73, 8, Isserles' gloss, and "Sifte Kohen," *ad loc.*).

Paid from Estate.

If, after the father's death, the heirs gave their minor sister in marriage, and paid her a dowry amounting to the minimum sum fixed by the Rabbis, she might, on attaining her majority, collect from the estate the balance due to her. The court usually estimated how much the father would have given to his daughter if he had been living, according to his position in society, or his generosity, or his action with regard to previous marriages of his daughters; and this sum was taken out of the estate (Ket. 68a). If there was nothing to guide the court in its estimate, the Rabbis ordained that a tenth of the estate be given to each daughter at her marriage, to be paid by the heirs in money or in valuables. If a number of daughters were about to be married at the same time, a sum made up of a tenth of the estate for the oldest, a tenth of the remainder for the second, and so on, was divided equally among them (Maimonides, "Yad," Ishut, xx. 4; Shulḥan 'Aruk, Eben ha-'Ezer, 113, 4).

If the father was unable to pay the sum he had promised as a dowry to his daughter, the groom could not on that account postpone the marriage, but had either to marry or to divorce his bride. But if the promise was made by the bride herself and she was unable to fulfil it, the groom might let her "sit until her hair became gray"; that is, until she could pay the sum which she had promised (Ket. 109a). Insistence upon the payment of a dowry, however, was much decried by later authorities (Eben ha-'Ezer, 2, 1).

There is also frequent mention of the custom of the groom's father contributing to the dowry (Ket. 102b); and at present the custom prevails, in all cases where a dowry is agreed upon, that the groom's father subscribes a proportional sum to the dowry, usually much less than that given by the bride's father. If the bridegroom died after betrothal, and, according to the Mosaic law, the bride became betrothed to his brother (see LEVIRATE), her father need not pay to the latter the dowry promised to his brother (Ket. 66a).

In Marriage Contract.

The dowry that the woman brought to her husband, whether real estate, slaves, or movable property, was recorded in the marriage contract (KETUBAH). Custom decided whether the sum mentioned in the marriage contract should be exactly the same as the dowry was really worth, or more or less. In some places the custom prevailed of recording an amount one-third or one-fifth more than the value of the actual dowry; in others, less than the value of the dowry (*ib.*; Ishut, xxiii. 11; Eben ha-'Ezer, 66, 11). This sum then became a claim upon the husband's property equally with the ketubah itself; so that when he died or divorced her, the woman could collect from his estate both the sum stipulated in the marriage contract and the value of her dowry. During the husband's life, however, the dowry belonged to him, and he

might derive all benefits from it. He might even sell it for the period of his lifetime. The laws governing the relation of the husband to the dowry vary with the manner in which the woman has acquired that property.

Kinds of Property.

"Nikse zon barzel" (the property of iron sheep) is the name applied to the dowry given to the woman at marriage by her father or his heirs, and detailed in the marriage contract. All rents, fruits, and increments of this property belonged to the husband; and he became responsible for the principal in case of loss or damage. At his death, or in the case of divorce, the woman received the value of that property as estimated on her wedding-day. Like iron, it could not be destroyed or damaged, and like sheep, the husband might derive all profit (wool) from it.

"Nikse melug" (the property of plucking) is the term designating property which the woman obtained during her betrothal, by inheritance or by gift. The husband was entitled to all the fruits and profits thereof, although he was not held responsible for its loss or deterioration. He might "pluck" it (have the usufruct during his life), and need not answer for any damage that might occur to it.

The husband was made the usufructuary of the foregoing two classes of his wife's property by a decree of the Rabbis, in consideration of his being obliged to redeem his wife whenever she might be taken captive (Ket. 47b). The wife should not sell any part of her property while her husband was living, and if she did sell, he could collect from the buyer all the improvements or profits that the property bore during his life. If the husband became involved in a lawsuit regarding his wife's property, he needed a power of attorney from her to act in her name. When, however, the case also involved the profits of the property, he did not require a power of attorney; for, being entitled to the profit, he might also claim the property itself (Git. 48b; "Yad," Sheluḥin, iii. 4; Eben ha-'Ezer, 81, 4).

Property which the husband gave to his wife after marriage, or which a third person gave to her with the express understanding that it be used exclusively by her, or which she obtained by selling her marriage contract, was considered entirely beyond the husband's control. She could not, however, sell or give away the property given to her by her husband; while with the other kinds she might do as she desired (Eben ha-'Ezer, 85, 7).

According to the rabbinic law, the husband became the sole heir of his wife's property of all these three classes (see Inheritance). In regard to the dowry that the woman brought from her father's household, this law was modified by a decree of R. Jacob Tam (1100–1171 C.E.), who enacted that if the wife died childless within the first year after marriage, the whole amount of the dowry should be returned to her father or to his heirs. Subsequently this was still further modified by a decree of the rabbinical synod of the communities of Speyer, Worms, and Mayence ("Taḳḳanat ShWM"), to the effect that if she died childless during the second year after marriage, one-half of the dowry should be returned to her father or to his heirs. This became the custom throughout Germany, and later was adopted by the Polish Jews also. In 1761, at a conference of rabbis held in Slutsk, Russia, this enactment was again modified to the disadvantage of the husband. As found in the records (§ 24) of the Grodno Jewish community, it reads as follows:

"Concerning the enactment of Speyer, Worms, and Mayence ('ShWM') in the case when the daughter died, we have established the following decree in accordance with the requirements of the time and of the place. If the wife dies within *three* years after marriage, everything should be returned to her relatives, even her garments. If she dies within *five* years of marriage, half of her dowry should be returned to her relatives. After that period the husband becomes the sole heir."

Only the first half of this decree has been accepted by all later authorities of Russia and Poland (Eben ha-'Ezer, 53, 4; Eisenstadt, "Pithe Teshubah," *ad loc.*).

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L. G. J. H. G.

DOXOLOGY. See Liturgy.

DRABKIN, ABRAHAM: Chief rabbi of St. Petersburg, Russia; born of an old-established family at Mohilev on the Dnieper in 1844. When only a boy he devoted himself to the study of the Talmud and of Jewish literature, attending the best Jewish schools of the time. He also received instruction in the Cabala from several Ḥasidic rabbis. Having graduated as rabbi from the rabbinical institute at Wilna, he acted as teacher there for some time. In 1871 the Society for the Promotion of Culture Among the Jews of Russia presented him with a scholarship, enabling him to continue his studies at Breslau. Here, at the rabbinical seminary, and at the university under Grätz, Frankel, and others, he acquired a knowledge of philosophy, history, theology, and Oriental learning. After attaining the degree of doctor in 1875, he returned to Russia.

He was chosen (1876) chief rabbi of the community at St. Petersburg. Both in this capacity and as a representative of the interests of Russian Judaism at the time when the anti-Semitic movement was developing, he had a difficult and responsible task. Through his forceful personal representations to the heads of the Russian government, through his interviews with Count Ignatiev during the anti-Jewish riots of 1882, and through his vehement pulpit declamations against anti-Semitism, the name of Drabkin became widely known.

Drabkin was one of the first Jewish rabbis to preach in Russian. To his initiative is due the establishment of a number of educational and charitable institutions by the community of St. Petersburg. He went with the deputations sent on various occasions by that community to wait upon Alexander III. and Nicholas II. At the latter's coronation in 1896 Drabkin, together with the rabbis of Moscow and Warsaw, was chosen by the government to represent the Jews of Russia, and was later decorated by the czar. He was a member of several commissions, including that appointed to consider the question of circumcision among the Jews (1892), and that organized under the chairmanship of Prince Oldenburgski to prevent the spread of the plague.

Drabkin is the author of "Die Russische Gesetzgebung in Bezug auf die Juden," in "Monatsschrift," July and Aug., 1875; and he has contributed to the Russian-Jewish magazines "Vyestnik Russkikh Yevreyev" and "Razsvyet."

H. R. I. Dr.

DRACH, DAVID PAUL: Librarian of the Propaganda in Rome; born at Strasburg March 6, 1791; died in Rome Jan., 1865. Drach received his early education from his father, who was a rabbi. After spending some time in various Talmudic schools, he became a teacher at Rappoltsweiler, though only sixteen years of age. The love of the secular sciences brought him to Paris, where he was welcomed by his coreligionists, and became tutor in a wealthy Jewish family. His reputation as a teacher brought him Christian pupils; and this may have had some influence on his subsequent conversion; in fact, he had always manifested some leaning toward Christianity.

Drach had already begun the study of Greek and Latin so as to become acquainted with the Christian doctrines in their original sources. Struck by the accusation of some of the Fathers that the Jews had corrupted the Hebrew text, he began a comparative study of the Hebrew and the Septuagint, which study he continued in spite of the remonstrances of the president of the Central Consistory. Drach was received into the Catholic faith in 1823, together with his two daughters and his son **Paul,** who afterward became a priest and a distinguished Biblical scholar.

In 1827 Drach accepted the position of librarian of the Propaganda in Rome, which position he held until the year of his death.

Drach's principal works are the following: An edition of the "Bible de Venice," 27 vols., with copious and learned notes, Paris, 1827–33; "Relation de la Conversion de M. Hyacinthe (Simon) Deutz, Baptisé à Rome, le 3 Février 1826, Précédée de Quelques Considérations sur le Retour d'Israel dans l'Eglise de Dieu," Paris, 1828; "Du Divorce dans la Synagogue," Rome, 1840; "Notice Concernant l'Origine et les Progrès de l'Hospice Apostolique de St. Michel," Rome, 1842; "De l'Harmonie Entre l'Eglise et la Synagogue, ou Perpétuité de la Foi de la Réligion Chrétienne," 2 vols., Paris, 1844; "Lexicon Catholicum Hebraicum et Chaldaicum in V. T. Libros, hoc est, Gulielmi Gesenii Lexicon Manuale Hebræo-Latinum Ordine Alphabetico Digestum," Paris, 1848; "Le Pieux Hébraisant," a work containing the principal Christian prayers and a summary of the Catholic catechism in Hebrew and Latin, Paris, 1853; "Documents Nouveaux sur les Restes des Anciens Samaritains" (from "Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne," Nov., 1853), Paris, 1854.

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S. H. H.

DRACHMA. See Numismatics and Weights.

DRACHMAN, BERNARD: American educator and rabbi; born in New York city June 27, 1861. He is a descendant of a rabbinical family, and was educated at the High School, Jersey City, N. J.; the Hebrew Preparatory School, and Columbia College, New York, whence he graduated in 1882. Continuing his studies in Europe, he entered the Breslau seminary, and matriculated at the University of that place, taking the degree of Ph.D. at Heidelberg (*multa cum laude*) in 1884. Drachman received his rabbinical diploma from Manuel Joel, rabbi at Breslau (1885). Returning to America, he first officiated as rabbi to the Oheb Sholom congregation in Newark, N. J. (1885–87). Next he accepted the office of rabbi to the Congregation Beth Israel Bikkur Cholim, New York city (1887–89), and later to that of the congregation Zichron Ephraim, of which he is still (1903) the incumbent. Drachman assisted Dr. Sabato Morais in founding the Jewish Theological Seminary (1886), and was appointed preceptor in Biblical exegesis, Hebrew grammar, and Jewish philosophy. In 1889 he was elected dean of the faculty, which position he held until the founding of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York in 1902, when Drachman accepted the office of instructor in Bible and Hebrew grammar and the appointment of acting reader in codes in that institution. To him was due the inception of the Jewish Endeavor Society.

Among his writings may be mentioned: "Die Stellung und Bedeutung des Jehudah Hajjug in der Geschichte der Hebräischen Grammatik" (Breslau, 1885), and "Neo-Hebraic Literature in America" (in the Seventh Biennial Report of the Jewish Theological Seminary Association, New York, 1900). Also he translated from the German "The Nineteen Letters of Ben Uziel" by Samson Raphael Hirsch (New York, 1899).

A. F. H. V.

DRAGOMAN, EL: Title of a Jewish periodical written in Judæo-Spanish and printed in square Hebrew characters, published in Vienna in 1856.

G. M. Fr.

DRAGON (*δράκων*): The usual translation of the Septuagint for תנין, dangerous monster whose bite is poisonous ("dragons' poison") (Deut. xxxii. 33; Ps. xci. 13). Nowhere distinctly described, they must be imagined as of composite form, resembling, according to some passages, the snake. Thus in Ex. vii. 9 (Hebr.) the staff of Moses is turned into a "dragon"; according to Ex. iv. 3 (Hebr.), into a "snake." Their home is in the water; they are mentioned together with the waves of the sea (Ps. cxlviii. 7), and were created by God with the fishes (Gen. i. 21). Originally they are mythological personifications of the floods (תהמות). In the vicinity of Jerusalem a "dragon's spring" was located, in which, according to ancient belief, a dragon lived as the spirit of the well (Neh. ii. 13). Especially interesting are the passages that speak of a single dragon: the "dragon that is in the sea" (Isa. xxvii. 1); "the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers" (Ezek. xxix. 3); or simply "dragon" (Job vii. 12 [Hebr.]; Jer. li. 34; Ps. xliv. 19, read תנין). Such a dragon is also referred to as "Rahab" (Isa. li. 9 *et seq.*). Leviathan (לויתן) probably also means a dragon of this kind (compare Isa. xxvii. 1).

Sometimes considerable information is given of

these monsters. "In the beginning of things YHWH overpowered them in creating the world." It is clear that this story, which is found only in fragments in the O. T., was originally a myth, representing God's victory over the seas (תהום; Isa. li. 9 *et seq.*), or the hemming in of the Nile (Ezek. xxix. 3). The Babylonian story of Marduk's victory over the dragon of the sea, Tiamat, is analogous; but other traditions, especially those of Egypt, may also have influenced the story. The Hebrew poets and Prophets were fond of using this old myth to symbolize the destruction of Israel's enemies.

In post-canonical times also similar traditions are often referred to. Psalms of Solomon (ii.) describe, under the image of a dragon, Pompey's greatness and fall; Apocr. Esther (i. 4 *et seq.*) describes the conflict between Haman and Mordecai as a battle between two dragons; the legend of Bel and the Dragon, a reproduction of the old Marduk monster, in the Septuagint version of Daniel, narrates how the prophet made cakes of pitch and put them in the dragon's mouth, with the result that the "dragon burst in sunder." Especially important is the mystical story of the persecution of the divine child and its heavenly mother by the great red dragon (Test. Job xii.). In its present form the story is explained as referring to the attacks of the devil on the Messiah, but it is based on an old Oriental myth of the enmity of the dragon for the child of the sun.

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E. G. H. H. GUN.

DRAGUIGNAN (Hebrew, דרניניא): Capital of the department of Var, France. There was a Jewish community here in the thirteenth century. The poet Isaac Gorni, who visited it in the beginning of the fourteenth century, complained bitterly of the rich Jews of Draguignan, who did not know enough to appreciate his talent. He called the place מקום תנין ("dragon's lair"). In 1350–1400 two Jews, Cresquet and Crescas, who had come from "Draguinham," lived at Tarascon. About the same time Crégut Ḥayyim, a Jew from Draguignan, lived at Hyères, France. In 1427 the Jews of Draguignan were persecuted, and compelled to wear a badge in the shape of a wheel, on pain of being fined twenty-five silver marks. In 1475, however, they were authorized to maintain a synagogue on condition of paying four pounds of wax annually to the Bishop of Fréjus.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Arnaud, *Essai sur la Condition des Juifs en Provence*, pp. 20, 51; Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, p. 170; S. Kahn, *Les Juifs de Tarascon*, p. 25.

G. S. K.

DRAMA: City of European Turkey in the vilayet of Salonica, 25 miles from Serrès. It is the ancient Drabescus. Its small Jewish community, which was founded in 1860 by immigrants from Serrès and Monastir, possesses a synagogue, and a boys' school with fifty pupils. Aside from several well-to-do families, the greater part of the Jews live by peddling in the neighboring villages. There are sixty-two Jewish families in a total population of 9,000.

D. M. FR.

DRAMA, HEBREW: The origin of the Hebrew drama may be traced back to a very early period. The ancient Hebrews, like other nations of antiquity, were wont to express their emotions in the form of dialogue interspersed with songs. Miriam, with a drum in her hand, singing the deliverance of Israel, while the other women answer her in chorus, suggests vividly the strophes and antistrophes of the later Greek. The song of Moses is of the same nature. The Song of Solomon, according to many scholars, is a regular drama, the heroine of which is the Shulamite, and in which the other dramatis personæ are: Solomon; a shepherd; chorus; watchmen, etc. (see Renan's translation of the Song of Solomon). To the foregoing may be added the Book of Job, which, if not so elaborate in dramatic form as the Canticles, yet represents several persons as acting, namely: Job; his wife; the messengers; Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar (Job's three friends); Elihu; and God. These few crude dramas of the Biblical epoch had no immediate successors. Till the seventeenth century C.E. not a single drama in Hebrew is known. It is true that in the second century B.C. Ezekiel the Alexandrian, inspired by Euripides, wrote a drama in Greek, "The Exodus"; but other Jews did not imitate him. With the fall of pagan Rome a new era of culture began, in which the Jews actively participated, producing a considerable quantity of dramatic literature, though written in secular languages (Kayserling, "Sephardim; Romanische Poesien der Juden in Spanien").

It was the city of Amsterdam, where the Jews found freedom from persecution, and where Jewish libraries and literary societies existed, that gave birth to the modern Hebrew drama.

The subject may be divided into: (1) dramas written in Hebrew; and (2) those translated or adapted into Hebrew from other languages. Of the former the earliest were written about the middle of the seventeenth century, and the production of their successors continued with some interruption for about two hundred years. Translations began to be made at the end of the eighteenth century, but reached their highest excellence at the end of the nineteenth century. The translation into Hebrew of dramas written in other languages is still carried on with great activity.

The First Hebrew Drama.

I. Of the dramas written in Hebrew the oldest is יסוד עולם ("The Eternal Foundation"), written by Moses Zacuto at Amsterdam about 1642 (Franz Delitzsch, "Gesch. der Jüdischen Poesie," p. 75). The subject is the legend that Abraham destroyed the idols of his father, leaving only the large one. On being brought by his father before Nimrod, he is sentenced to be thrown with his brother Haran into a fiery furnace. Haran perishes in the flames, but Abraham is rescued by an angel. The style is very fluent and agreeable. Sometimes the author gives to Hebrew roots forms which are not found in the Bible. The long pieces have one and the same rime, a system common in Arabic poetry. In the short pieces, as in the Persian "mesnevi," the two hemistichs usually rime together. The drama was published by Berliner, with an introduction, at Breslau, 1872, and by David J. Maroni at Leghorn in the same year.

אסירי התקוה ("The Prisoners of Hope"), by Joseph b. Isaac Penso, 1667, was printed at Amsterdam in 1673. The argument is as follows: A king who takes a serious view of his responsibilities is led astray, now by his own impulses ("yeẓer"), now by his wife ("ishshah"), and now by Satan. Finally his own understanding ("sekel"), Providence ("hashgaḥah"), and an angel endeavor to lead him in the right way.

The author was only seventeen years old when he composed the work, which was somewhat beyond his powers, although several poets have praised in verse the talent of the young dramatist.

The aim of both Penzo and Zacuto was to direct the attention of the Maranos to the Hebrew language and to draw them away from profane literature, to which they had exclusively devoted themselves.

During the seventy years which followed no Hebrew drama appeared. Some insignificant farces were written in Judæo-Spanish and afterward burned, but it was not till the first half of the eighteenth century that a revival of the Hebrew drama took place.

שמשון ופלשתים ("Samson and the Philistines"), by Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto, was published at the end of his "Leshoṅ Limmudim" (Sudzilkov, 1836).

מגדל עז ("Tower of Strength"), is an epithalamium written by the same author to celebrate the wedding of his uncle Israel Basan. This is an allegorical drama in four acts, and was composed when the author was young and full of poetic ardor. He was chiefly inspired by Guarini's "Pastor Fido"; but, as he says in his preface, he took the topic from the Midrash, where the Torah is compared to the young daughter of a king hidden in a stronghold, who shows herself only to her lover. The moral is the same as that of the "La-Yesharim Tehillah" (see below); namely, the triumph of truth over falsehood. The play was edited 100 years later by Franz Delitzsch, with notes by S. D. Luzzatto and M. Letteris (Leipsic, 1837).

לישרים תהלה ("Praise to the Righteous"), also an epithalamium by Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto, was written on the occasion of the wedding of his friend and pupil Jacob di Gavis (Amsterdam, 1743). The title is a play on the word "Tehillah," which is the name of the heroine. The drama is an allegory in three acts, in which the chief actors are *Yosher* ("Rectitude"), *Tehillah* ("Praise"), and *Rahab* ("Pride"). The last, assisted by his friend *Tarmit* ("Falsehood"), tries to win for himself *Tehillah*, who has been promised to *Yosher*. He is frustrated in his design, and *Tehillah* is wedded to *Yosher*. This was Luzzatto's third drama, and though perhaps inferior in elegance to its predecessors, it evidences a much riper genius. It is more philosophical, and the tone throughout is Biblical. Luzzatto's language, as Franz Delitzsch says (*l.c.* p. 92), is not a mere mosaic of Biblical sentences, but an enamel of the finest and rarest Biblical elegancies.

ילדות ובחרות ("Childhood and Boyhood"), by Mendel Bresselau (Berlin, 1786), is a didactic poem in the form of a dialogue. The author imitated Luzzatto, whom he approached very closely.

הקולות יחדלן ("The Voices Cease"), by Samuel Romanelli of Mantua (Berlin, 1791), is an allegorical melodrama which he wrote in celebration of the marriage of a friend. He borrowed the mechanism of this work from classical mythology (Delitzsch, *l.c.* p. 92), and followed Luzzatto even more closely than did Bresselau.

אביגיל ("Abigail"), by R. Joshua, son-in-law of R. Isaiah Berlin (has never been published). The author died in 1806.

אסתר ("Esther"), by Joseph Haltern, 1795 (published in Heinemann's "Archiv," 1841), is an imitation of Racine's drama.

מלכות שאול ("The Reign of Saul"), by Joseph Efrati, is a Biblical drama in six parts, the hero of which is King Saul (published for the first time at Vienna, 1794).

מלחמה בשלום ("War in Peace"), by Ḥayyim Abraham b. Aryeh, is a play divided into two parts. The first, "Token 'Alilot" (The Weighing of Actions), describes the sale of Joseph by his brethren and the journey of the latter into Egypt to buy grain. The second part, "Tokaḥat Megullah" (An Open Warning), deals with the discussions between Jacob's sons and the Egyptian magicians, and describes how Joseph was recognized by his brothers. This work was published the first time at Sklow, Russia, in 1795. It was translated into Polish, and produced at Warsaw before Prince Paskevich. The women present were so much affected that several of them fainted, and the government forbade further performance of the drama.

בית רבי ("The House of Rabbi"), by Moses Konitz (Vienna, 1805), is a dramatized life of R. Judah ha-Nasi, the compiler of the Mishnah; included in the play is all that is told about Rabbi in the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds.

Nineteenth Century.

בת יפתח ("The Daughter of Jephthah"), by Moses Neumann (Vienna, 1806), is a Biblical drama.

נבות היזרעאלי ("Naboth of Jezreel"), by Shalom ha-Kohen, was printed with his "Maṭṭa'e Ḳedem" (Rödelheim, 1807).

עמל ותרצה ("'Amal and Tirzah") is an allegorical drama in three acts, by the same author (Rödelheim, 1812). It is a sequel to Luzzatto's "La-Yesharim Tehillah," employing the same dramatis personæ. The author was induced to complete Luzzatto's work, which presented only the triumph of the good, and omitted the punishment of the wicked. The play was reedited by M. Letteris, Warsaw, 1862.

The remaining dramas are:

צפורה ("Zipporah"), by Gabriel Berger, in "Neuer Sammler" (Königsberg, 1809); Biblical drama.

אמנון ותמר ("Amnon and Tamar"), by Eliezer Raschkow (Breslau, 1812 [?]); Biblical drama.

יוסף ואסנת ("Joseph and Asenath"), by Süsskind Raschkow (*ib.* 1817); Biblical drama in five acts.

החרוץ והעצל ("The Industrious and the Idle"), by David Samoscz (*ib.* 1817).

פלגש בגבעה ("The Concubine at Gibeah"), by the same author; Biblical drama, the heroine of which is the Levite's concubine who caused the war between the tribes of Israel and that of Benjamin (*ib.* 1818).

גורל הצדיקים, or, according to Zeitlin, גמול הצדיקים ("The Lot of the Just"), by Kalman Kohen Bistritz (Vienna, 1821); Biblical drama in three acts, the hero and heroine being Mordecai and Esther.

שארית יהודה ("The Remnant of Judah"), by Solomon Judah Rapoport; a free adaptation of Racine's "Esther," in four acts, with an introduction (published in the "Bikkure ha-'Ittim," 1827).

חנניה מישאל ועזריה ("Ḥananiah, Mishael, and Azariah"),

by Samuel David Luzzatto (published in the "Bikkure ha-'Ittim," 1875).

און בן פלת ("On, Son of Pelet"), by the same author (*ib.*).

תורדות משה ("The History of Moses"), by Isaac b. Saul Kandia (Warsaw, 1829); drama in two acts.

גדולת יוסף ("The Greatness of Joseph"), by Nathan R. Kalkar, in his "Niṭ'e Sha'ashu'im" (Copenhagen, 1834); Biblical drama.

בעז ורות ("Boaz and Ruth"), by Israel Jehoiada Cohen (Breslau, 1834).

אפיק נחלים ("The Torrent of Rivers"), by Aaron David Gordon (Wilna, 1836); an allegorical drama in three parts. It is a satire upon the conditions of the time, in which the author flays those who indulge in drinking on the anniversary of a parent's death. He was afterward persecuted by the class at which he aimed his shafts.

גזע ישי ("The Trunk of Jesse"), by M. Letteris (Vienna, 1836); a tragedy in five acts, the heroine of which is Athalia.

מפלת סיסרא ("The Fall of Sisera"), by Naḥman Isaac Fishmann (Lemberg, 1841); Biblical drama in two acts.

שלום אסתר ("The Peace of Esther"), by M. Letteris (Prague, 1843); tragedy in three acts.

על חומות ירושלים ("On the Walls of Jerusalem"), by Phinehas Kraemer (Vienna, 1865); a tragedy dealing with an episode of the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans.

אשת חיל ("A Virtuous Woman"), by Elias Levin (Wilna, 1866); Biblical drama in one act, the principal characters being David and Abigail.

תפארת לבני בינה ("Glory to the Intelligent"), by A. B. Gottlober (Jitomir, 1867); an imitation of Luzzatto's "La-Yesharim Tehillah."

משל ומליצה ("Fable and Satire"), by Meïr Löb Malbim (Paris, 1867, and Warsaw, 1877); allegorical drama in four parts.

תבוסת אבישלום ("The Fall of Absalom"), by Joshua Bank (Odessa, 1868 and 1878); Biblical tragedy.

אמת ואמונה ("Truth and Belief"), by Ab. B. Lebensohn (Adam ha-Kohen) (Wilna, 1867 and 1870); an allegory in three acts and twelve scenes, attacking superstition.

אלישע בן אבויה ("Elishah, Son of Abuyah"), the teacher of R. Meïr, who was baptized (Vienna, 1868); an adaptation of Goethe's "Faust."

פחד בלילות ("Terror of the Nights"), a Talmudic tragedy, the heroes and heroine of which are King Solomon, Asmodeus, and the Queen of Sheba. The subject is the Talmudic legend of the dethronement of Solomon by Asmodeus. This work has not been published (see "Orient," x. 635).

קשר שבנא ("The Conspiracy of Shebna"), by N. Fishmann (Lemberg, 1870); Biblical drama in five acts.

נבל הצדיק ("Nabal the Righteous"), by A. D. Wechsler (Lemberg, 1874); comedy in five acts, denouncing the hypocrisy of the day. It is an adaptation from Molière's "Tartuffe."

הדסה ("Hadasa or Esther"), by G. Gitelevicz (Warsaw, 1875); Biblical drama in twelve scenes.

סמל האהבה והקנאה ("The Emblem of Love and of Jealousy"), by Aron Margolis (Vienna, 1877); Biblical tragedy, the hero and heroine of which are Amnon and Tamar.

כשרון החכמה ("The Advantage of Wisdom"), by S. Apfel (Czernowitz, 1882); drama in four parts.

הנרדף מארץ רוסיה ("The Russian Emigrant"), by Osias Atlas (Przemysl, 1883); tragedy in three acts.

בר כוכבא ("Bar Kokba"), by L. Landau (Lemberg, 1884); tragedy in five acts, the hero of which is Bar Kokba, leader of the revolt against Hadrian.

אמונה והשכלה ("Belief and Enlightening" [Rationalism]), by D. M. Andermann (Drohobycz, 1887); an allegory in five acts; the author imitates Luzzatto.

Several other dramas written by Russian Jews have not yet been published.

II. Berliner in his (Preface to "Yesod 'Olam," p. xix.) makes the statement that Letteris was the first translator of dramas into Hebrew. But if the adaptations of Letteris are considered to be translations merely, the priority must be given to David Franco-Mendes, of the end of the eighteenth century, who wrote "Gemul 'Atalyah" (The Punishment of Athalia), a Biblical drama in three acts adapted from Racine and Metastasio (Amsterdam, 1770). It was in the nineteenth century, and especially in its second half, that Hebrew literature was enriched by numerous translations of dramas. Meïr Letteris was certainly the first translator or adapter in the nineteenth century. His translations, or rather his adaptions, are mentioned above, namely: (1) Racine's "Esther" into Hebrew under the title "Shelom Ester"; (2) "Athalie," of the same author, under the title "Geza' Yishai"; (3) "Ben Abuyah," an adaptation of Goethe's "Faust." Racine's "Esther" was also translated by Joseph Haltern and by Solomon J. Rapoport (see above) in four acts (Vienna, 1827). Two other translated dramas have to be added to those of the first half of the nineteenth century: Metastasio's "Isacco," translated by Elijah Bardach under the title "'Aḳedat Yiẓḥaḳ" (The Sacrifice of Isaac; Vienna, 1833); and Kotzebue's "Der Schatz," translated by David Rosenhand under the title of "Ha-Oẓar," or "Le-Yishre Leb Simḥah" (Joy to the Righteous), in two acts (Warsaw, 1845).

During the second half of the nineteenth century very many translations were made. The favorite author was Schiller, seven of whose dramas have been translated into Hebrew: (1) "Die Braut von Messina," under the title "Medanim ben Aḥim" (Quarrels Between Brothers), by Jacob Levin (Brody, 1868); (2) "Die Räuber," under the title "Ha-Shodedim," by Moses Schulbaum (Lemberg, 1871); (3) "Wilhelm Tell," in prose, by David Radner, (Wilna, 1878); (4) "Don Carlos," in prose, by the same (*ib.* 1879); (5) "Marie Stuart," by Solomon Kovner (*ib.* 1879); (6) "Turandot," under the title "Tirẓah," by Osias Atlas (Przemysl, 1879); (7) "Fiesco, oder die Verschwörung zu Genua," under the title "Ḳesher Fiesko," by Samuel Apfel (Drohobycz, 1889). Five of Lessing's dramas have been translated: (1) "Nathan der Weise," under the title "Natan he-Ḥakam," by S. Bacher (Vienna, 1866); also by A. B. Gottlober, who versified the Hebrew in the same meter as the original (*ib.* 1874); "Philotas," under the title "Abinadab," by J. Falkovich (Odessa, 1868); (3) "Die Juden," under the title "Ha-Yehudim," in prose, by Jacob Kohn (Warsaw, 1875), also in verse by Hirsch Teller (Vienna, 1881); (4) "Der Freigeist," under the title "Ḥonen we-Noten," by D. Kohn (Przemysl, 1886); (5) "Miss Sara Sampson," under the title "Sarah bat Shimshon," by Isr. Frenkel (Warsaw, 1887).

Of other translations the following may be mentioned:

Gutzkow's "Uriel Acosta," by Sol. Rubin (Vienna, 1856).
Ludwig Philippson's "Jojachin," a tragedy in four acts, by S. Bacher (Vienna, 1859).
Shakespeare's "Othello," by Isaac E. Salkinson, under the title "Itiel" (Vienna, 1874).
The same author's "Romeo and Juliet," by Isaac E. Salkinson, under the title "Ram we-Ya'el" (Vienna, 1878).
Rich. Cumberland's "The Jew," drama in five acts, by Joseph Brill, under the title "Ish Yehudah" (Wilna, 1878).
Mosenthal's "Debora," by David Radner (*ib.* 1880).
Shakespeare's "Macbeth," by Isaac Rabb (Drohobycz, 1883).
Kotzebue's "Der Arme Poet," by Isidor Brüstiger, under the title "Ha-Meshorer he-'Ani" (Lemberg, 1884).
Scribe's "La Juive," by Zusmann Marik, under the title "Rabel ha-Yehudiyyah" (Wilna, 1886).
Kozlovski's "Esterka," Polish drama in five acts, by Israel Frenkel, under the title "Massa' Ester" (Warsaw, 1889).

Finally, the following two poems arranged in dialogue form may be added: Dante's "Divina Commedia," under the title "Mar'ot Elohim" (Appari-

tions of God), translated by Saul Farmiggini (Triest, 1869); and Milton's "Paradise Lost," under the title "Wa-Yegaresh et ha-Adam" (And He Drove Adam Out), by Isaac E. Salkinson (Vienna, 1871). The two Warsaw literary societies, "Ahiasaf" and "Tushiyah," are continuing the publication of dramas translated into Hebrew.

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G. M. SEL.

DRAMA, THE JEW IN MODERN: The modern drama, which may be said to date from Christopher Marlowe and Shakespeare, has made liberal use of the Jew as a stage character. From the time of these authors until the present, dramatists have utilized the Jew, either libeling him as a human atrocity, with all the vices of a materialized devil, or, going to the other extreme, making him a perfect man. Few have struck the happy medium and shown the Jew as an ordinary human being.

General Characteristics.

The abusers of the Jew have been responsible, to a great extent, for the popular conception of Jewish character; for they have depicted him as hideous as his bitterest enemy could wish. Avarice, hatred, venality, murder, bigotry—in fact, all of the worse passions have been attributed to the stage Jew. In England, in Germany, in France, in Austria, on all stages, the Jew, probably because of his strong personality, has been a favorite theme with the dramatists. Shakespeare, in England, conceived a SHYLOCK; Stephanie, in Austria, a *Pinkus, Shylock's* opposite; Dugué, in France, *Bambaccia*, a thief; Iffland, in Hamburg, *Baruch*, a good angel. Every dramatist had his own idea of the Jew and his character, and represented him accordingly.

In England the first of the modern plays to utilize the Jew was Marlowe's "The Rich Jew of Malta" (see BARABAS), which was not attributable to hatred of Jews in general, but of one Jew in particular; namely, Queen Elizabeth's physician, Roderigo LOPEZ, who was hanged in 1593 for treason. Lopez was undoubtedly the inspiration for several plays with Jewish villains, which appeared shortly after his trial and death. In 1594 Philip Henslow, the most enterprising theatrical manager of that day, produced two such dramas.

In English Plays.

"The Merchant of Venice" followed in 1596—a dramatization of the tales of Ser Giovanni, "Il Pecorone," written in 1378 and published in Milan in 1558. The next play was Fletcher's "Women Pleased," the Jew being *Lopez*, a curious coincidence when Dr. Lopez is recalled. Beaumont and Fletcher's "Custom of the Country" followed in 1628. *Zabulon*, a male pander, is the Jew in this instance; and a more repulsive creation it would be difficult to imagine. *Rutilio*, a Christian, is, however, just as disgusting; yet, when *Zabulon* offers money to *Rutilio* to debase himself, he refuses the proffered gold with: "Because you are a Jew, sir, and courtesies come sooner from the devil than any of your nation." Before this (1610) Ben Jonson's "Alchemist" had been acted by the king's servants; but the part of the Jew, *Abel Drugger*, is so innocuous when compared with *Barabas* and *Zabulon* that it calls for no special comment.

After "Custom of the Country" came a steady stream of plays containing Jewish characters. Gosson's "School of Abuse" (1579) mentions a play, "The Jew Shewn at the Bull"; but no copy of the work is extant. "The Jewish Gentleman" was played in 1640; Dekker's "Jew of Venice," in 1653; William Henninge's "The Jew's Tragedy," in 1662; Lord Lansdowne's "The Jew of Venice," in 1701; "The Jew Decoy'd," a ballad opera, founded on "The Harlot's Progress," in 1773; "Jewish Education," in 1784; "The Israelite," in 1785; "Jewish Courtship," in 1787; "The Wandering Jew," in 1797; Dibdin's "The Jew and the Doctor," in 1798; "The Jew of Magadore," in 1808; Penley's version of "The Rich Jew of Malta," in 1818; "The Jew of Lubeck," in 1819; "The Hebrew," in 1820; a version of "Ivanhoe," with Edmund Kean as the *Jew of York*, in the same year; another version, "The Maid of Judah," in 1829; C. Z. Barnett's "The Rise of the Rothschilds, or the Honest Jew of Frankfort," and "The Ways of Our Tribe, or the Rich Man of Frankfort," in 1830; and Sheridan Knowles' "The Maid of Mariendorpt," in 1839.

Elizabethan Dramas.

In addition there were numerous dramatic compositions, each containing a Jewish character. In Robert Greene's "The First Part of the Tragicall Raigne of Selimus, Emperour of the Turks," the Jew *Abraham* poisons *Bajazet* at the instigation of *Selimus*, and then kills himself. *Signor Rogero*, in John Marston's "Insatiate Countess," is accused of being a Jew; while in Webster's "The Devil's Law Case," a Christian merchant disguises himself as a Jew in order to carry out his nefarious schemes. John O'Keefe, in "The Little Hunchback," shows *Zebede* and his nephew *Absolom* converted; while Leman Rede exhibits still another type in "The Skeleton Witness," in which *Simon Levi* is duped by the Christians. Then, too, there are *Ichabod* and *Isaac*, in Douglas Jerrold's "The Painter of Ghent"; *Beau Mordecai*, in Macklin's "Marriage à la Mode"; *Ephraim*, in Dibdin's "School for Prejudice"; *Isaac Mendoza*, in the comic opera "The Duenna"; *Shilric*, in Macfarren's comic opera "Malorina"; *Levi Lyons*, in "Will Watch"; *Abanazor*, in "The Jewess"; *Abraham Mendez*, in "Jack Sheppard"; *Boaz*, in Jerrold's "Prisoner of War"; *Bokes*, in Shirley Brooks's "The Creole"; and *Melter Moss*, in "The Ticket-of-Leave Man."

Later Plays.

More modern English dramatists have more or less neglected the Jew. Potter's dramatization of "Trilby" shows the exaggerated type in *Svengali*, a Jewish Cagliostro, charlatan, and scoundrel in one. Henry Arthur Jones produced a strong contrast to *Svengali* in his *Judah Llewellyn*, the half-Jewish hero of his "Judah"—a passionate, honorable dreamer-preacher. Zangwill, with his "Children of the Ghetto," also went to the extreme, in that he

exposed the ghetto-dwellers to the light of day with a fidelity which at times is absolutely unpleasant. The other ghetto play, Fernald's "The Ghetto," goes a step further; and its gloom is even more oppressively realistic.

In French Literature.

France, until the anti-Semitic outbreaks of the last ten years, had treated the Jew more gently than had any other Continental nation. One of its first stage Jews was *Shylock*, in "Le Juif de Venise"—a translation of "The Merchant of Venice" by M. Dugué. Next came Théophile Gautier's "La Juive de Constantine." Perhaps the strangest play of this character ever concocted was Merville and Maillau's "Juif Errant," produced at the Ambigu, Paris, July 31, 1834. In this play the principal characters are *Isaac Ahasvérus, Satan, Simon, The Archangel Michael, Barabas, Louis XV., Jean du Barry, Puck, Ariel, Napoleon, Franklin, Marcus Aurelius, Esther, Rachel, Mme. du Barry, Mme. de Pompadour, Lilith, Death*, and *The Seven Deadly Sins*. It is scarcely necessary to say that it was not successful.

Other French plays on Jewish subjects were Anicet Bourgeois' "L'Impératrice et la Juive"; Catulle Mendes' "Les Mères Ennemies" (introducing a *rabbi*); Désaugier's "Juif" (produced at the Porte-Saint-Martin May 14, 1823); Dumas' "Femme de Claude" (*Daniel* and his daughter *Rebeccah*); Dugué's "Salvator Rosa"; Erckmann-Chatrian's "L'Ami Fritz" (the *rabbi*); and Daudet's "Roi en Exil," dramatized as "La Juive," in which the *Leemans* of the novel is metamorphosed into an old-clothes man, and his daughter *Sarah* into *Dona Florinde*, who plays havoc with the feelings of *Don John* of Austria. "Le Juif Polonais," by Erckmann-Chatrian ("The Bells," in English), contains a Jewish character who is not seen, being killed behind the scenes by *Matthieu*.

Early German Plays.

Germany has been the most prolific of all the nations in stage Jews. The first play to introduce them was the celebrated "Das Endinger Judenspiel," produced in the public square of Endingen in Baden April 21, 1616. It relates the history of a family of Christians who are murdered by *Rabbi Elias* and his companions. Eight years later their bodies are found, and the murderers are stoned and burned. Next came Gryphius' "Horribilicribrifax," which shows the Jew *Issachar* as a great boaster. Lessing treated the Jew more kindly in his "Die Juden" (1755), although the *Traveler* conceals his race to the last. Stephanie's "Der Neue Weiberfeind und die Schöne Jüdin" (1773) holds up to view the pretty Jewess *Esther*, whom the hitherto woman-hating count loves, but deserts on discovering her race. The same author's "Die Abgedankten Offiziere" (1770), a comedy in imitation of Lessing's "Minna von Barnhelm," deals with *Pinkus*, a good-natured Shylock. Following this, in 1774, came Pauerbach's dramatization of "The Rural Probity" (published in "The London Magazine," Aug., 1773), entitled "Der Redliche Bauer und der Grossmütige Jude," in which *Moses* is resplendent as a good angel. This was succeeded by Booger's "Post" (with *Moses*, a coward). Then came H. L. Wagner's "Reue Nach der That" (1775), in which a Christian causes his dog to bite a Jew, and regrets it later; Plümike's "Volontär" (1775), with a Jew as a jolly soldier; "Der Adelige Tagelöhner" (1776), wherein *Isaac* helps the poor hero to frustrate the villain, *Von Malverse*.

Müller created an utter coward in *Mauschel*, the Jew, in his version of "Faust" (1778); but the stage Jew was fully redeemed a year later, when Lessing's "Nathan der Weise" (see NATHAN THE WISE) saw the light. Next followed Bischoff's "Der Judenfeind" (1780), in which *Rachel* is killed by her father, *Salomo*, for the sake of 200 thalers. The year 1781 saw "Albertine," in which *Abraham* is pictured as a swindler; and the year following, Pfranger's "Der Mönch von Libanon," a refutation and continuation of "Nathan der Weise"; the monk who confounds *Nathan* being *Saladin's* supposedly dead brother, *Assad*. Lerchenheim's "Der Jude, oder Betrug für Betrug" (with *Simon*, a cheat), and Törring-Seefeld's "Der Teure Ring" (with *Abraham*), were produced in 1783. In the following year Heinrich Reinicke, in his "Nathan der Deutsche," shows *Nathan* to be a benevolent type of Jew; and J. K. Latich acknowledged the authorship of "Wer War Wohl Mehr Jude," a plagiarism of "Nathan der Weise," in which *Carl Reichert*, the banker's son, loves *Marie*, the adopted daughter of the Jew *Wolf*.

In the next three years German authors produced: "Menschen und Menschen-Situationen" (Karl Steinberg), which also copies "Nathan der Weise," in which *Recha*, the Christian, is the adopted daughter of *Isaac Mendel*; "Liebe und Philosophie" (Leipziger); and "Die Lüderlichen," in which *Schmül*, the money-lender, plays a prominent part.

In 1792 Hensler's "Das Judenmädchen von Prag" created a stir, for it portrayed the Jew *Isaak* paying the debts of a Christian. The same year saw the creation of *Ephraim*, a comedy rôle in "Weltklugheit und Herzensgüte." Iffland's "Dienstpflicht" (1795) pictures *Baruch* as the guardian angel of the poor hero.

Nineteenth Century.

The first few years of the nineteenth century witnessed the productions of Bischoff's "Dina, das Judenmädchen aus Franken" (1802), which was written to combat the anti-Semitism of the day, and which exploits the love of *Albert*, a Christian, for *Dina*, the Jewess, the latter meeting death at the hands of *Albert's* cousin, *Bianca*; "Der Wuchernde Jude am Pranger" (1804), in which usurer and Jew are painted as synonymous; and Aresto's (Burchardi's) "Soldaten" (1804), wherein *Moses* declares that when dealing with honest Christians he is an honest Jew.

Similar plays of that period are Ziegelhauser's "Die Juden" (1807), which extols Jewish charity during a flood near Vienna; Sessa's "Unser Verkehr" (1815), a caricature of Jewish life, with *Jakob Hirsch*, who imagines himself to be a poet, as the hero; Voss's "Euer Verkehr," an answer to the last-named play, in which *Herr Levin* stops the production of "Unser Verkehr," and foils an attempt to blackmail the Jews; "Der Weisenknabe" (1825), in which a Jewish lottery-ticket seller unites two poor lovers; Schröder's "Die Heirat Durch ein Wochenblatt" (based on Boursault's "Comédie Sans Titre");

"Sie Fehlen Alle" (with *Moses*, the money-lender); "Spielerglück," in which the son of a Jew and of a French milliner poses as the *Marquis de Richesource*; and many farces by Richard Voss.

Present Plays.

Of the newer German productions the best known is Gutzkow's "Uriel Acosta" (1847), based on the same author's "Der Sadducäer von Amsterdam" (1833), which is a play of great power. "Leah, the Forsaken," is another drama dealing with Jewish character. In still more recent times "Heine's Junge Leiden" by A. Mels, which is entirely Jewish —for every character in it is that of a Jew—made its great success because of the sympathetic conception of the youthful poet and the humorous character of *Hirsch*, the wandering chiropodist and lottery-ticket agent. This play was one of the first, if not the first, to show the Jew of to-day as he really is. Max Nordau's "Dr. Kohn," with its pedantic hero and its priggish villains, while possibly true to life in such German society as is portrayed in the play, is an unfair conception of the Jew. Dr. Herzl's "New Ghetto" is perhaps a too realistic depiction of the objectionable type of Jew.

As for the melodramas and the comic operas of the day, there is scarcely one that does not contain at least one Hebrew. The Jew is a stock character with the lower grade of dramatists, whose lack of originality and inventiveness prevents them from creating a conception barely different from the usurer, the hook-nosed race-track tout, and the bediamonded lady with a dubious past, whose sole ambition is to lead some innocent Christian maiden from the path of virtue.

The conceptions of the Jew by the mummers are as varied as the characters created by the playwrights' fancies. Until 1741 the stage Jew was a buffoon or low comedian. In that year Macklin defied tradition and played *Shylock* as a vindictive, revengeful being, contending: "This was the Jew that Shakespeare drew." Before Macklin, Alleyne had played *Barabas* with a huge nose. Kean made his *Shylock* a somewhat sympathetic character. Other actors run the entire gamut of conception, from wildest farce to deepest tragedy.

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G. E. Ms.

DRAMA, YIDDISH: The dramatic part of Yiddish literature has had a less independent development than any other of its parts, and is consequently poorer, both in quality and in quantity. There are probably less than fifty printed Yiddish dramas, and the entire number of written dramas of which there is any record hardly exceeds five hundred. Of these at least nine-tenths are translations or adaptations. The earliest Yiddish dramas originated in Germany. Schudt, in his "Jüd. Merckwürdigkeiten," vi., ch. 35, tells of a troupe of Judæo-German performers in Frankfort-on-the-Main at the beginning of the eighteenth century, of which the director and "regisseur" was Baerman Limburg, author of the drama "Mekirat Yosef" (Sale of Joseph), which was played under his supervision. That drama was published in the above-mentioned city in 1711 (see "Oẓar ha-Sefarim," p. 326), and forms the beginning of the Yiddish drama. Numerous other dramatizations of the story of Joseph, of the Exodus, and of Esther and Ahasuerus were written in the succeeding two centuries; but, with the exception of the Esther plays by Goldfaden and Shaikevich, are of interest to bibliographers only. Saphir's farce, "Der Falsche Kaschtan" (1820), may be mentioned here because it was written to criticize Jewish communal affairs, while M. Miller's "Esther, oder die Belohnte Tugend" (Vienna, 1849), which is also written in German, but with Hebrew characters, may be cited as one of the latest productions not intended for the Yiddish-speaking masses.

Earliest Examples.

A certain Schertspierer of Vienna wrote a drama, "Moses," which was played in the newly established Jewish theater in Warsaw in 1838 ("Allg. Zeit. des Jud. 1838, No. 155). Of a later pre-Goldfaden Jewish theater, the one temporarily existing in Odessa in 1864, it is known only that the dramas "Esther" and "Athalia" were performed there ("Israelite," Cincinnati, vol. ii., No. 3). Aksenfeld's dramas mark the beginning of the Russian Yiddish drama, the main purpose of which is the glorification of the "Haskalah" or progressive movement. Gottlober's "Decktuch" (Warsaw, 1876) and Ettinger's "Serkele" (Johannesberg, 1861; Warsaw, 1875), which were written between 1830 and 1840, belong to the same class, to which also may be added I. B. Falkovich's "Reb Chaimele der Koẓin" (Odessa, 1866) and "Rochel die Singerin" (Jitomir, 1868). Abramowitsch, in his masterpiece "Die Takse" (*ib.* 1869), like the true artist, spares neither friend nor foe; but this work, like Zunser's extremely long "Mekirat Yosef" (Wilna, 1893), was not intended for the stage, and the dramatic form is only secondary.

The Modern Phase.

The real Yiddish drama begins with Goldfaden, who has not yet been surpassed. When he first established a permanent Yiddish theater, about 1875, he composed about fifteen farce comedies, some entirely original and some adapted from the German, but all containing actual Jewish characters and excellent caricatures. "Die Rekruten," "Die Babe mit dem Enikel," "Shmendrik," "Die Kishufmacherin," and "Die Zwei Kune-Lemels" are the best known of these. Of his later and more serious works, "Shulamit" and "Bar Kochba" are probably the best two plays in the entire Yiddish dramatic literature; they have been reprinted many times and translated into several European languages. His "Dr. Almasada" (adapted from the German), his "König Ahasuerus," and several dramas which he wrote while in New York, are still favorites with both actors and public.

Next to Goldfaden in point of time, and to some extent also in excellence, stands N. M. Shaikevich (Shomer), who began to write for the Yiddish stage

soon after it was established. His "Jüdischer Poritz," "Der Revizor" (a parody of Gogol's work of that name), "Der Lebendiger Todter," and "Die Kokete Damen," written about 1879-80, possess considerable merit, and his "Spanische Inquisition" was translated into Spanish and played in Argentina. Another of the earliest writers for the Yiddish stage is Ossip M. Lerner, who, among other translations, has furnished a very good one of Gutzkow's "Uriel Acosta." L. Lewinsohn's "Weibersche Knüplach," which gives a droll description of the scare caused among the Jewish women of a certain community by the prospective repeal of "the ban of R. Gershom" which enjoins monogamy, went through at least three editions (Warsaw, 1877; Wilna, 1881). Epstein's "Geschmissener Apikores" (Warsaw, 1879) and Ulrich Kalmus' "Geschichte fun a Seltenem Berit un a Genarte Chasune" (Warsaw, 1882) are crude, but possess some merit and originality. Katzenellenbogen's "Rashi," Lilienblum's "Discontist," and Mrs. H. E. Abramowich's translation of Lessing's "Die Juden" also belong to this period.

The Yiddish theater in London never attained much importance, and like similar theaters in Galicia or in some towns of the United States outside of New York, it depended almost entirely on dramatic productions composed in Russia and, later, on those composed in New York. Jacobs, the author or translator of the "Leichtsinnige" and of "Raḥel and Leah," both about 1888, and Rakov, author of a "Dreyfus" play, are the only London Yiddish dramatists of whom we have information. The real productivity began in New York, where

New York. every well-established Yiddish theater has its own playwright to provide new plays at short intervals. Joseph Lateiner, one of the earliest Yiddish dramatists of this generation, was the first to arrive here with a troupe (1883), and is considered the best of his kind. He began his career in Europe; his first productions here were "Esther and Haman" and "Joseph and His Brethren" (1884). He has since then written more than fifty plays, including comedies, tragedies, historical operas, melodramas, etc., most of which are a compound of several dramatic forms, and in which the staging is of more importance than the literary character.

M. Hurwitz, who arrived three years after Lateiner, has written about as many and as various pieces. Titles like "Tisza Eslar," "Shelome ha-Melek," "Shabbethai Ẓebi," "Capital und Arbeit," "Mabul fun Johnstown," "Cuba," "Der Rambam," "Jonah ha-Nabi," "Mary Berberi," show the scope and the variety of his dramatic works. Goldfaden while in New York also composed several plays, which, however, did not approach his former masterpieces. Shaikevich has also been active in New York for several years, and some of his comedies, *e.g.* "Die Emigranten" (1902), enjoy much popularity.

Jacob Gordin, who has written for the New York stage since 1891, is somewhat above the average of Yiddish playwrights. His adaptation, "Der Jüdischer König Lear," and its counterpart, "Mirele Efrot," and some other of his twenty odd pieces, have produced a strong, though hardly a lasting, impression. M. Seifert is the author of about fifteen or twenty pieces, of which an excellent short farce comedy, "Die Gele Redactie" (The Editorial Room of a "Yellow" Journal, 1902), deserves to be mentioned. Rubens Weissman, author of "Sarah," "Don Yiẓḥaḳ Abravanel," and a few other pieces, possesses considerable talent. John Paley is the author of the "Nihilisten"; Morris Rosenfeld, the poet, of "Der Letzter Kohen Godol"; and Jacob Ter, among others, has written a considerable number of dramatic works. Another Yiddish poet, A. M. Sharkanski, is the author of the historical dramas "Kol Nidre" and "Unetane Tokef." L. Kobrin and B. Gorin have written several dramatic works which are not devoid of literary merit, while D. M. Hermalin represents the ultrarealistic school on the Yiddish stage.

Several actors, like Thomashefski and Feinman, have also written plays, but none has succeeded so well as Rudolph Marks, author of "Ḥayyim in America," "Der Bowery Tramp," etc., who has given to the Yiddish stage some of the cleverest adaptations of American character-plays. Life in America is, next to Biblical subjects, the most popular theme with authors and audiences, and plays which portray the humorous side of it are among the most popular of contemporary Yiddish dramas.

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G. P. Wi.

DRAWER OF WATER: A proverbial expression always found in connection with "hewer of wood" (Deut. xxix. 11; Josh. ix. 21, 23, 27). When the fraud practised by the Gibeonites was discovered, the Israelites, since they had taken an oath to defend them, and therefore could not put them to death (see Covenant), made the Gibeonites perform the menial work of drawing the water and cutting and gathering the wood for the Tabernacle and later for the Temple service. The water was drawn from the well, put into goatskins, and so carried. If the man had a donkey, two goatskins could be carried at one time, slung across the animal's back. The drawer of water is still a familiar figure in the Orient. See Gibeon; Nethinim.

E. G. H. G. B. L.

DREAMS.—Biblical Data: Dreams have at all times and among all peoples received much attention. In the youth of a nation, as in the youth of an individual, dreams are so vivid that they appear to be hardly distinguishable from reality. "In the primitive stages of human development, when all insight into the laws of nature and of the human mind was lacking, dream-images were taken to be actual realities" (Lehmann, "Aberglaube und Zauberei," p. 414, Stuttgart, 1898). Dreams were not explained physiologically or psychologically, but were ascribed to intercourse with spirits or taken to be inspirations of the gods. As spirits and gods were supposed to be conversant with the things

that are hidden, yet unborn, dreams were looked upon as their whisperings, having the value of divinations and predictions. Since the language of spirits and gods, however, is not like the speech of men, it became necessary that dreams should be interpreted, which was possible only to the "wise man" who had intercourse with spirits and gods. In this way the "science" of dreams and dream-interpretation came into existence.

It is sufficient for the comprehension of the Biblical and Talmudical stories summarized below to compare them with the oneiromancy and oneirocriticism of the ancient world, which are amply treated in Lehmann's book, as well as in the various dictionaries of antiquities, such as Daremberg and Saglio's "Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines" (ii. 306–308) and Ennemoser's "Gesch. der Magie" (pp. 132–141, Leipsic, 1844). Tylor, in "Primitive Culture" (i. 122, 303, 439; ii. 411), discusses the question from the ethnographic point of view.

The Bible attaches importance to dreams, as is shown by well-known instances in Genesis. But in conformity with its strict monotheism, it is always God who speaks through dreams, either to make known His will or to announce future events. It must be noted, furthermore, that the dreams recorded in the Bible are, almost without exception, intended for the benefit of the race in general and not for that of single individuals (Gen. xx. 3; xxviii. 12; xxxi. 10, 24; xxxvii. 5, 9; xl.; xli.; Judges vii. 13; I Kings iii. 5, 15; Dan. ii. and iv.). The two interpreters of dreams mentioned by name, Joseph and Daniel, expressly refer to the inspiration of God in their interpretations (Gen. xli. 16, 25; Dan. ii. 19). Daniel even has dreams and interpretations in a "vision of the night." Dreams were also taken as divine revelations even if they referred only to the dreamer himself (compare Job xxxiii. 14 *et seq.*).

Job looks upon the disquieting dreams and the dreadful visions of sleep as terrors sent by God (vii. 14). The prophet also received his prophecies during sleep: in some cases God spoke with him; in others, God caused him to behold a vision (Dan. i. 17). Only Moses spoke with God face to face, without the intervention of dreams, visions, or riddles (Num. xii. 5 *et seq.*).

Dreams and Prophecy.

Prophets and dreamers are mentioned together because of the connection between prophecy and dreams (I Sam. xxviii. 6, 15; Deut. xiii. 2, 4; Jer. xxiii. 25–32, xxvii. 9, xxix. 8). "I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions" (Joel ii. 28). There is nothing to indicate how the dreams of the true prophets were distinguished from those of the false ones. The higher kind of prophet, however, beheld the vision while awake, either by day or by night (Zech. i. 8, iv. 1; Gen. xv. 12; I Sam. iii. 3, 4; II Sam. vii. 4 *et seq.*; Dillmann, "Handbuch der Alttestamentlichen Theologie," pp. 476 *et seq.*, Leipsic, 1895).

The interpretations of dreams in the Bible are not dependent upon astrology nor upon any other occult science, but are simple and ingenuous. The dreams are interpreted symbolically. Seven fat kine mean seven fat years, etc. The recurrence of the dream means that it will surely come to pass within a short time (Gen. xli. 32). The dreams of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. ii. and iv.) are huger and more fantastic, and their interpretation, especially that of the second one, may be termed allegorical. Judges vii. 13 is also interpreted symbolically.

Interpretation of Dreams.

E. G. H.

——**In Rabbinical Literature:** Jewish tradition furnishes abundant material relating to dreams, the Babylonian Talmud—which originated (200–500) in the home of the Chaldeans, the magicians of the ancient world—being especially rich in them. Berakot (55–58) is a veritable storehouse of dream-interpretations. The following selections will present the views of Palestinian and Babylonian Jews during the first five centuries of the common era.

The fact that the most famous teachers frequently discuss dreams and enunciate doctrines regarding them, shows the strong hold dreams had upon the minds even of the intellectual leaders of Judaism. Belief in dreams was the rule; doubt concerning them, the exception.

Johanan ben Zakkai dreamed that his sister's sons would lose 700 denarii in that year. He therefore pressed them to give alms frequently, so that they might lose that sum gradually in a noble way (B. B. 10a). A man felt some compunction regarding the money left him by his father, which he suspected to be tithe-money. The dispenser of dreams (בעל החלום) appeared to him, and named the place, the sum, and the uses to which the money was to be put. The scholars held that in such cases dreams could not be taken seriously, and declared the money to be secular (Tosef., Ma'aser Sheni, v. 9; Sanh. 30a). In a similar story it was the father instead of the dispenser of dreams who appeared to the son (Yer. Ma'aser Sheni 55b). Although God had turned His face from Israel, He yet spoke in dreams to individuals (Ḥag. 5b). In conformity with this view, dreams have been regarded as suggestions from Heaven. The patriarch Gamaliel II.'s qualms of conscience were allayed in a dream (Ber. 28a). In the same way the opposing scholars were enjoined to make their peace with the patriarch Simon ben Gamaliel (Hor. 13b).

Meïr had no confidence in a certain innkeeper with an ill-omened name; but two of his colleagues made light of his suspicions; whereupon Meïr was warned against the man in a dream (Yoma 83b). Hints through Biblical passages were given in dreams (Yeb. 93b; Soṭah 31a; etc.). Ḥanina had a dream in which Rab was hanged on a tree; he interpreted this to mean that Rab would be his successor, and therefore treated him as an implacable enemy (Yoma 87b). When R. Naḥma spoke irreverently of Saul, terrifying angels appeared to him in a dream (*ib.* 22b). For a similar reason King Manasseh appeared to R. Ashi in a dream (Sanh. 102b). When Raba forced rain to come, his father appeared in a dream and scolded him (Ta'an. 24b). One whom R. Judah had honored in death came to thank him in a dream (Shab. 152b). Even an idol

appeared in a dream, at a time when there was drought ('Ab. Zarah 55b). Raba prayed that he might receive in a dream the answer to a difficult question (Men. 67a). This actually happened in the case of R. Johanan (Men. 84b, *passim*). Many teachers of the Law desired to see famous authorities of past ages in their dreams, and had their wishes granted (Eccl. R. ix. 10). If any one was put under ban in a dream, ten persons had to absolve him (Ned. 8a); but if a pagan wished to embrace Judaism because he had been advised in a dream to do so, he was not accepted (Yeb. 24b).

Good and Evil Dreams.

A distinction was made between good and evil dreams. He who goes to bed in a cheerful frame of mind "is shown" a good dream (Shab. 30b), which may come to pass within twenty-two years (Ber. 55b). Good persons do not have good dreams, nor have bad ones evil dreams (*ib.*). As evil dreams naturally caused anxiety, people prayed not to be disturbed by them (Ber. 60b). The most common and efficient preventive of evil dreams was fasting (תענית חלום), still practised by many persons (Shab. 11a). It is not always clear what constitutes a good or an evil dream.

A skilful interpretation consisted in an ingenious answer, that often explained two similar dreams in entirely opposite ways. A man came to R. Jose ben Ḥalafta, saying: "I was told in a dream to go to Ḳapudḳia [Cappadocia], where I should find the money of my deceased father." Jose explained the dream as follows: "Count ten beams in your house, and in the tenth you will find the treasure, for 'Kapudkia' means קפא [="beam"] and דקוריא [="decuria," "ten"]" (for a similar analysis of the same name see Krauss, "Lehnwörter," ii. 459a). The same famous teacher of the Law interpreted a dream of an olive-wreath to mean that the dreamer would advance in the world; while he said to another man who had had a like dream, that he would be beaten. When the latter asked him why his interpretations differed, Jose replied: "The other man saw the olives growing, whereas you saw them after they had been picked", the latter idea being expressed in Hebrew by the words meaning "to beat down" (Yer. Ma'aser Sheni 55b). Such interpretations are generally based on folk-etymology, a striking example of which is given in Blau's "Altjüdisches Zauberwesen" (p. 166). The personality of the dreamer was also considered, so that the same dream (for instance, of drinking wine) might mean success in the case of a scholar, and misfortune in the case of an unlettered person (*ib.*).

Interpreters of Dreams.

The dreamer as a rule was unable to interpret his own dream (Yoma 28b). Hence the need of interpreters, who were numerous, and asked payment for their skill. The good-will of the interpreter was sought by presents, for it was believed that all dreams came true according to the interpretation (Yer. Ma'aser Sheni 57c; compare Bacher in "Rev. Et. Juives," xxvii. 141). Even teachers of the Law demanded a fee for interpreting a dream. They were consulted also by pagans, just as Jews consulted pagan "Chaldeans." Raba and Abaye, two Babylonian leaders of schools in the first half of the fourth century, laid their dreams before a Chaldean of the name of Bar Hedia, whose avarice and lying were denounced. "Whoever gave him a fee got a favorable answer, and whoever gave no fee got an unfavorable one" (Ber. 56a). He was held up to ridicule, and yet in spite of it was taken seriously.

Rules Concerning Dreams.

Ḥisda, a Babylonian of the third century, laid down the following rules: Every dream, excepting those which occur during fasting, means something. A dream not interpreted is like a letter unread. Neither good nor evil dreams come true entirely. An evil dream is better than a good one, since it leads to repentance; the former is annulled by the pain it causes, and the latter by the joy (Ber. 55a). Similar views are expressed by other Babylonian amoraim. An evil dream can be turned away, according to R. Johanan, by saying to three persons: "I have had a good dream"; they replying: "Yes, it is good; let it be good; may God change it to good," etc. The evil dream can also be annulled by means of certain Bible verses. The prayer for good dreams, which the congregation still pronounces after the first and second blessings of the priest, is recommended as early as the Talmud (Ber. 55b). In addition to learned interpretations—for instance, on the meanings of Biblical passages occurring in dreams—there are also those of a folk-lore character; *e.g.*, a red horse is an ill omen and a white horse a good omen (Sanh. 93a). A ט, the initial letter of טוב ("good"), is a good omen (B. Ḳ.). The diversity of dreams made the profession of interpreter remunerative. The fee paid for an interpretation was generally one denarius. There were twenty-four interpreters in Jerusalem, each one of whom would, of course, interpret a dream differently from the others.

Belief in dreams was criticized as early as Ecclesiastes, in which it is declared to be vanity (ch. v.). In view of the general and implicit belief in dreams obtaining in the ancient world, Sirach's disbelief in them is proof of his advanced thought. He expresses his views as follows (xxxi. [xxxiv.] 1–8, R. V.):

> Vain and false hopes are for a man void of understanding; and dreams give wings to fools.
>
> As one that catcheth at a shadow, and followeth after the wind, so is he that setteth his mind on dreams.
>
> The vision of dreams is as this thing against that, the likeness of a face over against a face.
>
> Of an unclean thing what shall be cleansed? And of that which is false what shall be true?
>
> Divinations and soothsayings and dreams are vain; and the heart fancieth, as a woman's in travail.
>
> If they be not sent from the Most High in thy visitation, give not thy heart unto them.
>
> For dreams have led many astray; and they have failed by putting their hope in them.
>
> Without lying shall the Law be accomplished; and wisdom is perfection to a faithful mouth.

The criticism of R. Simon ben Yoḥai (*c.* 150), however, shows a certain belief in the meaning of dreams; he says: "As there is no grain without chaff, so there is no dream without vain things." But his contemporary R. Meïr says, "Dreams do not help nor harm" (Hor. 13b). It is noteworthy that Philo wrote five books on dreams (Schürer, "Gesch." 3d ed., iii. 510, note 61). In view of these facts the psycho-

logic interpretations of dreams by the wise rabbi Joshua ben Ḥananya (*c.* 100) are worthy of note. As Nebuchadnezzar once asked the Chaldeans, so a Roman emperor (probably Hadrian) asked Joshua what he (Hadrian) was going to dream. Joshua answered: "You shall dream that the Persians will vanquish and ill-treat you." Reflecting on this the whole day, the emperor dreamed accordingly (Ber. 56a). Samuel (d. 257) gave a similar and equally effective answer to the Persian king. Notwithstanding these exceptions, it may be said that the Jews of antiquity held almost the same views regarding dreams as did other ancient peoples.

Bibliography: Hamburger, *R. B. T.* ii. 996-998; Winer, *B. R.* 3d ed., ii. 632-633; Ennemoser, *Gesch. der Magie*, pp. 112-141; Lehmann, *Aberglaube und Zauberei*, Stuttgart, 1898.

S. S. L. B.

—In Jewish Folk-Lore: Uncultured Jews share with, and in most cases derive from, their neighbors most of their superstitions relating to dreams. The general principle seems to be that dreams go by contraries. Thus, if you dream of death, it is a sign that you will live. This belief is common to English, Dutch, and Russian Jews. On the other hand, there is a saying that a sixtieth part of every dream is true, since a dream is that part of prophecy (Ber. 57b). But not all dreams follow the rule of contraries; thus, if a Russian Jew dreams that a dog attempts to bite him, it is regarded as a sign that his enemies wish to harm him. It is generally thought that the dead pay visits to the living in dreams; this is current among the German peasantry (Grimm, list of superstitions at the end of "Teutonic Mythology," No. 633). To dream that a dead person brings fruit with him is regarded as a sign that he is in paradise. It would also appear that Jewish popular thought regards the dream-world as in direct communication with heaven, for the familiar dream-experience of a sudden fall is regarded as a sign that the soul has been suddenly ejected from heaven. On the other hand, it is considered unlucky to accept in a dream a present from one dead. This is found as early as the thirteenth century in the "Ẓawwa'ah" of Judah Ḥasid, § 13. If an unpropitious or in other ways "bad" dream occurs to a pious Jew, he will fast the next day. It is therefore considered an evil omen to have a bad dream on Yom Kippur, when fasting is obligatory, and the dreamer can not ward off the ill effects of his dream by a special fast for that purpose. Hence the curious recipe for preventing bad dreams found among the Jews of Minsk, who say, "Got is a har, Der holem is a nar; Wos vet mir zich haintige nacht holemen, Wel ich morgen nit fasten" (God is master, The dream is a fool; Whatever I may dream to-night, I will not fast to-morrow). The assumption is that the ruler of dreams, finding that he can not force the dreamer to fast, will not take the trouble to send him a bad dream. Dreams are supposed to result in the way they are interpreted, and accordingly it is unwise to tell your dream to a fool; he might interpret it in an unfavorable way.

The Jews of eastern Europe have still their special dream-book, a Yiddish translation of Almoli's "Pitron Ḥalomot," an edition of which was published as late as 1902 in Brooklyn, New York. This classifies dreams in accordance with their subjects—as animals, plants, angels, or the dead; or milk, cheese, butter, etc. A few examples will suffice to indicate the character of the work. If you dream that an ox gores you, you will live long; that you see demons, you will earn a great deal of money; that you drink milk, you will fall ill, but rapidly recover. These puerilities are probably derived from medieval dream books of the Mohammedans, since Solomon ben Jacob Almoli lived in Constantinople.

Dream-Book.

A. J.

DREIFUS, MARKUS G.: Swiss teacher and editor; born at Endingen, canton Aargau, Switzerland, 1812; died at Zurich May 30, 1877. After attending the Talmud school and the seminary at Karlsruhe, and studying for a few terms at the University of Basel, he became in 1835 a teacher in the Hebrew parochial school of Endingen; holding that position, with temporary interruptions, until 1870. For a few years he was a teacher at Geneva, and for a short time editor of a political paper, "Der Landbote," at Winterthur. The last years of his life he spent as teacher of religion at Zurich, where he died. Dreifus, who was a grandson of R. Abraham Ris, was courageously and incessantly active in behalf of the civic and social betterment of his Swiss coreligionists; he and his friend M. Bernheim, teacher in Lengnau, being enthusiastic pioneers of religious reform. He endeavored to further the emancipation of the Swiss Jews by several small works and many articles in various Swiss journals. He published "Zur Würdigung des Judenthums Unter Seinen Nichtbekennern," Winterthur, 1860; 2d ed., with preface by M. Kayserling, *ib.* 1862.

S. M. K.

DREIFUS, MENAHEM BEN ABRAHAM: German rabbi and writer; he belonged to the widely related Treves family and signed himself טריוש. For many decades he was rabbi in Sulzburg, Baden, where he died in 1880. He is the author of a code giving the individual duties incumbent on an Israelite, published under the title "Oraḥ Mesharim," Mülhausen, 1858; 2d ed., Mayence, 1878. A Hebrew eulogy on the author by his brother-in-law Raphael Wormser, rabbi in Soulz, Alsace, forms a prelude to the work.

Bibliography: *Hebr. Bibl.* i. 54 *et seq.*

S. M. K.

DRESCHFELD, LEOPOLD: Physician and communal worker; born in Bamberg, Bavaria, 1824; died at Manchester, England, Oct. 21, 1897. He studied medicine and dental surgery in Germany, fought in the Revolution of 1848, and subsequently settled down in Manchester, where he became one of the leading dental practitioners. Dreschfeld identified himself with all educational movements for the advancement of his profession; was one of the founders of the Victoria Dental Hospital; was elected president of the Odontological Society (1888); and wrote a treatise on "Dentistry Among the Ancients." He was also elected president of the Students' Society; was on the committee of Owens College; was consulting surgeon to the Victoria Hospital, and a life member of the Odontological Society.

Dreschfeld was one of the original founders of the Park Place Synagogue; was associated with the Reform movement from its inception, and for over thirty years was one of the committee of the Jewish board of guardians. He was likewise one of the founders of several social institutions, including the Schiller-Anstalt and the Liedertafel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Jewish Chronicle*, London, Oct. 27, 1897.

J. G. L.

DRESDEN: Capital of the kingdom of Saxony; situated on both banks of the Elbe. The presence of Jews in the city or in its vicinity as early as the beginning of the eleventh century is evidenced by the proceedings against Margrave Gunzelin (1010), who, among others, was accused of selling Christian slaves to Jewish merchants. The first official document, however, directly concerning the Jews of Dresden, as well as those of the other cities of Meissen, is dated 1265. In that year Henry the Illustrious regulated the differences between Christians and Jews. From these regulations it may be inferred that the main occupation of the Dresden Jews was money-lending.

According to an old chronicle, a great auto da fé of the Dresden Jews took place on Shrove Tuesday, 1349 ("Chron. Parvum Dresdense," in Menken's "Script. Rer. Germ." ii. 332). It is possible that this was connected with the Black Death, although Dresden was but slightly attacked by the plague.

The Dresden Jews figure again in official documents in 1368, with regard to special taxes imposed upon them, amounting to 1,000 gulden every other year. In 1425 Duke Frederick reduced these to 875 gulden, with the stipulation that the sum should be paid in gold of good quality and of a certain weight. Accused, in 1430 or 1432, of favoring the Hussites, the Jews were banished from Dresden, and their synagogue, situated in the place which still bears the name "Judenhof," was transformed into a distillery. The banishment, however, seems not to have been general, as exceptions were made in favor of those Jews whose services to the city were recognized. Thus in 1448 the princes Ernst and Albrecht granted to a Jewish physician named Waroch (probably Baruk), with his two sons Meïr and Moses, the privilege of settling in Dresden on the condition that Waroch should attend all the patients committed to his care by the princes. For this service he was to receive yearly thirty bushels of corn, one cask of wine, and a cow.

Jews Banished.

In 1700 the court factors of August II., Berends Lehman and Jonas Meyer, who had hitherto lived at Hamburg, settled in Dresden. They were soon followed by many other Jews, whom they took under their protection. During the following twenty-five years the number of Jews living at Dresden must have greatly increased; for in 1725 the government, which endeavored to enforce the decree of banishment, thought it necessary to issue an order forbidding to those Jews who did not belong to the households of the court factors the right to sojourn in Dresden, except while fairs were being held. Ten years later the Christian merchants of Dresden lodged with the government a complaint against Jewish competition.

In 1746 new regulations were issued, rendering residence in the city unbearable to those Jews who by special permission had settled there. They were not allowed to build a synagogue, but had to meet privately and to preserve the strictest silence. A heavy poll-tax was imposed, which was further increased in 1749. Still the community gradually increased, and at length the absence of a Jewish cemetery was keenly felt. After many negotiations the Jews obtained from the government a plot of ground in Neustadt for the sum of 1,000 thalers, paying 5 thalers for each interment. The first to be buried in the cemetery was the widow of Isaac Meyer, bullion contractor to the mint.

New Regulations.

The government continued to hamper the development of the community. New laws were enacted in 1772, restricting still further the right of settlement in Dresden. No Jew was allowed to reside in the city without special permission. In order that no unprivileged Jew might be clandestinely harbored, each Jewish family was subjected to a monthly police visitation. The poll-tax was increased; every adult male being assessed 70 thalers annually, in addition to a tax upon his wife and children. The price of a permit for a Jewish marriage was 40 thalers. Every means of gaining a livelihood was barred to the Jews, with the exception of money-lending and of rag-dealing in the Judenhof. Many were thus unable to pay their taxes, and in 1777 several hundreds would have been banished but for the intervention of Moses Mendelssohn.

Still, in spite of all these restrictions, at the end of the eighteenth century there were about 900 Jews in Dresden. In 1803 the community organized, and nominated as rabbi David Wolf Landau of Lissa, who filled the office for fifteen years. He was assisted by the leaders, Mendel Schie, Samuel Kaim, and Hirsh Beer. From 1820 to 1861 Dr. Bernhard Beer was very active in promoting both the spiritual and material welfare of the community. Landau was succeeded in the rabbinate by Abraham Levy, who in 1835 was followed by Zacharias Fränkel. Owing to the great abilities and zeal of the latter, the community obtained in 1837 permission to build a synagogue, which was inaugurated in 1840.

Successive Rabbis.

The political situation of the Dresden Jews remained precarious. Some trades and handicrafts were opened to them by the decree of 1838; but their disabilities were still very numerous, and the repeated petitions of the community and the intervention on their behalf of some Christian notables, as the philosopher Krug, were of little avail. The government of Saxony remained deaf to all solicitations, despite examples of more favorable treatment of the Jews shown by neighboring countries. It was not till 1868 that the Dresden Jews, after a long and persistent struggle, secured all the rights of citizenship.

On the removal of Fränkel to Breslau in 1854, Dr. Wolf Landau succeeded him, and in 1886 the present rabbi, Dr. Jacob Winter, was elected. In 1901 the Jewish population of Dresden aggregated 2,547. The community has ten charitable institutions, most of which date from the end of the eight-

eenth century; it also has a large number of private foundations.

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G. I. Br.

DREUX (Hebr. דרוייש or דרום): Chief town of the arrondissement of the department of Eure-et-Loire, France. From the twelfth century, Jews were living in this locality, where they were considered the property of the Countess of Dreux. In accordance with a convention concluded between King Louis and the barons at Melun in 1230, the Jews could be brought back to their old homes by force in case they had emigrated. This happened in 1234, when Louis ordered Thibaud, Count of Champagne, to restore to the Countess of Dreux the Jews that he held unlawfully, and the ownership of whom would be for her a source of revenue.

Abraham ibn Ezra was in Dreux from 1155 to 1157. Scholars of Dreux attended the synod of Troyes in 1160. In the thirteenth century it was the residence of many eminent rabbis, including Solomon, surnamed "the Saint," chief of the academy, and esteemed as a Tosafist; Joseph ben Solomon; Perez ben Menahem; Menahem Vardimas, a contemporary of Sire Léon and of Jehiel of Paris; and Cresbia or Cresbito, who is by some identified with Berechiah ha-Nakdan (see JEW. ENCYC. iii. 53 *et seq.*).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Recueil des Ordonnances des Rois de France*, i.; compare Depping, *Les Juifs dans le Moyen Age*, p. 125; and Bedarride, *Les Juifs en France*, p. 219; Brussel, *Usage des Fiefs*, i., book 11, ch. xxxix.; Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, passim; Bacher, in *Rev. Et. Juives*, xvii. 300–304.

G. S. K.

DREYFUS, ABRAHAM: French journalist and dramatist; born at Paris June 21, 1847. His first literary efforts took the form of two poetic fantasies (1870). To these were added the following plays, mostly comedies: "Un Monsieur en Habit Noir" (1872), in one act and with only one personage, brought out at the Vaudeville; "Mariages Riches" (Vaudeville, 1876); "Chez Elle" (with Charles Narray, Vaudeville, 1877); "Un Crâne sous une Tempête" (Gaîté, 1878); "Pour Sauver une Jeune Femme du Monde," "La Victime," and "La Gifle" (Palais Royal, 1878–80); "Le Klephte" (Odéon, 1881); "L'Institution Sainte-Cathérine" (Odéon, 1881); "Battez Philidor" (Opéra Comique, 1882); and "Une Rupture" (Théâtre Français, 1885); "Les Amis" (Théâtre Antoine, 1898); "De 1 Heures à 3 Heures," a comedy.

Some of these pieces have been collected by the author in three volumes entitled "Jouons la Comédie" (1887), "Scènes de la Vie de Théâtre" (Paris, 1879), and "L'Incendie des Folies Plastiques" (1886). He has published two volumes of notes on the theatrical world, and other articles have appeared in "La Vie Parisienne," "Le XIX^e^ Siècle," "L'Illustration," "Gil Blas," "Le Temps," and "Revue Littéraire et Politique." In this last journal, under the nom de plume "Monsieur Yosse," Dreyfus wrote a series of humorous reflections on the city and the theater. Mention may also be made of two lectures given by Dreyfus, one at Brussels—"Comment se Fait une Pièce de Théâtre," and the other before the Société des Etudes Juives—"Le Juif au Théâtre."

Dreyfus is a man of heart as well as of brains, as he has proved during the anti-Semitic agitations and in the celebrated Dreyfus case. He has not hesitated to use his pen in the service of his coreligionists, and his polemic waged in "L'Aurore" was marked by acuteness as well as by a frank expression of opinion; other articles by him on the Jewish question have appeared in the "Siècle" and "Le Soir."

S. M. Br.

DREYFUS, CAPTAIN ALFRED. See DREYFUS CASE.

DREYFUS, FERDINAND: French politician and deputy; born at Paris May 5, 1849. He became editor of the "Siècle," and was elected by the Republican party (March, 1880) as district deputy of Rambouillet (Seine-et-Oise). He was reelected in August, 1881, but lost his seat in 1885, and was defeated again in 1889. He is the author of the "Manuel Populaire du Conseiller Municipal" (Paris, 1884).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *La Grande Encyclopédie*, s.v.

S. V. E.

DREYFUS, FERDINAND-CAMILLE: French politician; born in Paris Aug. 19, 1851. After a classical and commercial education he prepared himself for the Ecole Polytechnique, but on the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war left his studies to serve as a volunteer. In 1873 he became editor of "L'Avenir de la Sarthe," and served five months in prison for opposing the dictatorship of MacMahon. He afterward controlled "Le Libéral de la Vendée." In 1879 he became chief of the bureau of the financial under-secretary, and later represented the government at the Brussels Exhibition.

Becoming editor of "La Lanterne" in 1882, he founded two years later "Le Matin." In Dec., 1882, he was chosen to represent the Gros-Caillon quarter in the Paris Municipal Council, and was reelected in 1884. Dreyfus in this position showed a remarkable aptitude for finance. In Oct., 1885, he was elected deputy by the department of the Seine, and was reelected, for the Twelfth District, in 1889, in opposition to a Boulangist candidate. A radical, with wide schemes of reform, Dreyfus sat with the Extreme Left. He was appointed a member of the army commission, and also on that of espionage. He has fought many duels, one with the late Marquis de Morès, the anti-Semite. His publications include: "Une Dictature" (Le Mans, 1874); "Giboyer à Saint-Pélagie" (Paris, 1875); "L'Evolution des Mondes et des Sociétés" (Paris, 1888); "Les Traités de Commerce" (Tours, 1879); "Le Tunnel du Simplon et les Intérêts Français" (Paris, 1879); "L'Angleterre, son Gouvernement, ses Institutions" (Paris, 1881); "La Guerre Nécessaire, Réponse d'un Français à M. de Bismarck" (Paris, 1890). Dreyfus is also secretary and part founder of "La Grande Encyclopédie." He is a member of the Legion of Honor.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *La Grande Encyclopédie*, s.v.; Vapereau's *Dictionnaire*, s.v.

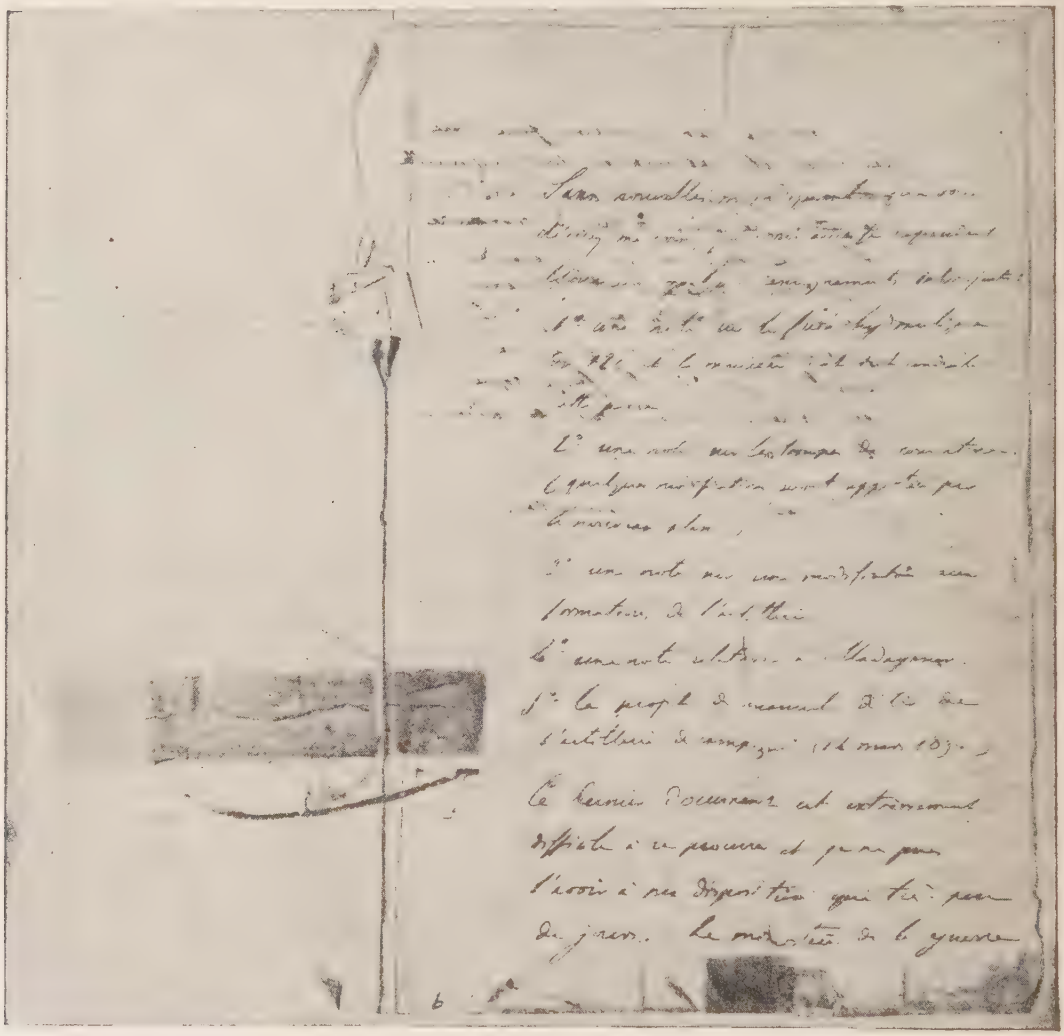
S. V. E.

DREYFUS, SAMUEL: Rabbi of Mülhausen, Alsace; died June, 1870. He was one of the earliest pupils of the rabbinical school of Metz, having been among the first matriculates. An excellent Hebraist and preacher, he was ambitious to become a chief rabbi. He did not succeed, however, and felt his disappointment keenly. He published several works, contributed to "L'Univers Israélite," and founded a monthly, "Le Lien," which was not successful, and was soon discontinued.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *L'Univers Israélite*, 1869–70, pp. 616, 641.

S. A. R.

DREYFUS CASE ("L'Affaire Dreyfus"): Memorable trials of Capt. Alfred Dreyfus, officer in the French army, in 1894 and 1899, involving political complications and convulsions of the highest importance, rending France into two sections, and attracting the attention of the whole civilized world for nearly two years. As probably the best-known "cause célèbre" of modern times, which involved the fate of ministries, and even of presidents of the French republic, it deserves full treatment in these pages, as the Jewish aspects of the case were from first to last its leading feature.



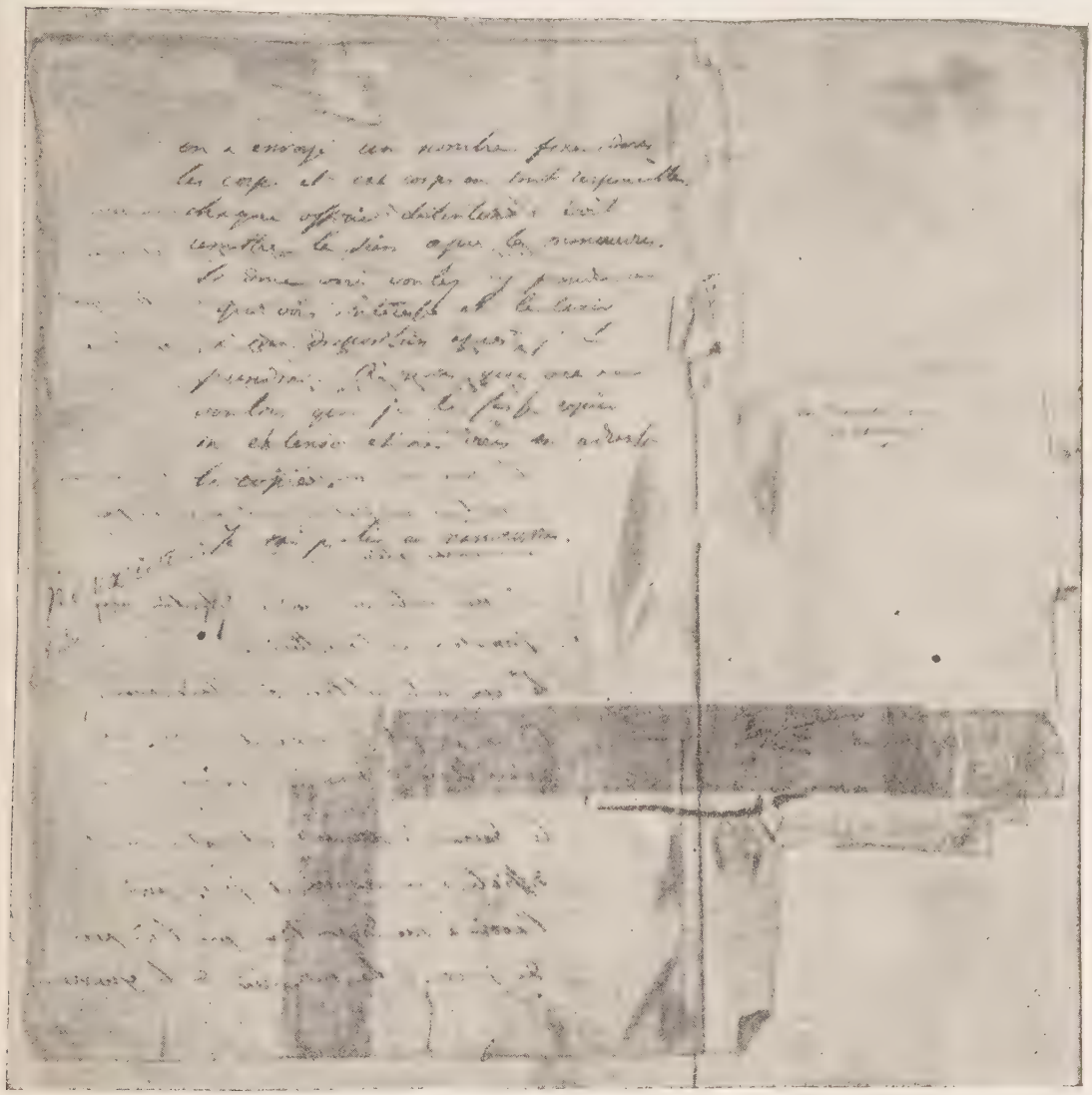
THE BORDEREAU, UPON WHICH DREYFUS WAS CONVICTED (Continued on following page).

I. The virulence of the passions aroused by the case was indirectly the result of the spread of ANTI-SEMITISM in France, due partly to the failure of the Union Générale—a Catholic banking establishment which aimed at superseding Jewish finance—in 1885, and partly to the publication of Drumont's book "La France Juive" in 1886. But the case itself was more immediately the outcome of the continuous attack made upon the presence of the Jews as officers in the French army by Drumont and others in the journal "La Libre Parole," founded with the help of the Jesuits in 1892.

Origin of the Case.

The articles of the "Libre Parole," which denounced the Jewish officers as intriguers and future traitors, led a Jewish captain of dragoons, CRÉMIEU

Foa, to declare that he resented as a personal insult the slanderous assault made upon the body of Jewish officers. He fought a duel, first with Drumont, then with Lamase, under whose name the articles had appeared. It had been agreed that the quis. The duel was fought on June 23, the Jewish captain being mortally wounded at the first attack; he died a few days after the duel. Owing to the sensation that was caused by this event, the "Libre Parole" thought it wise to stop the cam-



The Bordereau, upon Which Dreyfus Was Convicted.

report of the proceedings should not be made public. The brother of Crémieu-Foa, following the advice of Captain Esterhazy, one of the Jewish captain's seconds, communicated the report to the "Matin."

Crémieu-Foa and Mayer Duels.

The Marquis de Morès, who had been chief second of Lamase, and was a well-known anti-Semite and famous duelist, held Captain Mayer, chief second of Crémieu-Foa, responsible for the inadvertence. Though totally innocent of any part in the matter, Mayer accepted a challenge from the marpaign against the Jewish officers until further orders. But the desired result had been obtained; anti-Semitism had received its baptism of blood.

II. Among the military services reorganized after the war of 1870 was that of the Intelligence Department (the secret service), which had as one of its principal occupations to watch the German embassy. The ambassador, Count Münster, owing to an affair involving the German military attaché, had promised on his word of honor that for the future his attachés should abstain from bribing the French officers or officials. But it was known at the Intelligence

Office that the new attaché, Colonel Schwarzkoppen, probably without the knowledge of the ambassador, continued to entertain paid spies, being in direct correspondence with the War Office in Berlin. According to indications furnished by a former Spanish military attaché, Señor Val Carlos, Schwarzkoppen and the Italian military representative, Colonel Panizzardi, had come to an agreement to exchange the results of whatever discoveries they might make; and to keep an eye on this plotting the Intelligence Office succeeded in securing the help of a charwoman employed at the German embassy, a Madame Bastian, who collected carefully all the scraps of paper, torn up or half-burnt, which she found in the waste-paper baskets or in the fireplace of Schwarzkoppen's office, put them all in a paper bag, and once or twice a month took them or had them taken to the "section de statistique." There the pieces were carefully fitted together and gummed.

The Intelligence Department.

By this means it was ascertained that since 1892 certain secret information concerning the national defenses had leaked out. Some large plans of the fortress at Nice had been given up by an individual who was alluded to in one of Schwarzkoppen's notes as "that scoundrel D——" (*ce canaille de D——*). The fragments of another memorandum of Schwarzkoppen conveyed the idea that the German attaché had found an informant who pretended to bring him the documents just as issued from the War Office. There was therefore a wolf in the fold; Val Carlos was certain of it.

During the summer of 1894 there arrived at the Intelligence Office a document which was far more alarming than any which had preceded it, and which was credited to the German embassy. This was the anonymous letter which has since become celebrated under the name of the "bordereau." This letter, written on so-called "papier pelure" (thin foreign notepaper), ruled in squares and almost transparent, was torn from top to bottom in two places, but was otherwise intact. The writing was upon the two sides of the first page. According to the official version, which was long believed to be the true one, the paper had arrived by the usual means, through Madame Bastian; but the appearance of the document, which was hardly torn, makes this story unlikely. It would appear from other disclosures that the letter was taken intact from the letter-box of Colonel Schwarzkoppen in the porter's lodge at the embassy, and brought to the office by an agent named Brucker, who had formerly acted as a go-between for Madame Bastian and the Intelligence Office. The documents which the letter announced as being sent off did not reach the War Office; and the envelope of the letter has never been produced. Here is the text of this famous document:

The Bordereau.

"Being without information as to whether you desire to see me, I send you nevertheless, monsieur, some interesting information, viz.:

"1. A note concerning the hydraulic brake of the 120, and the way this gun has worked.

[The reference is to the hydropneumatic brake of the gun called "120 court." It was a heavy field-piece, recently brought into use; the mechanism of the brake which overcame the recoil of the gun was a profound secret.]

"2. A note upon the 'troupes de couverture' (some modifications will be carried out, according to the new plan).

[The troops called to the frontier at the commencement of mobilization are referred to. They were destined to "cover" the concentration of the rest of the army; hence their name. The "new plan" is the plan No. xiii. adopted in 1895.]

"3. A note concerning a modification in the formations of artillery.

[Most likely the "formations de manœuvre," which were just about to be altered by the new regulations.]

"4. A note relative to Madagascar.

[The War Office was preparing an expedition destined to conquer that island.]

"5. The proposed 'manuel de tir' of field-artillery (March 14, 1894).

"This document is exceedingly difficult to get hold of, and I can only have it at my disposal for a very few days. The minister of war has distributed a certain number of copies among the troops, and the corps are held responsible for them.

"Each officer holding a copy is required to return it after the maneuvers.

"Therefore if you will glean from it whatever interests you, and let me have it again as soon as possible, I will manage to obtain possession of it. Unless you would prefer that I have it copied in extenso, and send you the copy.

"I am just starting for the maneuvers."

This communication was clearly written during the month of August, 1894, at the latest. For the "manuel de tir" for field-artillery is the résumé of the methods designed to regulate the actual firing of ordnance on the battle-field; this actual shooting, of course, never takes place during the grand maneuvers in September, but only during the "écoles à feu," which begin in May and finish in August. It is these "écoles à feu" that the writer incorrectly designates as "maneuvers," and it is probable that the word has the same meaning in the last sentence of the letter.

Date of Writing and of Delivery.

It seems evident that the bordereau was handed over to Major Henry, who, with Major Cordier, was then assisting Colonel Sandherr, the head of the Intelligence Office. According to General Mercier, the letter in question arrived at the office with other documents whose dates ranged from Aug. 21 to Sept. 2; it is probable that Henry kept it in his possession a considerable time, which makes it the more surprising that he did not recognize the writing—in no way disguised—of one of his former fellow soldiers, Major Esterhazy. It was not until Sept 24 that he spoke concerning the document to his fellow workers and to his chief, Colonel Sandherr, who immediately apprised the head of the staff, General de Boisdeffre, and the secretary of war, General Mercier. The feeling was intense. The informant of the German military attaché was a French officer; still further, they concluded from the tone of the letter that he was a staff-officer. Nothing justified this last supposition. On the contrary, the wording of the bordereau, technically and grammatically incorrect; the difficulty which the author had in procuring the "manuel de tir" (which was distributed freely among the staff); the small importance which his correspondent appeared to attach to his disclosures, often leaving him for a considerable time "without information"—everything would have shown to unprejudiced minds how unreasonable it was to attribute the bordereau to a staff-officer. Nevertheless, this fixed idea, this "first falsehood," suggested perhaps by the previous warnings of Val Carlos, was

accepted without discussion; so that from the very commencement the investigations were started on a false scent. At first no result was obtained from an examination of handwritings in the bureaus of the department. But on Oct. 6 Lieutenant-Colonel d'Aboville suggested to his chief, Colonel Fabre, the idea that the bordereau, dealing as it did with questions which were under the jurisdiction of different departments, must be the work of one of the officers going through their "stage" (*i.e.*, staff-schooling), they being the only men who passed successively through the various branches to complete their military education; moreover, as, out of the five documents mentioned, three had reference to artillery, it was probable that the officer belonged to this branch of the army. The circle thus limited, it only remained to consult the list of the "stage" officers on the staff who had come from the artillery. While looking through it, the two colonels came to a halt before the name of a Jewish officer, Captain Dreyfus. Colonel Fabre, in whose office he had been during the second quarter of 1893, remembered having given him a bad record on the report of Lieutenant-Colonel Roget and Major Bertin-Mourot; Dreyfus had given these gentlemen the impression (upon the most superficial grounds) of being presuming and overbearing, of neglecting the routine of service to go into matters which were kept secret. Fabre and D'Aboville immediately began to search for papers bearing the writing of Dreyfus; by a strange fatality it showed a likeness to the writing of the bordereau; these officers, inexperienced and prejudiced, mistook a vague resemblance for real identity.

The Search for the Handwriting.

III. Alfred Dreyfus, born at Mülhausen in Alsace on Oct. 10, 1859, was the third son of a manufacturer, Raphael Dreyfus (native of Rixheim in the Haut-Rhin), who managed an important spinning-factory at Mülhausen. He had three brothers (James, Matthew, and Léon) and three sisters. When France lost Alsace by the treaty of Frankfort, the Dreyfus family, like many others at the same period, divided into two parts. The eldest son, James, remained alone at Mülhausen to manage the factory; the others chose to take up their abode in France, and soon settled in Paris. Alfred entered the Polytechnic School, the training-school of French officers, in 1878. He left there a student-officer of engineers, then passed through the Ecole d'Application at Fontainebleau, and afterward through the garrisons of Le Mans and of Paris, where his reports showed him to be the best lieutenant of his section of field-artillery. Promoted captain (second in command) in 1889, he remained for some months at the School of Pyrotechnics at Bourges; the following year he married Lucy Hadamard, daughter of a wealthy diamond-merchant, and passed with success the difficult examination for the Ecole Supérieure de Guerre, which he entered with the number 67. There he felt his ambition awaken, worked with tremendous ardor, and gained a considerable number of ranks. At the examination on leaving the school (1892) his friends expected to see him rank among the very first, and, consequently, be attached to the general staff. However, one of the members of the jury, General Bonnefond, under the pretext that "Jews were not desired" on the staff, lowered the total of his marks by making a very bad report; he did the same thing for another Jewish candidate, Lieut. E. Picard. Informed of this injustice, the two officers lodged a protest with the director of the school, Gen. Lebelin de Dionne, who expressed his regret for what had occurred, but was powerless to take any steps in the matter. Notwithstanding all drawbacks, Dreyfus graduated ninth, a fact which opened the doors of the general staff to him.

Alfred Dreyfus.

From the end of 1892 to September, 1894, Dreyfus went through his "stage" in the Staff Office, receiving excellent reports on all hands, except from Colonel Fabre. From Oct. 1, 1894, he went through a "stage" in a body of troops, the Thirty-ninth Regiment of the line, in Paris. His personal characteristics, little fitting him to command, and his slightly foreign accent, combined to prejudice people against him; he had also a rather haughty demeanor, associated little with his military companions, and appeared rather too self-confident. But his comrades and superiors, without being much attached to him, recognized his keen intelligence, his retentive memory, his remarkable capacity for work; he was known as a well-informed officer, a daring and vigorous horseman, with decided opinions, which he knew how to set forth skilfully and to uphold under discussion. In short, he was a brilliant and correct soldier, and seemed marked out for a glorious future. Added to all this, he possessed a comfortable private fortune (which brought him an income of $5,000 or $6,000 a year) soundly invested in his brothers' business; he was without any expensive vices, if not without failings, and was leading a settled life. It is difficult to imagine what motive could possibly have incited him to the vile traffic of which he was destined to be suspected.

Appearance and Character.

His patriotic sentiments were those of a soldier and an Alsatian emigrant—that is to say, fervent almost to Jingoism. He had also come under the influence of the Boulangist movement, which, for many of his equals, meant revenge on Germany.

Only the most rabid anti-Semitism could have originated the idea that this Alsatian Jingo was a traitor. Even the wording of the bordereau, if read calmly, should have shown the absurdity of this supposition; for no artilleryman could have committed such gross blunders in expression. And how could Dreyfus in August or September, 1894, possibly have written, "I am just starting for the maneuvers," since that year none of the "stage" officers went to the maneuvers, having been officially advised by a circular on May 17 not to do so?

Without pausing to consider these conclusive objections, Fabre and D'Aboville hastened to communicate their "discovery" to General Gonse, deputy-chief of the staff, and to Colonel Sandherr, an anti-Semite of long standing, who exclaimed, "I ought to have suspected it!" General de Boisdeffre, informed in his turn, told the story to the secretary of war. General Mercier had held this office since December, 1893. Brought face to face with the bordereau, his

main idea was that whatever there was to be done must be done quickly, because, if the affair came to be known before he had taken any steps in the matter, he would be reproached for having shielded a traitor. This fear, and also the unavowed hope of being able to pose, by the capture of the new "Judas," as the savior of his country, decided his plan of action: once started there was no turning back—he was forced to go on to the bitter end. For the sake of appearances, however, he sought the opinion (Oct. 11) of a small council formed of the president of the cabinet (Charles Dupuy), the minister of foreign affairs (Hanotaux), the keeper of the seals (Guérin), and himself. The council only authorized him to proceed to a careful inquiry; he ordered an examination by an expert in handwriting. The matter was entrusted to Gobert, an expert of the Bank of France, who had been recommended to him some days previously by the keeper of the seals. With great conscientiousness Gobert pointed out the striking differences between the writing of the bordereau and that of the documents which were given to him for comparison, the "personal folio" of Dreyfus, from which his name had been erased but the dates left, so that it was easy to identify him from the army list; there were some letters which struck the experienced eye at once, such as the open *g* (made like a *y*) and the double *s* made in the form *fs*, features which were to be found only in the bordereau. Gobert concluded (Oct. 13) "that the anonymous letter might be from a person other than the one suspected." This opinion, too discreetly worded, was pronounced "neutral"; a second inquiry was called for, and this time a functionary was chosen whose qualifications for the task were doubtful—Alphonse Bertillon, head of the "service de l'identité judiciaire" at the Prefecture of Police, whom Gobert had already entrusted with certain photographic enlargements of the bordereau. This improvised graphologist, to whom the guilt of the suspected man was spoken of as certain, as established by other irrefutable signs, sent in his report the same day. His inference was as follows: "If we set aside the idea of a document forged with the greatest care, it is manifestly evident that the same person has written all the papers given for examination, including the incriminating document." Sheltered by this opinion, Mercier no longer hesitated to order the arrest of Dreyfus, of whose guilt he had been persuaded from the first. The arrest was conducted in a melodramatic fashion, according to the plans of Major Du Paty de Clam, who, as an amateur graphologist, had been initiated from the very beginning in all the details of the affair.

Action of Mercier.

The Experts in Handwriting.

Dreyfus was ordered to appear before the minister of war on the morning of Oct. 15, in civil clothes, under pretense of an "inspection of the 'stage' officers." He went without suspicion in answer to this summons. Introduced into the bureau of the head of the staff, he found himself in the presence of Du Paty and of three persons, also in civil dress, whom he did not know at all; they were Gribelin (the archivist of the Intelligence Office), the "chef de la sûreté," Cochefert, and the latter's secretary. While awaiting the general, Du Paty, pretending that he had hurt his finger, asked Dreyfus to write from his dictation a letter which he wished to present for signature. The wording of it was most extraordinary; it was addressed to an unknown person, and asked him to send back the documents which had been lent to him by the writer before "starting for the maneuvers"; then followed the enumeration of these documents, taken word for word from the bordereau. Du Paty had flattered himself that the culprit—and he had no doubt that Dreyfus *was* the culprit—on hearing this list, which put, so to speak, his crime before his eyes, would burst out with an overwhelming confession; a loaded revolver lay on a table to allow him to execute justice upon himself.

The Arrest.

Things did not turn out quite as Du Paty had expected. Dreyfus, strange as the missive was, wrote tranquilly on under the major's dictation. There was a moment, however, when Du Paty, who was closely watching him, fancied he saw his hand tremble, and remarked sharply upon it to Dreyfus, who replied, "My fingers are cold." The facsimile of the letter which has since been published shows not the least sign of disturbance of any kind in the writing, hardly even a slight deviation of one line. After having dictated a few more lines, during which, he himself owns, "Dreyfus entirely regained his composure," he ceased the experiment, and placing his hand heavily on the captain's shoulder, he cried with a voice of thunder: "In the name of the law I arrest you; you are accused of the crime of high treason!" Dreyfus, in his stupefaction, hardly found articulate words to protest his innocence. He pushed away indignantly the revolver offered to him. He allowed himself to be searched without resistance, saying: "Take my keys, examine everything in my house; I am innocent." Du Paty and his associates then held a summary examination; without showing him a single document, they were content with assuring him that a "long inquiry" made against him had resulted in "incontestable proofs" which would be communicated to him later on. Then he was given into the hands of Major Henry, who had heard all that had taken place from the next room, and whose mission it was to deliver him over to the military prison of Cherche-Midi. In the cab that took them there, Dreyfus renewed his protestations of innocence, and asserted that he had not even been told what were the documents in question, or to whom he was accused of having given them.

Assevérations of Innocence.

At Cherche-Midi Dreyfus was turned over to the governor of the prison, Major Forzinetti, who had received orders to keep his incarceration a profound secret, even from his chief, General Saussier—an unheard-of measure. Apparently, the minister had still some doubts as to the guilt of Dreyfus, and did not wish to publish his arrest until the inquiry should have furnished some decisive proofs.

IV. The conduct of the inquiry was entrusted to Major Du Paty de Clam. Immediately after the arrest he went to the house of Madame Dreyfus, told

her of it, and ordered her, under the most terrible threats, to keep the matter secret, even from her brothers-in-law. He then devoted himself to a minute search of the rooms, which furnished no incriminating evidence whatever: no suspicious document, not a shred of "papier pelure" (foreign notepaper) was found—nothing but accounts regularly kept and testifying to a mode of life in accordance with the resources of the household. A similar search made in the house of M. Hadamard (Dreyfus' father-in-law) ended in the same failure.

The Search for Proofs.

Du Paty repeatedly visited Dreyfus in prison. He made him write standing up, seated, lying down, in gloves—all without obtaining any characteristics identical with those of the bordereau. He showed him loose fragments of a photograph of that document, mixed up with fragments and photographs of Dreyfus' own handwriting. The accused distinguished them with very little trouble. Du Paty questioned him without obtaining any other result than protestations of innocence broken by cries of despair. The suddenness of the catastrophe, and the uncertainty in which he was left as to its cause, reduced the wretched man to such a terrible state of mind that his reason was threatened. For several days he refused to take any food; his nights passed like a frightful nightmare. The governor of the prison, Forzinetti, warned the minister of the alarming state of his prisoner, and declared to General de Boisdeffre that he firmly believed he was innocent.

Not until Oct. 29 did Du Paty show the entire text of the bordereau to Dreyfus, and then he made him copy it.

The prisoner protested more forcibly than ever that it was *not* his writing, and regaining all the clearness of his intellect when faced by a definite accusation, tried to prove to his interlocutor that out of five documents mentioned in the bordereau, three were absolutely unknown to him.

He asked to see the minister: consent was given only on condition that "he start on the road to a confession!" In the mean time writing-experts had proceeded with further examinations. Bertillon, to whom the name of the prisoner had now been revealed, set to work again. To explain at the same time the resemblances and the differences between the writing of Dreyfus and that of the bordereau, he supposed a most intricate system: Dreyfus, he thought, must have imitated or traced his own handwriting, leaving in it enough of its natural character for his correspondent to recognize it, but introducing into it, for greater safety, alterations borrowed from the hands of his brother Matthew and his sister-in-law Alice, in one of whose letters they had discovered the double *s* made as in the bordereau! This is the hypothesis of "autoforgery," which he complicated later on by a supposed mechanism of "key-words," of "gabarits," of measurements by the "kutsch," of turns and twists.

Renewed Examination by Experts.

Bertillon's provisional report, submitted on Oct. 20, inferred "without any reservation whatever" that Dreyfus was guilty. Mercier, ill-satisfied with this lucubration, had the prefect of police appoint three new experts, Charavay, Pelletier, and Teyssonnières; Bertillon was put at their disposal to furnish them with photographic enlargements.

Pelletier simply studied the bordereau and the documents given for comparison, and concluded that the writing of the bordereau was in no way disguised, and that it was *not* that of the prisoner.

The two others, influenced by Bertillon, declared themselves, on the contrary, in favor of the theory of identity. Teyssonnières, an expert of no great repute, spoke of feigned writing. Charavay, a distinguished paleographer, judged the prisoner guilty, unless it was a case of "sosie en écritures"—a most extraordinary resemblance of handwriting. He also spoke of simulation to explain away the palpable differences. On Oct. 31 Du Paty finished his inquiry, and handed in his report, which, while bringing charges against Dreyfus, left it to the minister to decide what further steps should be taken in the matter.

But at this moment General Mercier was no longer free to decide; the press had come upon the scene. On Oct. 28 Papillaud, a contributor to the "Libre Parole," received a note signed "Henry"—under which pseudonym he recognized without hesitation the major of that name; "Henry" revealed to him the name and address of the arrested officer, adding falsely, "All Israel is astir."

The Parisian Press.

The very next day the "Libre Parole" narrated in carefully veiled words the secret arrest of an individual suspected of espionage. Other newspapers were more precise; on Nov. 1 Drumont's special edition announced in huge type the arrest of "the Jewish officer A. Dreyfus"; there was, it declared, "absolute proof that he had sold our secrets to Germany"; and what was more, he had "made full confession." All this was very awkward for General Mercier; he was in a corner. If ever he had had the idea of dropping the case, it was too late now; he would have hazarded his position as a minister by doing so. He summoned a council of the ministers, and, without revealing any other charge than that concerning the bordereau, declared that the documents mentioned in the memorandum *could* only have been procured by Dreyfus. The ministers, most of whom now heard the story for the first time, unanimously decided to institute proceedings. The papers were at once made over to the governor of Paris, who gave the order to investigate (Nov. 3).

No sooner had the name of Dreyfus been pronounced than the military attachés of Germany and Italy—to whom it was new—began to wonder if by chance he had been in direct correspondence with the War Office of either country. They made inquiries at Berlin and at Rome, and received answers in the negative. In his impatience, Panizzardi had telegraphed in cipher on Nov. 2: "If Captain Dreyfus has had no intercourse with you, it would be to the purpose to let the ambassador publish an official denial, in order to forestall comments by the press." This telegram, written in cipher, and of course copied at the post-office, was sent to the Foreign Office to be deciphered. The first attempt left the last words uncertain; they were thus translated: "our secret

agent is warned." This version, communicated to Colonel Sandherr, seemed to him a new proof against Dreyfus. But a few days later the real interpretation was discovered, of which Sandherr himself established the accuracy by a decisive verification. From that time it became morally impossible to bring home to Captain Dreyfus any document which would infer that the traitor was in communication with Panizzardi.

Judicial Inquiry.

The judicial inquiry had been entrusted to Major Bexon d'Ormescheville, judge-advocate of the first court martial of the department of the Seine. He failed to discover a single new fact. The comrades of Dreyfus, feeling that things were going against him, remembered, or thought they remembered, that in his past conduct he had shown certain signs of immoderate curiosity, of "strange action." One officer was sure that he had lent him the "manuel de tir" for several days, but that was in July, whereas the bordereau was now believed to have been written in April! An agent named Guénée, charged by Major Henry with the task of inquiring into the question of his morals, picked up in different bars and cafés a collection of tales which represented Dreyfus as a gambler and a libertine, whose family had been obliged several times to pay his debts. But another inquiry by the Prefecture of Police showed the inanity of these allegations: Dreyfus was unknown in gambling-houses, and Guénée's informants had confused him with one of his numerous Parisian namesakes! The alleged treason was without support; without any visible motive; without precedent of any kind; without psychological or moral probability; the accusation rested solely on a scrap of paper which two experts out of five had refused to recognize as having been written by Dreyfus.

Public Opinion.

But public opinion had already condemned him. The press, misinformed, magnified the crime; notwithstanding the semi-official notes that reduced it to an unimportant communication of inoffensive documents, it was understood that Dreyfus had delivered up the secret of mobilization, and thereby exposed the system of national defense. All the treachery that had remained untraced, all the arrests of French agents abroad, were laid at his door. People were indignant that the penalty of death for political crimes (and treason was considered as such) had been abolished by the constitution of 1848; even death seemed too light a punishment for such a wretch. The only excuse that they found for him was but a further insult: it was his race which had predisposed him to commit an act of treason, the "fatalité du type."

The yellow press, which let loose its fury against Dreyfus, in the beginning did not spare the minister of war. It was looked upon as a crime that during a fortnight the arrest had been kept a secret, doubtless in the hope of being able to hush up the affair; he had been in league with "the Jews," he was still negotiating with them! Mercier was not the man to brave these attacks. In the same manner as the arraignment had been imposed upon him by "La Libre Parole," he understood now that the condemnation of Dreyfus was for him simply a question of political life or death; convinced or not, he determined to establish the man's guilt at any cost. On Nov. 28, in defiance of the most elementary usages, he declared in an interview with the "Figaro" that Dreyfus' guilt was "absolutely certain." Then, aware of the defects of D'Ormescheville's "proofs," he ordered that a secret dossier should be prepared by collecting from the drawers of the Intelligence Department whatever documents concerning spies could more or less be ascribed to Dreyfus. This dossier, revised and put into a sealed envelope by Mercier himself, with the cooperation of Boisdeffre and of Sandherr, was to be communicated only to the judges in the room where they held their deliberations, without either the accused or his counsel having been able to take cognizance of it or to inquire into the allegations—a procedure worthy of the Inquisition.

As soon as it had become known that Mercier had decided to go to the bitter end, there was a change in the language of the demagogues regarding him. "He has certainly done something for his country," they said. "One must be for Mercier or for Dreyfus," proclaimed General Riu. And Cassagnac, who, as a personal friend of Dreyfus' lawyer, maintained some doubts as to his guilt, summed up the situation in these words: "If Dreyfus is acquitted, no punishment would be too severe for Mercier!"

The Trial.

Thus stated, the question went beyond the intelligence and the courage of the military judges; there could be no doubt about the issue. The report of Major d'Ormescheville, handed in on Dec. 3, was prejudiced and illogical; out of a heap of "possibilities" and numberless insinuations, he vainly tried to deduce a proof of some sort. Edgar Demange, whom the Dreyfus family had chosen as their lawyer, accepted this task only on the condition that the perusal of the papers should convince him of the emptiness of the accusation; he was convinced. His absorbing idea was to obtain a public hearing; he promised on his honor not to raise, in that case, any delicate questions which might lead to a diplomatic contest. The brothers of Dreyfus and certain statesmen made urgent application in the same direction. All was in vain. The private hearing having been decided on in the minister's own mind, as being required by "state policy," he announced this conviction to the president of the court martial; such an announcement was equivalent to an order.

The case began on Dec. 19 at Cherche-Midi, and lasted four days. Seven judges, not one of them an artilleryman, composed the court; the president was Colonel Maurel. From the start the commissary of the government, Major Brisset, demanded a secret trial. The protests of Demange, who endeavored at least to make it known that the accusation was based on a single document, were overruled by the president, and a secret trial was unanimously agreed to. In the court-room there remained, besides the judges, only the accused and his attorney, the prefect of police Lépine, and Major Picquart, entrusted with the duty of giving an account of the proceedings to the head of the staff and to the minister. The case dragged along with hardly any incident worthy of remark. The "colorless" voice of Dreyfus, his unsympathetic appearance, his military

correctness bordering on stiffness, weakened the effect of his persistent denials. On the other hand, the "moral proofs" would not bear discussion. Du Paty got entangled in his description of the scene of the dictation; Bertillon brought forward a revised and much enlarged edition of his report, the *supposed* defense of Dreyfus being represented in the form of a strange fortress, of which each bastion was an argument on handwriting! The only testimony which produced any impression was that of Major Henry. After his first statement he asked to be recalled. Then, in a loud voice, he declared that long before the arrival of the bordereau an honorable person (meaning Val Carlos) had warned the Intelligence Department that an officer of the ministry, an officer of the second bureau, was betraying his country. "And that traitor, there he is!" With his finger he pointed out Dreyfus. And when the president asked him if the "honorable person" had named Dreyfus, Henry, not drawing back even from a false oath, stretched out his hand toward the crucifix and declared, "I swear it!"

The last hearing (Dec. 22) was devoted to the public prosecutor's address and to the pleading of Demange, who strove for three hours to prove that the very contents of the bordereau showed that it could not be the work of Dreyfus. In his reply, Brisset, abandoning the moral proofs, was satisfied with asking the judges to take their "magnifying-glasses." A calm listener, Major Picquart, imagined then that the result was very doubtful unless help came from the secret dossier. This dossier was given up, still sealed, by Major Du Paty (who was ignorant of the exact contents) to Colonel Maurel, and the latter immediately entered the room where the judges were deliberating on the case, and communicated it to his colleagues. The recollections of the military judges being rather vague on the subject, it has not been possible to reconstitute with certainty the substance of the portfolio. It is known, however, that it included at least the document "canaille de D . . ." (a commonplace initial which it was absurd, after Panizzardi's telegram, to attribute to Dreyfus), and a sort of military biography of Dreyfus, based on, but not identical with, a memorandum from Du Paty, who had been told to make the various documents of the secret dossier coincide with one another. This biography represented Dreyfus as a traitor by birth, having commenced his abominable calling on his first entry into the service; at the school at Bourges it would appear that he had delivered up to the Germans the secret of the melinite shell!

Among the other papers of the secret dossier may be mentioned the fragments of Schwarzkoppen's note alluding to an informant who pretended to take his knowledge from the ministry, and, according to Commander Freystaetter, the *first and false interpretation* of Panizzardi's despatch! After judgment had been pronounced the dossier was given back to Mercier, who had it pulled to pieces, and later on destroyed the biographical notice. But, contrary to instructions, Major Henry reconstituted the secret dossier, added to it Du Paty's explanatory note (which last was destroyed by Mercier in 1897), and locked it in the iron chest where Picquart afterward found it. Allusion has been made several times (since 1894) to a second dossier, "ultra-secret," which was composed of photographs of papers stolen from, and then given up to, the German embassy; namely, seven letters from Dreyfus, and one said to be from the Emperor of Germany to Count Münster, naming Dreyfus. If such a dossier was ever in existence, it certainly contained nothing but a mass of ridiculous forgeries.

The conviction of the judges, already more than half decided by the experts and by Henry, could not withstand this new assault. Dreyfus was unanimously pronounced guilty; the sentence was transportation for life to a fortress, preceded by military degradation. Upon hearing this decision, which was communicated to him by the clerk of the court, the unhappy man, who firmly believed that he would be acquitted, stood as if struck by a thunderbolt. Taken back to prison, he was seized with a fit of despair, and begged for a revolver. Forzinetti, who had not lost faith in his innocence, succeeded with great difficulty in calming him. More than that, the heroic and touching letters from his wife made him accept life as a duty he owed to his own family.

V. The appeal of Dreyfus to the military court of revision—a simple formality—was rejected on Dec. 31. The same day the condemned man received a visit from Du Paty de Clam, who had been sent by the minister of war with the mission to declare to Dreyfus that if he would only begin to make a confession, and reveal exactly the nature of his indiscretions, he might obtain a mitigation of his sentence. Dreyfus answered that he had nothing to confess, nothing to reproach himself with, not even the smallest attempt at holding out a bait; he only asked that the investigations might be continued so as to discover the real criminal. Du Paty, somewhat moved, said to him on going out: "If you are innocent, you are the greatest martyr of all time." Dreyfus wrote an account of this interview to the minister; he finished with these words: "Once I am gone, let them go on searching; it is the only favor I ask."

The Degradation.

The military degradation took place on the Champ de Mars on Jan. 5. Dreyfus drank the cup of bitterness to its very dregs. During the parade of "execution" he preserved an attitude wholly military which shocked some of the onlookers. But when General Darras had pronounced the accustomed formula, he cried out in a loud voice: "You are degrading an innocent man! Long live France! Long live the army!" He repeated this cry while the adjutant on duty was tearing off his stripes and breaking his sword, and again while passing before the crowd, which was shrieking that he should be put to death, and before the journalists, who yelled at the new Judas.

If the unanimous verdict of seven judges dissipated the doubts that might have existed among a portion of the public, the reiterated protestations of the condemned man were of a nature to make them spring to life again. The report was then spread about that he had made a confession. While waiting for the parade, locked up with Lebrun Renault, the captain of gendarmerie on service, he was supposed

to have said: "The minister knows that I am innocent; and that, *if I have given up any documents to Germany*, it was only to get more important ones in return; before three years are over the truth will be known." This tale had its origin in the obscure or unintelligent account which Lebrun Renault had rendered of his conversation with Dreyfus; in reality, the latter had merely related his interview with Du Paty and once more protested his innocence. Lebrun Renault himself, in an interview which he granted to some one at a ball at the Moulin Rouge, related, in the words of Dreyfus, the origin of the bordereau, but of confession not a word. However that may be, this idle talk, changing as it passed from lip to lip, greedily welcomed by the newspapers, made the staff uneasy, because it brought into the case the German embassy, which just at this time was showing signs of indignation. In short, General Gonse called on Lebrun Renault and took him successively to General Mercier and to the president of the republic, Casimir-Perier, who severely reprimanded him, and imposed upon him absolute silence for the future.

Capt. Alfred Dreyfus.
(From the statuette by Caccia.)

In the mean time serious complications with Germany were expected. The German government, once assured by Schwarzkoppen and by the War Office at Berlin that Dreyfus was utterly unknown to them, had thought it a matter of honor to protest publicly against the statements in the newspapers which persisted in bringing Germany into the case.

Germany Concerned.

Several times after the arrest of Dreyfus semi-official notes of protest had been inserted in the different organs of the press; Count Münster, the German ambassador, denied to Hanotaux that Germany had taken any part in the affair. These declarations, politely received, left the French government absolutely skeptical, for it knew from a positive source the origin of the bordereau.

A note from the Havas Agency (Nov. 30) put the foreign embassies out of the case; but the press continued to incriminate Germany, whereupon, at the beginning of December, Münster, by the express order of the German emperor, invited Hanotaux to call at the embassy and repeated his protestations. The report was spread abroad that Germany had demanded and obtained the restoration of the documents which established the traitor's guilt! Provoked by the persistence of these attacks, the German embassy inserted in the "Figaro" of Dec. 26 a fresh notice denying formally that it had had with Dreyfus "the least intercourse, either direct or indirect." And as this notice also seemed to have little or no effect, the emperor telegraphed to Münster on Jan. 5 to go personally to Casimir-Perier and say, "If it be proved that the German embassy has never been implicated in the Dreyfus case, I hope the government will not hesitate to declare the fact." Otherwise, it was given to be understood that the ambassador would leave Paris. This despatch, communicated by Münster to Dupuy, who was then temporarily engaged at the Foreign Office, had the appearance of an ultimatum. The president of the republic up to this time had known very little of the details of the case, and had been kept by Hanotaux in complete ignorance of Münster's previous communications; but now he had the contents of the legal documents shown to him. After having read them, he granted to Münster the audience which had been requested. Then, considering honesty to be the best policy, he asserted very frankly that the criminal letter had been taken

from the German embassy, but that it was not an important document and that nothing proved that it had been "solicited."

After having referred the matter to Berlin, Münster consented to the drawing up of a note by the Havas Agency which once more put all the embassies out of the case, and terminated the incident (Jan. 9, 1895). Mercier did not long enjoy his triumph. On Jan. 15, under pretext of a ministerial crisis, in which his friends abandoned him, Casimir-Perier handed in his resignation as president of the republic; the mysteries and the unpleasantnesses of the Dreyfus affair had not a little to do with hastening this determination. At the congress called together to elect a new president, printed ballots were passed about in favor of General Mercier; one handbill even set him down as the savior of the republic for having had the traitor Dreyfus condemned in spite of all difficulties. He obtained three votes! Ribot, entrusted by the new president (Félix Faure) with forming a cabinet, did not appeal to an assistant so compromising as Mercier; the office of minister of war was given to General Zurlinden.

Resignation of Casimir-Perier.

Two days later, during the night of Jan. 17, in bitterly cold weather, Dreyfus, dragged from the prison of La Santé, was transferred by rail to La Rochelle, thence to the island of Ré, into a military reformatory. The populace, recognizing him, followed him thirsting for his blood; an officer struck him; stoical, he forgave his tormentors, whose indignation against such a traitor as he was supposed to be he understood and shared.

At Ré, as at La Santé, he was authorized to receive a few visits from his wife, but the authorities managed, by the most minute precautions, to make them as short and as painful as possible.

A law passed ad hoc had just instituted as the place of transportation for political crimes the Iles du Salut off French Guiana, instead of the peninsula of Ducos (New Caledonia), where, it was said, supervision was difficult; it has been suggested that in reality vengeance was being taken upon Dreyfus for his obstinate refusal to confess his crime. The notice drawn up by the War Office for the use of his guardians denounced him as "a hardened malefactor, quite unworthy of pity." This word to the wise was to be only too well understood and carried out. On the evening of Feb. 21 the unhappy man, taken hurriedly from his cell, was embarked on the "Ville de St. Nazaire," which was to carry him across the Atlantic to a place of exile.

VI. The Iles du Salut, where Dreyfus was landed on March 15, compose a small archipelago situated twenty-seven miles off Cayenne, opposite the mouth of the River Kuru. Notwithstanding its name ("salus," health) it is a most unhealthy region. Incessant heat, continuous rain for five months of the year, the effluvia arising from the marshy land are sufficient to undermine the strongest constitution. The smallest island of the group, Devil's Island, which had until Dreyfus' arrival been occupied by a leper hospital, was destined to be his abode. On the summit of a desolate rock, far from the few palm-trees on the shore, a small hut of four cubic yards was built for him; night and day an inspector stood guard at the door, with strict orders not to address a word to him. In the daytime the prisoner was permitted to exercise until sunset in a small rectangular space of about two hundred yards, near his hut.

Devil's Island.

Madame Dreyfus had asked permission to follow her husband to his place of exile; the wording of the law seemed to point to it as her right; nevertheless, the ministry refused her even this favor, alleging that the rules to which the condemned man was subject were incompatible with it. Dreyfus had therefore no company except that of his jailers. The governor of the islands, although distrustful, showed at least some humanity; but the head warder Lebars, who had received instructions from the minister to enforce harsh measures, went even beyond his orders. Badly fed, especially at the beginning of his term of exile, obliged to do all sorts of dirty work, living by day among vermin and filth, and by night in a state of perpetual hallucination, Dreyfus, as was to be expected, soon fell a prey to fever. The doctor interfered and obtained an amelioration of the rules. Dreyfus himself, clearly convinced that it was his duty to live, fought energetically against the lethargy which forced itself upon him. To keep up his physical strength he compelled himself to take regular exercise; to prevent his intellect from getting dulled he had books sent to him which he read and reread, wrote out résumés, learned English, took up his mathematical studies again; to employ the long hours of leisure that still remained he kept a diary. He could correspond with only his own family, and even to them might refer only to domestic matters. His letters, examined by the administration, were one long cry for justice. Sometimes he begged his wife to go, leading her children by the hand, to entreat for justice from the president of the republic. He wrote himself to the president, to Du Paty, to General Boisdeffre, without receiving any replies. Little by little the horrible climate did its work. Fever consumed him; from never employing it he almost lost the power of speech; even his brain wasted away. On May 5, 1896, he wrote in his diary: "I have no longer anything to say; everything is alike in its horrible cruelty." His gentleness, his resignation, his exact observance of all rules had not been without making an impression on his jailers; several of them believed him innocent; no punishment for rebellion against discipline was inflicted on him. Early in Sept., 1896, the false report of his escape was set afloat by an English paper. This rumor was really circulated by Matthew Dreyfus in the hope of shaking up the sluggishness of public opinion and to prepare the way for the pamphlet of Bernard Lazare demanding a fresh hearing of the case of 1894. Although contradicted at once, the rumor roused public opinion. Rochefort and Drumont proclaimed the existence of a syndicate to free him, published some false information about the rules that the condemned man had to obey, affirmed that with a little money it was the easiest thing imaginable to accomplish his rescue. The colonial secretary, André Lebon, took fright. It

Treatment in Prison.

did not matter that these tales were absolutely without foundation, that the prisoner was of irreproachable conduct; to make assurance doubly sure, he cabled instructions to the governor of Guiana to surround the outer boundary of Dreyfus' exercising-ground with a solid fence, and in addition to the sentinel at the door to post one outside. Until this work was finished, the prisoner was to be secured day and night in his hut, and at night, until further orders, he was to be subjected to the penalty of the "double buckle": gyves in which the prisoner's feet were shackled, and which were then firmly fixed to his bedstead, so that he was condemned either to absolute immobility or to dreadful torture. This order, barbarous and, moreover, illegal, was strictly carried out, to the equal astonishment of Dreyfus and of his warders. For twenty-four sultry nights the wretched man was upon the rack; for two months he was not allowed to stir out of his disgusting and suffocating hovel. When the cabin was opened once again it was encircled by a wall which hid even the sky; behind this wall his exercising-ground, hemmed in by a wooden fence over six feet high, was no more than a sort of narrow passage from which he could no longer see the sea.

The poor victim was now utterly depressed. On Sept. 10, 1896, he stopped keeping his diary, writing that he could not foresee on what day his brain would burst! His family was no longer allowed to send him books. The letters of his wife were forwarded to him no longer in the original hand, but in copies only. On June 6, 1897, a sail having been sighted during the night, alarm-guns were fired, and Dreyfus, startled in his sleep, saw his keepers with loaded rifles ready to shoot him down if he made one suspicious movement. In August the authorities ascertained that the heat and moisture in his stifling hut were really unbearable, and had the man transferred to a new cabin, larger than the first, but quite as dismal. A signal-tower was erected close by mounted with a Hotchkiss gun. Happily for Dreyfus his moral fortitude, after a temporary eclipse, had recovered its strength; and from Jan., 1898, the letters of his wife, although containing no particulars, roused his hopes by a tone of confidence which could not be mistaken. Eventful incidents had taken place during those three awful years.

VII. The family of Dreyfus, faithful to the charge he had left them when he went away, had not ceased their efforts to discover the real culprit. Matthew Dreyfus undertook the direction of these researches; he worked with an untiring devotion, an affecting zeal, and a fruitful imagination that was not always seconded by sound judgment. The primary elements of a thorough inquiry were lacking; the Staff Office, far from seconding his efforts, had him jealously watched; intriguers set traps for him; he felt that he was spied upon; at his first false step the new law of espionage—a very strict and extremely elastic one—would find an excuse for getting him out of the way. As for the politicians whom he tried to interest in his cause, the greater part refused to enter into the question, or, intimidated by the minister of war, gave up the search after the very first investigation. The only threads he had to guide him were some of his brother's notes and a copy of the indictment that had been deposited abroad. He knew, further, from Dr. Gibert of Havre, to whom Félix Faure had confided the matter, that Dreyfus had been condemned on the evidence of a secret document, which had not been shown to the counsel for the defense. This information was corroborated by some remarks made by certain of the judges of 1894. One of them spoke of the case to an old lawyer named Salles, who repeated the conversation (on Oct. 29, 1896) to Demange. Before that Hanotaux had confided to Trarieux, and Trarieux to Demange, that the conclusive document contained the initial of Dreyfus' name (meaning the paper "canaille de D . . ."). Matthew Dreyfus started with the idea, plausible but false, that this document really had reference to the author of the bordereau, and that the initial was not fictitious; and from that idea arose his persistent search for an officer the initial letter of whose name was "D." He followed up several clues, none of which bore any result. The light was to come from an altogether different quarter.

Matthew Dreyfus.

Not long after the condemnation of Dreyfus the Intelligence Office had changed its chief. Sandherr, incapacitated by general paralysis, had resigned his post simultaneously with his assistant, Cordier (July 1, 1895); Major Henry, who aspired to the position although he did not speak a single foreign language, was not appointed Sandherr's successor; but in his stead Major Picquart, who had been ordered to report the debates in the Dreyfus case in order to send an account of the proceedings to the minister and to the chief of the staff, received the appointment. He was a young and brilliant officer, of Alsatian origin, hard-working, well-informed, with a clear intellect, a ready speech, and who, moreover, appeared to share all the prejudices of his surroundings; he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel on April 6, 1896, and was the youngest officer of that grade in the army. Immediately upon his arrival at the office he reorganized the service, which the prolonged illness of Sandherr had caused to be neglected. He required in particular that the paper bags in which Madame Bastian continued to collect the waste papers from the German embassy, and which she brought to Major Henry, should pass through his hands before being confided to Captain Lauth, whose work it was to piece and paste them together. These bags, however, never brought anything of importance to light, though they showed that the leakage of secret information had not ceased since the condemnation of Dreyfus.

Colonel Picquart.

The chief of the staff, Boisdeffre, on transferring the service into Picquart's hands, had declared to him that in his opinion the Dreyfus affair was not definitely settled. They must be on the lookout for a counter-attack from the Jews. In 1894 they had not been able to discover a motive for the treason; there was therefore every reason for continuing the researches to "strengthen the dossier."

In the month of March, 1896, Henry, much occupied by the state of his mother's health and by different matters he had to attend to in the country, made only short and infrequent visits to Paris.

One day he sent Madame Bastian's paper bag—particularly bulky on this occasion—to Picquart without even having had time to glance at it. Picquart, likewise without inspecting it, passed it on to Lauth. Some hours afterward the latter came back much affected, bringing to his chief a pneu-

The "Petit Bleu." matic-tube telegram (commonly known as a "petit bleu"), the fragments of which he had found in the bag; pasted together, they contained the following words:

> To Major Esterhazy, 27 Rue de la Bienfaisance, Paris.
>
> *Sir*: I am awaiting first of all a more detailed explanation [than] that which you gave me the other day on the subject in question. Consequently I beg you to send it to me in writing that I may judge whether I can continue my relations with the firm R. or not. *C.*

The writing of this note was disguised, but the place it came from left no room for doubting that it emanated from Colonel Schwarzkoppen; the office possessed another document, known to have been written by him, and signed with the same initial "C." The "petit bleu" had not been sent by mail; apparently, after having written or dictated it, Schwarzkoppen reconsidered his determination and had thrown the note into the waste-paper basket, taking care to tear it up into very small pieces—there were more than fifty of them; he had foreseen neither the tricks of Madame Bastian nor the patient industry of the Intelligence Department.

"It is fearful," said Captain Lauth on delivering it. "Can there possibly be another one?"—meaning another traitor among the officers. Picquart could share only the same impression; but determined upon avoiding the indiscretions and the blunders which had been committed in 1894, he resolved to undertake personally a secret inquiry before spreading abroad the news of his discovery. He put the "petit bleu" away in his strong-box, and shortly afterward had photographs of it taken by Lauth, in which he strove to remove the traces of the rents.

The object of this precaution, which was afterward laid to Picquart's charge as a crime, was both to render the reading of the photograph more easy and to prevent the officers (necessarily numerous) who would handle these photographs later on, from guessing immediately the origin of the document.

VIII. Picquart began by getting information about the personality of Major Esterhazy, to whom the "petit bleu" was addressed. To

Major Esterhazy. this end he applied to his friend Major Curé, one of Esterhazy's fellow soldiers. The details he gathered through this source were not creditable to Esterhazy.

Ferdinand Walsin Esterhazy, born in Paris on Dec. 16, 1847, belonged to an illustrious Hungarian family, a branch of which had established itself in France at the end of the seventeenth century, and the head of which had organized there a regiment of hussars. His great-grandmother had an illegitimate son, who was brought up under the name of Walsin, but who, after she had acknowledged him during the Revolution, took the name of Esterhazy and settled as a merchant at Nîmes. Two of the sons of this man followed a military career with distinction, and both became generals of division during the Crimean war. One of these two (Ferdinand) was the father of Major Esterhazy. Left an orphan at an early age, after some schooling at the Lycée Bonaparte in Paris, Ferdinand Esterhazy disappeared in 1865. In 1869 he was found engaged in the Roman legion, in the service of the pope; in 1870, in the foreign legion, which his uncle's influence enabled him to enter with the rank of ensign; he then assumed the title of count, to which it is claimed he was not entitled. At this time came the war with Germany. There being a dearth of officers after the catastrophe of Sedan, Esterhazy was able to pass muster as a French lieutenant, then as a captain, and went through the campaigns of the Loire and of the Jura. Though set back after peace was declared, he still remained in the army. In 1876 he was employed to translate German at the Intelligence Office; then, under various pretexts, at the War Office. He never appeared in his regiment at Beauvais, and for about five years led a life of dissipation in Paris, as a result of which his small fortune was soon squandered. In 1881 he was attached to the expedition sent to Tunis, and did nothing whatever to distinguish himself in it; employed later in the Intelligence Department, then in the native affairs of the regency, on his own authority he inserted in the official records a citation of his "exploits in war," the falseness of which was recognized later. Returning to France in 1885, he remained in garrison at Marseilles for a long time. Having come to the end of his resources, he married in 1886; but he soon spent his wife's dowry, and in 1888 she was forced to demand a separation. In 1892, through the influence of General Saussier, Esterhazy succeeded in getting a nomination as garrison-major in the Seventy-fourth Regiment of the line at Rouen. Being thus in the neighborhood of Paris, he plunged afresh into a life of speculation and excess, which soon completed his ruin.

His inheritance squandered, Esterhazy had tried to retrieve his fortune in gambling-houses and on the stock-exchange; hard pressed by his creditors, he had recourse to the most desperate measures. Having seconded Crémieu-Foa in his duel with Drumont in 1892, he pretended that this chivalrous rôle had made his family, as well as his chiefs, quarrel with him; he produced false letters to support his words, threatened to kill both himself and his children, and thus obtained, through the medium of

His Career. Zadoc Kahn, chief rabbi of France, assistance from the Rothschilds (June, 1894); this did not prevent him from being on the best of terms with the editors of "La Libre Parole," even to the extent of supplying them with information.

For an officer who had come from the ranks Esterhazy's military advancement had been unusually rapid: lieutenant in 1874, captain in 1880, decorated in 1882, major in 1892, his reports were generally excellent. Nevertheless, he considered himself wronged. In his letters he continually launched into recrimination and abuse against his chiefs; he went still further, bespattering with mud the whole French army, and even France herself, for which he predicted and hoped that new disasters were in store. Such a man, a regular landsknecht

of yore, without a single spark of patriotism, was destined to become the prey of treason. Fate decreed that he should sink to the degradation of a paid spy; he sank. In Tunis he was judged to have become too intimate with the German military attaché; in 1892 he was the object of an accusation made to the head of the staff, General Brault; in 1893 he entered Schwarzkoppen's service.

According to later disclosures he received from the German attaché a monthly pension of 2,000 marks ($480). He furnished him in the first place with some interesting information about the artillery; he pretended that he got his information from Major Henry, who had been his comrade in the Intelligence Office in 1876. But Henry, limited to a very special branch of the service, was hardly in a position to furnish details on technical questions; Esterhazy must have had other informants, who were not necessarily his accomplices—for example, his intimate friend Maurice Weil, district orderly officer to General Saussier, and a distinguished military writer and a regular news-hunter. The information furnished by Esterhazy soon became of so little importance that Panizzardi (to whom Schwarzkoppen communicated it without divulging the name of his informant) began to doubt his qualifications as an officer; to convince the attaché it was necessary for Esterhazy to show himself one day in uniform, galloping behind a well-known general! The garrison-major, being entrusted with the duties of mobilization, is always well informed in regard to the details of this subject; but as far as the artillery is concerned (the improvements in which department especially interested the German officials), the difficulties which Esterhazy experienced in getting information were very apparent in the text of the bordereau, and in the attempt which he made (in Aug., 1894) to borrow the "manuel de tir" from Lieutenant Bernheim (of Le Mans), whose acquaintance he had made by chance.

Picquart did not at once fathom all the details of Esterhazy's relations with the German attaché, of which the "petit bleu" had given him but a glimpse. Picquart did know, however, all the corruptions and scandals of Esterhazy's private life, the suspicions of malversation (in Tunis) and of espionage which had tainted his character; he learned further—a characteristic detail—that Major Esterhazy, a neglectful officer, constantly absent from his garrison, showed himself, nevertheless, extremely fond of getting information on confidential military questions, particularly those concerning mobilization and artillery. He diligently frequented artillery tests, and when he could not succeed in being ordered to attend the "écoles à feu," went there at his own expense. This is what he had done notably in 1894, the year of the bordereau. He also borrowed books and documents, and had them copied by his secretaries.

IX. At first Picquart did not establish any connection in his own mind between the "petit bleu" and the bordereau; he simply thought he was on the track of a fresh traitor, and hoped to catch him in the act. Different circumstances prevented him from pursuing his investigations. Besides, Esterhazy had been warned, and not only was it impossible to surprise him in any compromising visit, but he showed himself openly at the German embassy, to which he went to ask for a passport for his colonel. He even carried his audacity to the point of insisting that he be allowed to return to the War Office, in preference to the Intelligence Department, and was able to urge his request through the highest parliamentary and military influence. However, a fresh incident occurred to strengthen Picquart's suspicions. The French military attaché at Berlin, Foucault, informed him of a curious conversation he had had with one Richard Cuers, a spy who wavered between France and Germany. Cuers told Foucault that Germany had never employed Dreyfus—that the only French officer who was in Germany's pay was a major of infantry who had furnished some sheets from lectures held at the "école de tir" at Châlons.

Picquart's Investigations.

Picquart acquainted General de Boisdeffre with his discovery, and upon the order of the general and of the minister of war, General Billot, he was directed to continue his inquiry as quietly as possible; still, Boisdeffre seemed from that time little disposed to recommend judicial proceedings. If Esterhazy were really a traitor, he would be dismissed from the army quietly; another Dreyfus affair was to be avoided. Picquart now set to work in earnest to get samples of Esterhazy's handwriting, and he succeeded in obtaining two letters which the major had written to the chiefs of Billot's cabinet. On looking at them Picquart was startled; the writing was identical with that of the bordereau attributed to Dreyfus. He wished to make sure of his impression, so he showed some photographs of these letters (from which he had removed the proper names) to Du Paty and Bertillon. Du Paty declared: "They are from Matthew Dreyfus"; Bertillon said: "It is the writing of the bordereau." And when Picquart assured him that these letters were of recent date, he declared: "The Jews have, for the past year, been training some one to imitate the writing; he has succeeded in making a perfect reproduction." The connection between the letters and the bordereau flashed across the mind of the colonel in all its terrible certainty. If Esterhazy, as the handwriting seemed to indicate, were the author of the latter, Dreyfus must be the victim of a judicial error. For a moment he clung to the idea that he must have further proofs of Esterhazy's guilt; where could they be if not in the secret dossier, communicated to the judges in 1894, and in which he had also placed blind confidence, without the least knowledge of its contents? This dossier, notwithstanding Mercier's orders, had not been destroyed; it was still in Henry's safe.

The Secret Dossier.

During the latter's absence Picquart had the dossier brought to him by Gribelin, the keeper of the records; he turned it over in feverish haste, but this masterpiece of the "bureau" contained absolutely nothing that applied, or could be made to apply, to Dreyfus. Of the only two papers that were of any importance, one, the document "canaille de D . . .," did not in any way concern any officer, but only a poor scribbler who had assumed the name of Dubois, while the other, the memoran-

dum of Schwarzkoppen, almost certainly pointed to Esterhazy. As to Du Paty's commentary, this was a mass of wild suppositions. Later this commentary was claimed by General Mercier as his private property and quietly destroyed by him.

Much concerned, but still confident of the honesty of his chiefs, Picquart immediately drew up a report and brought it to Boisdeffre, who ordered Picquart to go and relate his story to the deputy-chief of the staff, General Gonse. The general received the colonel, listened without flinching to his revelations, and concluded that they must "separate the two affairs," that of Dreyfus and that of Esterhazy. These instructions, confirmed by Boisdeffre, seemed absurd to Picquart, since the bordereau established an indissoluble bond between the two cases; he should have understood from that moment that his superiors had determined not to permit at any cost the reopening of the Dreyfus affair.

Boisdeffre had for spiritual adviser Father Du Lac, an influential Jesuit, who appears to have played an important though secret part in all this story. Perhaps the officers would not admit even among themselves that under their pompous formulas was hidden, above everything, the fear of seeing their positions in the military world melt away if they publicly confessed the part they had taken in the error and illegal act of 1894; for the innocence of Dreyfus once established, the communication of the secret dossier would appear to everybody what it was in reality—an odious crime. As to General Billot, to whom Picquart, following Boisdeffre's orders, made a complete report of the case, he appeared deeply moved. He had not the same reasons as his companions to defend the judgment of 1894 at any cost, for he had had nothing to do with it, and learned for the first time the story of the secret dossier. But this soldier-politician lived in terror of his surroundings; he did not dare to see the affair clearly, and took for his motto the words of the comedy: "Je suis leur chef; il faut que je les suive" (I am their leader; I am bound to follow them).

Father Du Lac.

Against the young chief of the Intelligence Office there was from this time forward on the part of his superiors secret strife which was bound to end in rupture, but of which Picquart was for a long time unconscious. He did not perceive that in his own office he was jealously spied upon, opposed, and deceived by his fellow workers, Henry, Lauth, and Gribelin. One of them, Henry, had some mysterious motives besides the desire to please his superiors. Since 1876, when they had served together at the Intelligence Office, he had been the comrade, the friend, and even the debtor of Esterhazy, although he pretended to know very little about him. Between these two men there existed a bond the exact nature of which has remained unknown, but which must have been very powerful to involve Henry in the falsehood, deceit, and forgeries which were unveiled later. If it is not certain that Henry was Esterhazy's accomplice, it seems very probable that from the end of 1894 he knew him to be the author of the bordereau, and knew also that the traitor had him in his power.

X. In Sept., 1896, the rumor of the prisoner's escape brought the case abruptly back to public notice. The anti-Jewish press inveighed against the accomplices, the protectors of the traitor; a member of the Chamber, Castelin, announced that at the opening of the next session he would interpellate the ministry on this subject. Moreover, it was known at the Staff Office that the Dreyfus family was pursuing an inquiry and was getting ready to publish a pamphlet demanding the revision of the case.

The Castelin Interpellation.

Picquart, now that his eyes had been opened, was much preoccupied with all these plots. He believed Castelin to be working for the Dreyfus family. He had also been affected by a strange forgery, quite inexplicable to him, which had come into his hands early in September: a letter in a feigned handwriting, and in the style of a German, pretending to be addressed to Dreyfus by a friend, Weiss or Weill, and referring to imaginary "interesting documents" written in sympathetic ink, easily legible to expert eyes. This was probably the beginning of the plot to discredit Picquart, who insisted to Gonse that the initiative should come from the Staff Office. Gonse answered by vaguely advising him to act with prudence, and was opposed to the "expertises" in handwriting that the colonel demanded. In the mean time the bombshell burst. On Sept. 14 "L'Eclair" published under the title "The Traitor" a retrospective article which pretended to bring to light the real motives for the judgment of 1894. The article revealed for the first time the fact of the communication to the judges of a secret document, but this document—the letter "canaille de D . . ."—now became a "letter in cipher" in which the following phrase was found: "This creature Dreyfus is becoming decidedly too exacting." This article had been brought to "L'Eclair" by a contributor to the "Petit Journal," where Henry had some acquaintances; nothing further is known concerning it. Picquart attributed it to the Dreyfus family, and desired to take proceedings, which his chiefs would not authorize. This only caused him to insist more firmly that immediate steps should be taken. Then took place between General Gonse and Picquart this memorable dialogue:

"What can it matter to you," said the general, "whether this Jew remains at Devil's Island or not?"

"But he is innocent."

"That is an affair that can not be reopened; General Mercier and General Saussier are involved in it."

"Still, what would be our position if the family ever found out the real culprit?"

"If you say nothing, nobody will ever know it."

"What you have just said is abominable, general. I do not know yet what course I shall take, but in any case I will not carry this secret with me to the grave." ["Le Procès Dreyfus Devant le Conseil de Guerre de Rennes," I. 440, 441, Paris, 1900.]

From that day Picquart's removal was decided. He was authorized for the sake of appearances to continue his investigations concerning Esterhazy, but he was forbidden to take any decisive step, or, above all, to have the man arrested. With an adversary so cunning, ordinary measures—secret searches in his rooms, opening of his correspondence, examination of his desks—were of no avail, and never would be. For Esterhazy had been warned. He went to Drumont some time before the appearance of Lazare's

pamphlet, and said that they desired to reopen the Dreyfus affair, and to involve him in it in order to retard his promotion ("La Libre Parole," Dec. 3, 1902).

Henry's Confirmatory Letter.

Meanwhile, Henry insinuated to General Gonse that it would be well to put the secret dossier (of the Dreyfus case) out of the way, for indiscretions might arise—perhaps had already arisen—because of it (an allusion to the article in "L'Eclair," which he wished to be attributed to Picquart). Gonse did not need to be told twice, and removed the dossier (Oct. 30). A very few days later Henry triumphantly brought him a letter from Panizzardi, in blue pencil, which, he said, he had just found among some scraps in Madame Bastian's paper bag (Oct. 31). It was thus worded:

My dear friend: I have read that a deputy is going to ask several questions on the Dreyfus affair. If they request any new explanations at Rome, I shall say that I never had any dealings with this Jew. That is understood. If they question you make the same reply, for nobody must ever know what has happened to him. *Alexandrine.*

The writing was apparently Panizzardi's, and in order to compare it Henry produced an earlier letter, supposed to have been taken from the waste of the secret dossier, written with the same pencil, on the same sort of paper ruled in squares, and containing the same signature. In reality, the letter brought for comparison contained fraudulent additions hinting at a Jewish traitor, while the new document was a forgery from beginning to end, executed by one of Henry's customary forgers, probably Leeman, called Lemercier-Picard, who later admitted to Count Tornielli that he had written it. Gonse and Boisdeffre believed or pretended to believe in its authenticity, and likewise convinced General Billot thereof. When Colonel Picquart expressed his doubts to Gonse the latter answered: "When a minister tells me anything I always believe it."

On Nov. 6 the memoir which had been prepared by the Dreyfus family, and which had been written by Bernard Lazare, appeared at Brussels. He laid bare the inconclusive character of the incriminating document (without, however, publishing it), confirmed the communication of the secret document, but affirmed, in opposition to "L'Eclair," that it bore only the initial "D" and not the name of "Dreyfus" in full. The pamphlet, distributed to the members of the Chamber, received from the press a cold welcome. But a few days later (Nov. 10) "Le Matin" published the facsimile of the famous bordereau attributed to Dreyfus. It became known later that it had been obtained from the expert Teyssonnières, who alone had kept the photograph of the bordereau confided to all the writing-experts in 1894. The publicity given to this facsimile would allow writing-experts all the world over to prove the differences that existed between the writing of the bordereau and that of Dreyfus; it might also meet the eyes of people who would recognize the writing of the true culprit, and that is exactly what happened. Esterhazy's handwriting was recognized particularly by Schwarzkoppen (who only then understood the drama of 1894), by Maurice Weil, and by a solicitor's clerk, the son of the chief rabbi Zadoc Kahn. The confusion at the Staff Office was now great; it grew worse confounded when Maurice Weil, one of Esterhazy's intimate friends, sent to the minister of war an anonymous letter which he had just received and which warned him that Castelin intended to denounce Esterhazy and Weil as accomplices of Dreyfus. The Staff Office pretended to recognize Picquart's hand in all these incidents, or at any rate to regard them as the result of his alleged indiscretions. His immediate departure was resolved upon. He had already been told that he would be sent to inspect the intelligence service in the east of France. Boisdeffre went with him to the minister, who rebuked Picquart soundly for having let information leak out and for having seized Esterhazy's correspondence without authorization. In recognition of his services in the past, he was not disgraced, but was ordered to set out immediately, and to resign his position to General Gonse. He did not protest, but started on Nov. 16. Two days later Castelin's interpellation, which had become a decided bugbear to the Staff Office, was made, but it failed of its purpose. Castelin demanded that proceedings should be instituted against the accomplices of the traitor, among whom he named Dreyfus' father-in-law Hadamard, the naval officer Emile Weyl, and Bernard Lazare. General Billot, who had addressed the Chamber before Castelin, affirmed the perfect regularity of the action of 1894, and made an appeal to the patriotism of the assembly to terminate a "dangerous debate." After a short and confused argument the Chamber voted an "ordre du jour" of confidence, inviting the government to inquire into the matter and to take proceedings *if there were cause.* A petition from Madame Dreyfus, invoking, with the support of the article in "L'Eclair," the communication of the secret document, was put aside by the judicial committee for want of sufficient proof.

Machinations Against Picquart.

XI. Meanwhile, under a pretext, Picquart was hurried off from Nancy to Marseilles, and later on to Tunis; and, to avoid notice, he was attached to the Fourth Regiment of sharpshooters in garrison at Susa. During the whole time General Gonse wrote to him upon the question of money, as if to suggest purchasing his silence. Picquart recorded in a codicil to his will the history of his discovery, which he intended for the president of the republic; in this way he was sure "not to take his secret with him to the grave."

Henry, though under the nominal direction of Gonse, had become the real head of the Intelligence Office, where he quietly prepared a whole series of forgeries, designed, when the opportunity presented itself, to crush Picquart if he ever attempted to cause trouble. After having put at rest the mistrust of his former chief by pretended protestations of devotion, in June, 1897, he suddenly flung off his mask. Picquart, irritated at continually receiving missives from the agents of his former service, wrote a rather hasty note to Henry, in which he denounced "the lies and the mysteries" with which his pretended mission had been surrounded during the past six months. Henry, after having consulted his superiors, answered, declaring that as far as "mysteries" were concerned he knew only that the following facts had been established against Picquart

by an "inquiry": (1) The opening of correspondence unconnected with the service. (2) A proposal to two officers to testify, should such action be necessary, that a paper, registered as belonging to the service, and emanating from a well-known person, had been seized in the mails—a reference to a remark made by Lauth to Picquart, that the "petit bleu" addressed to Esterhazy was deficient of the regular stamp of the post-office. (3) The opening of a secret dossier, followed by disclosures. This letter, to which Picquart replied by a brief protest, opened his eyes; he understood the plot that was being hatched against him, the dangers which threatened him for having been too discerning. He asked for leave, went to Paris, and disclosed his affair to his old friend and comrade Leblois, a lawyer. Without revealing to Leblois any secret document, even the "petit bleu," he told him that he had discovered Esterhazy's crime and the innocence of Dreyfus; he authorized him, in case of necessity, to inform the government, but absolutely forbade him to apprise either the brother or the lawyer of Dreyfus. Leblois did not long remain the only recipient of the secret. A few days later chance brought him in contact with one of the few statesmen who had shown any sympathy with the researches of Matthew Dreyfus—the Alsatian Scheurer-Kestner, former member of the Chamber of Deputies for Alsace and coworker with Gambetta, and now vice-president of the Senate and one of the most justly esteemed men of the Republican party. Since 1895 Scheurer-Kestner, induced by the deputy Ranc and by Matthew Dreyfus, had made some inquiries. In 1897 the friends of Dreyfus returned to the charge. Scheurer-Kestner was surprised to find that all the so-called moral proofs, the tales that were brought forward to explain the crime of Dreyfus, did not bear investigation. The expert Teyssonnières, sent to him by his friend and colleague Trarieux, former minister of justice, did not succeed in convincing him that the bordereau was in the writing of Dreyfus. In great distress, he went to tell his old comrade Billot of his suspicions; the general reassured him: a secret document discovered since the condemnation, at the moment of Castelin's interpellation, had removed all doubts; Billot related the substance of it to him without letting him see it. This "crushing blow," which he kept in reserve for the partizans of Dreyfus, was Major Henry's forgery.

Scheurer-Kestner's Inquiries.

Scheurer-Kestner was at this point of his inquiry when Leblois, who had met him at dinner one evening, conceived the idea of having recourse to him as the medium by which to save Dreyfus and, through Dreyfus, Picquart. Going to Scheurer-Kestner's house, Leblois told all he knew, and showed him Gonse's letters. Scheurer-Kestner was finally convinced, and swore to devote himself to the defense of the innocent (July 13, 1897). But he was much puzzled as to what course to pursue. Leblois had forbidden him to mention Picquart's name, and Picquart had forbidden that the Dreyfus family should be told. In this perplexity, born of the initial mistake of Picquart, Scheurer-Kestner pursued the most unlucky tactics imaginable; instead of quietly gathering together all his documents and uniting his forces with those of Matthew Dreyfus, he allowed the rumor of his convictions to be spread abroad, and thus put the Staff Office on the alert, gave them time to prepare themselves, and allowed the hostile press to bring discredit upon him and to weaken beforehand by premature and mutilated revelations the force of his arguments.

Billot soon began to feel uneasy; he conjured his "old friend" to do nothing without having seen him; that is to say, until the end of the parliamentary recess. Scheurer-Kestner, without suspecting anything, gave him his word, leaving a clear field to Esterhazy's protectors. In the mean while this personage had been quietly dismissed from active service. Billot, who it is claimed looked upon him as "a scoundrel, a vagabond," perhaps even as the accomplice of Dreyfus, had indignantly opposed his readmission into the War Office. On Aug. 17 Esterhazy was put on the retired list "for temporary infirmities"; but, that done, there remained the prevention of his being "substituted" for Dreyfus. That it was Scheurer-Kestner's plan to demand this substitution, the Staff Office did not doubt for a moment, for Henry's secret police had followed Picquart to Leblois' house, and then Leblois to Scheurer-Kestner's. It was even fancied that Scheurer-Kestner was much more fully informed than was really the case. Toward the middle of October a meeting was held at the War Office, in anticipation of Scheurer-Kestner's impending campaign. Gonse, Henry, Lauth, Du Paty de Clam, were all present; the last, although having nothing to do with the Intelligence Office, had been summoned to it as the principal worker in the condemnation of Dreyfus, and as interested therefore more than any one in maintaining it. Gonse set forth the plot "of the Jews" to substitute for Dreyfus Esterhazy, an officer of doubtful character, but whom a minute inquiry had cleared of all suspicion of treachery: who was, however, a nervous man, and who, under the blow of a sudden denunciation, might lose his head and take flight or even kill himself; and that would mean catastrophe, war, and disaster. Esterhazy must then be warned, to prevent him from going quite mad. But how was it to be done? It was decided to send him an anonymous letter in order that he might take courage. Billot objected to this proceeding; it seems, however, that somebody disregarded the objection, for Esterhazy received (or pretended to have received) a letter signed *Espérance*, warning him that the *Dreffus* family, informed by a certain Colonel *Picart*, intended to accuse him of treason. One fact is certain—that he settled in Paris, went to see Schwarzkoppen, and told him that all was lost if he (Schwarzkoppen) did not go and declare to Madame Dreyfus that her husband was guilty; on the indignant refusal of Schwarzkoppen he threatened to blow his brains out. At the Staff Office Henry and Du Paty, understanding at once the wishes of Boisdeffre and of Gonse, resolved to join forces with Esterhazy. The keeper of the records, Gribelin, went in disguise to take a letter to Esterhazy fixing a rendezvous in the park of Montsouris. There, while Henry (fearing, as he said,

Tactics of the Staff Office.

recognition by his former comrade) kept watch, Du Paty, who was also disguised, told Esterhazy that he was known to be innocent, and that he would be defended on condition that he conformed rigorously to the instructions that would be given to him. After this interview Esterhazy went to Schwarzkoppen quite cheered up, and told him that the staff was entering into a campaign for his defense. A week later Schwarzkoppen had himself recalled to Berlin; it was the discreet but significant avowal that "his man was taken." Meanwhile Esterhazy, as agreed upon, was receiving his daily instructions from the Staff Office. Every evening from this time on Gribelin brought to him at the Military Club the program for the next day; Du Paty and Henry, whose connection with the affair Esterhazy soon knew, saw him several times, sometimes at the Montmartre cemetery, sometimes on the Pont d'Alexandre III. Later on, when these meetings were considered too dangerous, they corresponded with him through the medium of his mistress, of his lawyer, or of his cousin Christian.

Following instructions, Esterhazy wrote to Billot, ending his letter with the threat that if he were not defended he would apply to the German emperor. He wrote in the same strain to the president of the republic, claiming that a lady—afterward mysteriously referred to as the "veiled lady"—had given him a photograph of a very important document which Picquart had acquired from an embassy and which seriously compromised persons of high diplomatic rank. This braggadocio was taken so seriously that General Leclerc received an order at Tunis to question Picquart on having given to an outsider—the "veiled lady"—the "document of deliverance." Receiving no answer, Esterhazy, in his third letter (Nov. 5), virtually held the knife at the president's throat: the stolen document proved the rascality of Dreyfus; if he should publish it, it would be war or humiliation for France. This time they made up their minds to listen to him. General Saussier was charged with interrogating Esterhazy in regard to the "document of deliverance"; he obtained no details from him, but made him promise to send back the document to the minister. On Nov. 15 (the day when Matthew Dreyfus wrote his denunciation) it was "restored" to Saussier in a triple envelope, sealed with Esterhazy's arms: the "document of deliverance," as Esterhazy called it, was a photograph of the document "canaille de D . . ." There is nothing to prove that Esterhazy had ever had it in his hands. Billot acknowledged the receipt by the hand of his "chef de cabinet," General Torcy. By these barefaced stratagems Esterhazy and his defenders on the staff made certain of the complicity of the minister and of the president of the republic, while they compromised Picquart more deeply.

With the latter they proceeded to further measures. At the end of October Boisdeffre had ordered General Leclerc, commanding the corps of occupation in Tunis, to send Picquart to reconnoiter on the frontier of Tripoli, from which quarter pretended gatherings of the local tribes were reported. It was a dangerous region, where Morès had met his death; General Leclerc was astonished at the order, and, having heard from Picquart the cause of his disgrace, forbade him to go farther than Gabes. Some days later Picquart had to clear himself of the accusation of allowing a woman to purloin the "document of deliverance" of Esterhazy. Then, on Nov. 11 and 12, he received one after the other two telegrams worded: (1) "Arrest the demigod; all is discovered; very serious affair. Speranza." (2) "It has been proved that the 'bleu' was forged by Georges. Blanche." The obscure allusions and the names in these forgeries were derived from Picquart's private correspondence, which had been looked through, and were intended to produce the impression that Picquart was in some plot to release Dreyfus; the "demigod," it was pretended, referred to Scheurer-Kestner. The two telegrams, copied before they left Paris, had convinced the Sûreté Générale that Picquart was the moving spirit in the plot. On receiving them, and afterward an anonymous letter in the same style, Picquart sent a complaint to General Billot, and asked that inquiries be made regarding the author of these forgeries.

The "Speranza" and "Blanche" Telegrams.

During this time Scheurer-Kestner was being deceived by his "old friend" Billot. On Oct. 30 he had a long conference with Billot, at which he accused Esterhazy. Billot declared that in spite of persistent investigations nobody had been able to find any proofs against Esterhazy, but that there were positive proofs against Dreyfus. Scheurer-Kestner implored him to distrust suspicious documents, and finally gave him a fortnight in which to make an honest and thorough investigation, promising that he himself would not speak during that time.

He kept his word; Billot did not. During the fortnight not only was the collusion between the staff and the traitor fully organized, but the press, furnished with more or less news by the War Office, spoke openly of Scheurer-Kestner's futile visit to Billot and launched a veritable tempest against the "Jewish syndicate," which had bought a "man of straw" as a substitute for Dreyfus in order to dishonor the army. Scheurer-Kestner, patient but much distressed by the tempest, persisted in his fixed idea of acting only through the government. He saw Méline, the president of the council, several times, but Méline would have nothing to do with his dossier, and advised him to address to the minister of justice a direct petition for revision. This was not bad advice. According to the new law of 1895, a petition for revision founded on a new fact (discovered after the sentence) could only be submitted to the Court of Cassation by the keeper of the seals, after the latter had taken the advice of a special commission. The disposition of the minister (Darlan) was not unfavorable to the adoption of this course; and it is worthy of note that the new facts which were allowed later by the court were at that moment easy to establish; namely, the resemblance between Esterhazy's writing and that of the bordereau and the communication of the secret dossier to the judges.

Silence of Scheurer-Kestner.

The pursuit of such a course would also have had the advantage of taking the matter out of the hands of military justice and of placing it in those of the civil judges, who were less prejudiced. However,

Scheurer-Kestner did not dare to pursue this course; he thought his documents not sufficiently complete. Official notes from the ministry (Nov. 6 and 9) stated the attitude which the government was resolved to take—it determined to respect the "chose jugée" (the matter adjudicated). As for the legal proceedings to secure revision, the notice added that Captain Dreyfus had been "regularly and justly" condemned—a formula which soon became the burden of General Billot's song. Matters might still have dragged on had it not been for chance. At the instance of the Dreyfus family, Bernard Lazare had prepared a second and more detailed pamphlet, in which had been gathered the opinions of a large number of French and foreign experts upon the writing of the bordereau as compared with that of Dreyfus. The unanimous conclusion of these experts was that the handwritings were not identical; but while some of them maintained that the writing of the bordereau was natural, others saw in it a forgery. At the same time that this brochure was published, Matthew Dreyfus ordered handbills reproducing in facsimile the bordereau and a letter of his brother's, which were offered for sale. One of these handbills fell into the hands of a stockbroker, Castro, who had had business relations with Esterhazy; he immediately recognized the bordereau as the writing of his former client, and informed Matthew Dreyfus of the fact. The latter hastened to Scheurer-Kestner and asked him: "Is that the same name?" "Yes," the latter replied (Nov. 11).

Conjunction of Matthew Dreyfus and Scheurer-Kestner.

For four days they hesitated as to the course to pursue, Scheurer-Kestner still persisting in keeping the fortnight's silence promised to Billot on Oct. 31. In the interim, by means of the press the public mind had been influenced by indications as to the real traitor and by counter-declarations by Esterhazy in "La Libre Parole" concerning the conspiracy of the Jews and of "X. Y." (Picquart).

On the night of Nov. 15, in a letter to the minister of war which was published at once, Matthew Dreyfus denounced "Count" Walsin Esterhazy as the writer of the bordereau and as the author of the treason for which his brother had been condemned.

XII. The hasty denunciation of Esterhazy by Matthew Dreyfus was a tactical though perhaps an unavoidable blunder. To accuse Esterhazy formally of the *treason* imputed to Dreyfus—and not simply of having written the bordereau (perhaps as a hoax or a swindle)—was to subject the revision of the case of 1894 to the preliminary condemnation of Esterhazy. With the staff and the War Office fully enlisted against Dreyfus, the court martial which Esterhazy himself at once demanded was of necessity a veritable comedy. Not only was the accused allowed his liberty until the last day but one, not only did his protectors in the Staff Office continue to communicate indirectly with him and to dictate the answers he should make, but the general entrusted with the preliminary as well as with the judicial inquiry, M. de Pellieux, showed him an unchanging friendliness and accepted without examination all his inventions.

Trial of Esterhazy.

Convinced of the guilt of Dreyfus through the assurances of the staff, and before long by Henry's forged documents, Pellieux refused at the outset to examine the bordereau, on the subject of which there was "chose jugée." Even after the formal order to prosecute, an interpellation of Scheurer-Kestner to the Senate (Dec. 7) was necessary to induce General Billot to promise that all the documents, including the famous bordereau, should be produced for examination. On this occasion also, as he had done some days before in the Chamber of Deputies (Dec. 4), the minister did not fail to proclaim on his soul and conscience the guilt of Dreyfus, thus bringing to bear the whole weight of his high office on the verdict of the future judges of Esterhazy. Premier Méline, on his part, gained applause for declaring "that there was no Dreyfus affair," and the Chamber in its "ordre du jour" stigmatized "the ringleaders of the odious campaign which troubled the public conscience."

Against this "odious campaign" was set in motion a whole band of newspapers connected with the Staff Office, and which received from it either subsidies or communications. Among the most violent are to be noted "La Libre Parole" (Drumont), "L'Intransigeant" (Rochefort), "L'Echo de Paris" (Lepelletier), "Le Jour" (Vervoort), "La Patrie" (Millevoye), "Le Petit Journal" (Judet), "L'Eclair" (Alphonse Humbert). Two Jews, Arthur Meyer in "Le Gaulois" and G. Pollonnais in "Le Soir," also took part in this concert. Boisdeffre's orderly officer, Pauffin de St. Morel, was even caught one day bearing the "staff gospel" to Henry Rochefort (Nov. 16); nobody was deceived by the punishment for breach of discipline which he had to undergo for the sake of appearances.

Attitude of the Press.

An extraordinary piece of information—which was immediately contradicted — was printed by "L'Intransigeant" (Dec. 12–14); it was attributed to the confidences of Pauffin, and it dealt with the "ultra-secret" dossier (the photographs of letters from and to Emperor William about Dreyfus).

The Revisionist press, reduced to a small number of organs which were accused of being in the service of a syndicate, did not remain inactive. It consisted of "Le Siècle" (Yves Guyot, Joseph Reinach), "L'Aurore" (Vaughan, Clémenceau, Pressensé), and "Le Rappel," to which were joined later "La Petite République" (Jaurès) and "Les Droits de l'Homme" (Ajalbert). The "Figaro," losing most of its subscribers, changed its politics on Dec. 18, but became once more "Dreyfusard" after the discovery of Henry's forgery. "L'Autorité" (Cassagnac) and "Le Soleil" (Hervé de Kerohant) were the only newspapers among the reactionary press which were more or less in favor of revision. Some of the revisionists, falling into the trap laid for them, widened the scope of the debate and gave it the character of an insulting campaign against the chiefs of the army, which hurt the feelings of many sincere patriots and drove them over to the other side. Public opinion was deeply moved by two publications: one, that of the indictment of Dreyfus (in "Le Siècle," Jan. 6, 1898), which was absolutely remarkable for its lack of proof; the other ("Figaro."

Nov. 28, 1897), that of letters written twelve years before by Esterhazy to his mistress, Madame de Boulancy, in which he launched furious invectives against his "cowardly and ignorant" chiefs, against "the fine army of France," against the entire French nation. One of these letters especially, which soon became famous under the name of the "lettre du Hulan" (Uhlan), surpassed in its unpatriotic violence anything that can be imagined.

The "Lettre du Hulan."

"If some one came to me this evening," it ran, "and told me that I should be killed to-morrow as captain of Uhlans, while hewing down Frenchmen, I should be perfectly happy. . . . What a sad figure these people would make under a blood-red sun over the battle-field, Paris taken by storm and given up to the pillage of a hundred thousand drunken soldiers! That is the fête that I long for!"

Esterhazy hastened to deny the authorship of the letter, which was submitted to examination by experts. While silence was imposed on the officers of Esterhazy's regiment, suspicions were thrown on the defenders of Dreyfus. The director of the prison of Cherche-Midi, Forzinetti, who persisted in proclaiming his prisoner's innocence, was dismissed. But, above all, the Staff Office struggled to bring Picquart into disrepute. Scheurer-Kestner insisted on having his evidence; they were forced to bring him back from Tunis. The day before his arrival a search was instituted among his belongings, which was as fruitless as it was unusual; an officer escorted him from Marseilles to Paris (Nov. 25). General de Pellieux, who had been made to believe by a series of forgeries that Picquart had for some time been the moving spirit of the "syndicate," treated him more as the accused than as a witness; it was understood that he would soon be behind bolts and bars.

The general entrusted with the investigation concluded that there was no evidence against Esterhazy. However, Esterhazy was instructed to write a letter asking as a favor to be brought up for trial, the rough copy of which was corrected by Pellieux himself. Accordingly General Saussier, governor of Paris, instituted a regular inquiry (Dec. 4). But the officer empowered to conduct it, Major Ravary, did so in the same spirit as Pellieux.

Ravary's Report.

Esterhazy's system of defense was a mixture of audacious avowals and ridiculous inventions. He acknowledged his relations with Schwarzkoppen, but gave to them a purely social character. The "petit bleu" was, according to him, an absurd forgery, highly improbable, and most likely the work of Picquart himself. He did not deny the striking resemblance between his writing and that of the bordereau, but explained it by alleging that Dreyfus must have fraudulently obtained one of his letters to imitate his handwriting and so incriminate him. As for the documents enumerated in the bordereau, Esterhazy denied that he could possibly have known them, especially at the time to which they now had agreed to assign the bordereau (April, 1894). He certainly had borrowed the "manuel de tir" from Lieutenant Bernheim of Le Mans, whom he had met at Rouen, but in the month of September; later on, he retracted and said, in agreement with Bernheim, that it was not the real manual, but a similar regulation already available in the bookstores.

This mass of deceptions, to which was added the romance of the "veiled lady"—supposed to be a mistress of Picquart—was taken seriously by Ravary. Three experts were found (Couard, Belhomme, Varinard) who swore that the bordereau was not in Esterhazy's hand, though apparently traced in part over his writing (Dec. 26). These men had to be coached by the staff. Du Paty writes to Esterhazy: "The experts have been appointed. You will have their names to-morrow. They shall be spoken to; be quiet!" Thereupon Ravary wrote out, or signed, a long report in which, after having given an exact summary of the charges set forth against Esterhazy, he concluded by saying that, while the private life of the major was not a model to be recommended "to our young officers," there was nothing to prove that he was guilty of treason. The bordereau was not in his writing; the "petit bleu" was not genuine. He stigmatized Picquart as the instigator of the whole campaign, and denounced his subterfuges and indiscretions to his superiors.

Ravary concluded that the case should be dismissed at once (Jan. 1). However, Saussier ordered the affair to be thoroughly cleared up before a court martial presided over by General Luxer. The hearing took place at the Cherche-Midi on Jan. 10 and 11, 1898. From the commencement the Dreyfus family, who had appointed two lawyers (Fernand Labori and Demange), were refused the right of being represented in court. The reading of the indictment, the superficial examination of Esterhazy (who contradicted himself several times), the testimony of the civil witnesses (Matthew Dreyfus, Scheurer-Kestner, etc.), were conducted in public; then a hearing behind closed doors was ordered, doubtless to stifle Colonel Picquart's evidence. The public knew nothing of Picquart's deposition, or of that of the other military witnesses, of Leblois, or of the experts, and nothing of the Revisionists' case in general. General de Pellieux, seated behind the judges, interfered more than once in the debates, and whispered to the president. Picquart was so harshly treated that one judge exclaimed: "I see that the real accused is Colonel Picquart!"

The Esterhazy Court Martial.

Finally, as everybody knew beforehand would be the case, Esterhazy was acquitted unanimously and acclaimed with frenzy by the "patriots" outside. Pellieux wrote to the "dear major" to stigmatize the "abominable campaign" of which he had been the victim, and to authorize him to prosecute those who dared to attribute the "Uhlan" letter to him. As to Picquart, he was, to begin with, punished with sixty days' imprisonment, being confined on Mont Valérien; it was understood that he would be arraigned before a council of inquiry (Jan. 13).

XIII. Esterhazy's acquittal closed the door on revision for the time being; but the Revisionists did not consider themselves defeated. For two months their ranks had been increased by a large number of literary men, professors, and scholars who had been convinced by the evidence given; it was one of these "intellectuels," the novelist Emile Zola, who took up the gauntlet. Al-

Emile Zola's "J'Accuse."

most from the first he had enlisted among the advocates of revision. He had written in the "Figaro" brilliant articles against the anti-Semites and in favor of Scheurer-Kestner, whom he termed "a soul of crystal." "Truth is afoot," he said; "nothing will stop her." On Jan. 13 he published in "L'Aurore," under the title "J'Accuse," an open letter to the president of the republic, an eloquent philippic against the enemies "of truth and justice." Gathering together with the prophetic imagination of the novelist all the details of a story of which up to then the outlines had hardly been discerned, he threw into relief, not without a good deal of exaggeration, the "diabolical rôle" of Colonel Du Paty. He charged the generals with a "crime of high treason against humanity," Pellieux and Ravary with "villainous inquiry," the experts with "lying and fraudulent reports." The acquittal of Esterhazy was "a supreme blow ["soufflet"] to all truth, to all justice"; the court of justice which had pronounced it was "necessarily criminal"; and he finished the long recital of his accusations with these words:

"I accuse the first court martial of having violated the law in condemning the accused upon the evidence of a document which remained secret. And I accuse the second court martial of having screened this illegality by order, committing in its turn the judicial crime of wilfully and knowingly acquitting a guilty person."

Zola's audacious action created a tremendous stir. It was, he owned himself, a revolutionary deed destined to provoke proceedings which would hasten "an outburst of truth and justice," and in that respect he was not deceived. His philippic raised such an outcry in the press and in the Chamber of Deputies that the War Office was forced to enter upon proceedings. A complaint was lodged against the defamatory phrases with regard to the court martial which had acquitted Esterhazy. The case was tried before the jury of the Seine, and lasted from Feb. 7 to 23, 1898.

First Zola Trial.

The "patriots" in the cafés, the "camelots" selling songs and broadsides, the professional anti-Semites who were masters of the streets under the friendly eye of the police, threatened and hooted all the "enemies of the army," applauded the generals and even the most insignificant officers in uniform, not excepting Major Esterhazy, to whom Prince Henry of Orleans asked to be presented. Scuffles took place between the anti-Revisionists and the handful of "Dreyfusards" who served as a body-guard to Zola. Even in the audience-chamber, "arranged" with care by the staff and its friends at the bar, officers in civil dress caused a stir and gave vent to noisy manifestations. There was fighting in the lobbies. Cries of "Death to the Jews!" were uttered on all sides.

Zola's lawyers, Fernand Labori and Albert Clémenceau, had summoned a large number of witnesses. The greater number of the military witnesses declined at first to reply to the summons, but the court did not admit their power to refuse, and they were obliged to submit. However, in order that the "chose jugée" should receive due respect, the court decided not to allow any document, any evidence which bore upon facts foreign to the accusation, to be produced.

The president, Delegorgue, in applying this principle, observed a subtle, almost absurd, distinction; he admitted all that could prove Esterhazy's guilt but not Dreyfus' innocence or the irregularity of his condemnation; his formula, "The question will not be admitted," soon became proverbial. In reality, it was exceedingly difficult to trace a dividing-line between the two classes of facts; and the line was constantly overstepped, now under the pretext of establishing the "good faith" of the accused, now to justify the incriminating phrase that the second court martial had covered by order the *illegality* committed by the first. It was thus that Demange was able to bring out, in a rapid sentence, the fact of the communication of the secret document, which fact he learned from his fellow advocate, Salles.

Picquart's Evidence.

Concerning the Dreyfus affair, the most important testimony was that of Colonel Picquart, who appeared for the first time in public, and gained numerous sympathizers by his calm, dignified, and reserved attitude. Without letting himself be either intimidated or flattered, he related clearly and sincerely, but avoiding all unnecessary disclosures, the story of his discovery. His adversaries, Gonse, Henry, Lauth, Gribelin, did not leave a stone unturned to weaken the force of his evidence and to assert that from the very commencement he had been haunted by the idea of substituting Esterhazy for Dreyfus. There was a long dispute over his supposed plan of having the "petit bleu" stamped during the suspicious visits that Leblois had paid him at the ministry. Gribelin pretended that he had seen them seated at a table with two secret dossiers in front of them, one concerning carrier-pigeons, the other concerning the Dreyfus affair. Henry (appointed lieutenant-colonel for the occasion) declared that he had seen, in the presence of Leblois, the document "canaille de D . . ." taken from its envelope. Picquart denied the truth of this statement, which the dates contradicted; Henry thereupon replied: "Colonel Picquart has told a lie." Picquart kept his temper, but at the end of the trial sent his seconds to Henry, and fought a duel with him, in which Henry was slightly wounded. As to Esterhazy, who also tried to pick a quarrel with him, Picquart refused to grant him the honor of a meeting. "That man," said he, "belongs to the justice of his country." In this trial the important part played by Henry began to appear; till then he had purposely kept in the background, and concealed a deep cunning beneath the blunt appearance of a peasant-soldier. One day (Feb. 13), as if to warn his chiefs that he had the upper hand of them, he revealed the formation of the secret dossier; he also spoke, but vaguely, of a supposed ultra-secret dossier, two letters which (he pretended) had been shown him by Colonel Sandherr. These were apparently two of the forged letters attributed to the German emperor, which were whispered about sub rosa in order to convince refractory opinions.

Among the civil witnesses, the experts in handwriting occupied the longest time before the court. Besides the professional experts, savants such as Paul Meyer, A. Giry, Louis Havet, and Auguste Molinier, affirmed and proved that the writing and the

style of the bordereau were those of Esterhazy. Their adversaries refused to admit this evidence on the ground of the supposed difference between the original and the published facsimiles, of which many, according to Pellieux, resembled forgeries. The lawyers then asked that the original bordereau might be produced, but the court refused to give the order.

General de Pellieux had established himself counsel for the Staff Office. An elegant officer, gifted with an easy and biting eloquence, he addressed the court at almost every hearing, sometimes congratulating himself with having contributed to Esterhazy's acquittal, sometimes warning the jurymen that if they overthrew the confidence of the country in the chiefs of the army, their sons would be brought "to butchery." Like Henry, but with less mental reservation, he ended one day by divulging a secret. On Feb. 17 he had had a prolonged discussion with Picquart as to whether Esterhazy could possibly have been acquainted with the documents of the bordereau, the real date of which was now acknowledged (Aug. or Sept. and not April, 1894). Suddenly, as if unnerved, he declared that, setting the bordereau aside, there was a proof, subsequent in date but positive, of the guilt of Dreyfus, and this proof he had had before his eyes; it was a paper in which the attaché "A" wrote to the attaché "B": "Never mention the dealings we have had with this Jew." General Gonse immediately confirmed this sensational evidence. This was the first time that the document forged by Henry—the "thunderbolt" of Billot—had been publicly produced. The impression this admission created was intense. Labori protested against this garbled quotation, and demanded that the document should either be brought before the court or should not be used at all. Then Pellieux, turning toward an orderly officer, cried: "Take a cab, and go and fetch General de Boisdeffre." While waiting for the head of the staff the hearing was adjourned; it was arranged not to resume it that day, for in the interval the government, informed of the incident, had opposed the production of a document which brought the foreign embassies into the case, and of which Hanotaux, the minister for foreign affairs, warned by the Italian ambassador, Tornielli, suspected the genuineness. At the next day's hearing Boisdeffre was content with confirming the deposition of Pellieux on every point as "accurate and authentic," and boldly put the question of confidence to the jury. The president declared the incident closed. In vain did Picquart, questioned by the lawyers, declare that he considered the document a forgery. Pellieux was content with styling him scornfully "a gentleman who *still* bore the uniform of the French army and who dared charge three generals with a forgery!" From that moment the debates were curtailed. The jury, deliberating under fear of physical violence, declared the defendants guilty without extenuating circumstances. In consequence Zola was condemned to the maximum punishment—one year's imprisonment and a fine of 3,000 francs. The publisher of "L'Aurore"—defended by George Clémenceau—was sentenced to four months' imprisonment and a similar fine (Feb. 23, 1898). The prisoners appealed to the Court of Cassation for annulment of the judgment. Contrary to their expectation and to that of the public the Criminal Court admitted the plea on the formal ground that the complaint should have been lodged by the court martial which had been slandered, and not by the minister of war. The sentence was therefore annulled (April 2). Chambaraud, the judge-advocate, as well as Manau, the attorney-general, let it be understood that it would be better not to resume proceedings, at the same time allowing a discreet sympathy for the cause of revision to appear. But the War Office, urged on by the deputies, had gone too far to draw back. The court martial, immediately assembled, decided to lodge a civil complaint. This time only three lines from the article were retained as count of the indictment, and the case was deferred to the Court of Assizes of Seine and Oise at Versailles. Zola protested against the competence of this court, but the Court of Cassation overruled him. The case was not called until July 18, under a new ministry. At the last moment Zola declared he would not appear, and fled to England to avoid hearing the sentence, which would then become final. The court condemned him without debate to the maximum punishment, the same as had already been pronounced by the jury of the Seine. His name was also struck from the list of the Legion of Honor. The experts, on their part, slandered by him, brought an action against him which ended in his being condemned to pay 30,000 francs ($6,000) damages.

The "Thunderbolt" Quoted.

The Sentence Annulled.

XIV. The excitement which accompanied the Zola case had been echoed in the Chamber of Deputies. The different parties began to make the most of the "affaire" for their political ends. A very small phalanx of Socialists grouped round Jaurès, whose generous nature proved more clear-sighted than the shrewdness of his colleagues, and accused the government of delivering the republic up to the generals. A more numerous group of Radicals with "Nationalist" tendencies reproached them, on the contrary, with not having done what was necessary to defend the honor of the army and to nip in the bud a dangerous agitation. The chief spokesman of this group was the "austere intriguer" Godfrey Cavaignac, descended from a former candidate for the presidency of the republic, and himself suspected of a similar ambition. Between these two shoals the premier Méline steered his course, holding fast to the principle of "respect for the judgment pronounced." Prudently refusing to enter into the discussion of the proofs of Dreyfus' guilt, he gave satisfaction to the anti-Revisionists by energetically denouncing the Revisionists. Thus it was that on Jan. 15 and 22, Cavaignac having called upon the government to publish a document "both decisive and without danger"—the alleged report of Gonse upon the supposed avowals of Dreyfus to Lebrun-Renault—Méline flatly declined to follow this track, which he called "la revision à la tribune." After a stormy debate, during which blows were exchanged on the platform, the Chamber decided in Méline's favor (Jan. 24). Again, on Feb. 12, in re-

Political Aspects of the "Affaire."

sponse to a question concerning "his dealings with the Dreyfus family," General Billot declared that if the revision took place he would not remain a moment longer at the War Office.

On Feb. 24 the ministry were challenged as to the attitude which certain generals had assumed during the Zola trial. Méline, without approving of the errors of speech, explained them as the natural result of the exasperation caused by such an incessant campaign of invective and outrage. But this campaign was about to end: "It must absolutely cease!" he cried, with the applause of the Chamber, and he gave it to be understood that the mad obstinacy of the "intellectuels"—as the advocates of revision were contemptuously called—would only end in bringing about a religious persecution. At the same time he made known a whole series of disciplinary measures demanded by circumstances. By the end of January a council of inquiry had declared for Colonel Picquart's retirement on account of his professional indiscretions in connection with Leblois. The ministerial decision had been left in suspense—it is easy to understand in whose interest—during the Zola trial; now it was put into execution, and Picquart's name was struck off the army list. His "accomplice" Leblois was dismissed from his duties as "maire adjoint," and suspended for six months from the practise of his profession as a lawyer.

During the four months which followed the first verdict against Zola the cause of the Revisionists was at the lowest ebb. The only effect that their campaign seemed to have had was to divide French society. On the one side were the army, nearly all the leading classes, and the "social forces," without considering the rabble; on the other, a handful of intellectual men and of Socialists. Nationalism, another form of Boulangism, resumed its sway, associated with anti-Semitism, whose exploits resulted in filling the streets of Algiers with blood. The battle continued in the press, and the League of the Rights of Man (president, Senator Trarieux) concentrated the partizans of revision. But from a judicial point of view all the avenues seemed henceforward barred. Apart from the epilogue of the Zola trial only two cases, which received scant notice, maintained a feeble spark of hope despite the darkness.

Two Favorable Symptoms.

On the one hand, Colonel Picquart, after having vainly knocked at all the doors of military justice, had decided to lay a complaint before a civil court against the unknown authors of the forged "Speranza" letter and of the forged telegrams which he had received in Tunis. On the other hand, a cousin of Major Esterhazy, Christian Esterhazy, lodged a complaint against his relative, who, under pretense of investing their money "with his friend Rothschild," had swindled Christian and his mother out of a considerable part of their small fortune. The same examining magistrate, Bertulus, was entrusted with the two cases; each one threw light upon the other. Christian had been one of the intermediate agents in the collusion between Esterhazy and his protectors in the Staff Office, and he divulged some edifying details on this subject.

In the month of May the elections took place. The new Chamber was as mixed in its representation as had been its predecessor, with the addition of a few more Nationalists and anti-Semites. It did not include a single open Dreyfusard: some (Jaurès, J. Reinach) had not been returned; others had not even faced the struggle. Besides, during the electoral period the recognized attitude of all parties had been to keep silent on the "affaire" and to exaggerate the formulas of enthusiasm for the army; later on, a few provincial councils called for strong measures against the agitators.

At its first meeting with the Chamber Méline's ministry was put in the minority, and a Radical cabinet was formed (June 30). It had for president Henry Brisson, who had just failed as candidate for the presidency of the Chamber. Brisson had remained, and persisted in remaining, completely unacquainted with the "affaire"; but he took as minister of war Godfrey Cavaignac, who would be of use to him as a security with regard to the Nationalists, and leave him full power on this delicate question.

The leader of the Patriots' League, Déroulède, congratulated Brisson on having taken in partnership a man "who would know how to make the honor of the army respected." Indeed, Cavaignac, true to his promises as a deputy, announced his intention of "muzzling" the impenitent Dreyfusards. But first of all he meant to be sure that he had the cooperation of the Chamber. On July 7 he was challenged by the deputy Castelin, who demanded fresh proceedings against Picquart, Zola, and the "syndicate." Cavaignac addressed the Chamber. His speech, very different from Méline's prudent reserve and Billot's empty formulas, constituted, as he thought, a demonstration in due form of the guilt of Dreyfus, founded principally on the new proofs which had been revealed since his condemnation. Of course, Cavaignac laid stress upon the "confessions" of Dreyfus, established by Gonse's report—antedated—and by a loose leaf (sic!) from Lebrun-Renault's note-book, afterward destroyed by him—a very suspicious act. Cavaignac laid before the Chamber a whole dossier of secret papers: (1) The document "canaille de D . . .". (2) A document of March, 1894, in which one of the military attachés wrote "D. has brought me several interesting things." (It was discovered later that the letter "D" covered something which had been erased, and one could see the traces of one or several different letters.) (3) The document which had fallen from the skies in 1896, and which Pellieux had referred to in the discussion at Zola's trial. Cavaignac, whom Hanotaux and Méline had not thought fit to acquaint with Count Tornielli's protest, gave the entire text of this document for the first time, all except one sentence which he omitted on the ground of diplomatic propriety. He maintained that he had weighed its "material and moral authenticity." Cavaignac's demonstration, apparently mathematically exact, and made with angry conviction, reassured and won over the Chamber, which voted unanimously that his speech should be posted up in every commune throughout France. It was remarked that Méline was among

Second Castelin Interpellation.

the few who did not vote. The "Figaro" proclaimed the Dreyfus case a "buried matter." But the next day Picquart threw cold water on all this enthusiasm. He wrote a public letter to Brisson, offering to prove before any competent jurisdiction that the documents of 1894, quoted by Cavaignac, did not apply to Dreyfus, and that the document of 1896 "had every appearance of being a forgery." The answer to this audacious manifestation was not long in coming. In the Chamber Cavaignac treated with contempt a man who dared to argue that "a document which he had never seen" could be a forgery. At the same time he wrote to the keeper of the seals to lodge a complaint against Picquart and Leblois, by virtue of the law on espionage (July 12). This was the accusation against Picquart already brought by Henry, Lauth, and Gribelin during Zola's trial, for having (1) examined with Leblois the dossier of a spy named Beulot, and a secret dossier respecting carrier-pigeons, and (2) communicated to Leblois the secret dossiers of the actions against Dreyfus and Esterhazy. Picquart denied that he had shown Leblois any document either secret or concerning the national defense. Moreover, some of these "facts" had been denounced at the council of inquiry which had ordered his dismissal from the army. Therefore the principle "Non bis in idem" should have made fresh proceedings impossible; but the minister, bitterly resenting the doubt cast on his sincerity, did not stop to take these considerations into account. Picquart was arrested and incarcerated in the civil prison of La Santé (July 13). The inquiry, entrusted to the judge Albert Fabre, soon took a turn favorable to the prisoner, whose adversaries became confused by perpetually contradicting facts and dates. On the same day as this arrest the examining magistrate Bertulus, disregarding the threats and entreaties of which he had been the object, on his own initiative (as an official note put it) sent Major Esterhazy and his mistress, Marguerite Pays, to prison, accused of the crime of forgery and of using forgeries; he had in fact become convinced that the "Speranza" telegram was the work of Madame Pays, and that they were not altogether innocent of the sending of the "Blanche" telegram. Then, when Bertulus had decided to send Esterhazy and his mistress before the Assize Court, the Chambre des Mises en Accusation interfered and gave them the benefit of insufficient evidence (Aug. 12), and also declared the complicity of Du Paty insufficiently proved.

Picquart's Reply to Cavaignac.

Trial of Esterhazy for Forgery.

After the decision pronounced in his favor, Esterhazy had been set at liberty; but he did not come out of this troublesome adventure unscathed. Already, in his speech of July 7, Cavaignac had announced that this officer would be "smitten with the disciplinary punishments that he had deserved," and he gave him into the hands of a council of inquiry. Before this council, presided over by General de St. Germain, Esterhazy, to avenge himself, made revelations which were most compromising for himself as well as for his protectors. He told of his collusion with the staff, and of his threatening letters to the president of the republic. Nevertheless, the council declined to find him guilty of having failed either in discipline or in matters of honor; they sustained only (and by a majority of one) the charge of "habitual misconduct." Notwithstanding a letter from General Zurlinden, military governor of Paris, recommending indulgent measures, Esterhazy's name was struck off the army lists by the minister of war (Aug. 31).

But just at this time an incident of far greater importance occurred to change the aspect of affairs. Cavaignac, in spite of his assurance, had none the less been agitated by the doubts expressed on all sides as to the authenticity of certain documents in his dossier. In order to ease his mind he ordered a general revision and a reclassification of the secret dossier. In the course of this operation Major Cuignet, working by lamplight, noticed an alarming peculiarity in the "document Henry": the lines of the paper—which was ruled in squares—were not of the same color at the top and at the bottom as they were in the middle. When he looked at the document produced by Henry himself for comparison—an invitation to dinner (falsified) dating from 1894—he ascertained, by comparing the ruled squares, that the heading and the lower part of the latter document belonged in reality to the "document Henry," and vice versa. If the two papers had been contemporary, this inversion might have been attributed to a pardonable error in gumming them together; but such was not the case: one was supposed to have been put together in 1894, the other in 1896; therefore the documents had evidently been tampered with at this latter date. Much concerned by his discovery, Cuignet apprised the chief of the cabinet (General Roget) and the minister, who recognized the accuracy of it. Their conviction, which the nonsense and the improbability of the "Vercingétorix document"—as Esterhazy had called it—had not been able to shake, gave way before the divergence of the squares ruled on the paper. Cavaignac, for motives still unknown, kept the matter secret for a fortnight. Then, as Henry was passing through Paris, he summoned him to the War Office, and questioned him in the presence of Generals de Boisdeffre, Gonse, and Roget. Henry commenced by swearing that the document was authentic, then got entangled in confused explanations, then admitted that he had completed certain parts of it "from oral information" he had received; in the end, conquered by the evidence against him, he owned that he had invented the whole thing. But they knew well why and for whom; and he threw an anxious glance on Generals Boisdeffre and Gonse, who in 1896 had accepted this timely forgery without question; these generals kept frigid silence. Abandoned by the chiefs who had tacitly driven him to the crime, Henry gave way entirely. By order of the minister he was immediately put under arrest and confined in Mont Valérien. The next day he cut his throat with a razor left in his possession, taking with him to the grave his secret and that of a great part of the "affaire" (Aug. 31, 1898). On the same day Esterhazy prudently disappeared from Paris; it was

The Henry Forgery.

Suicide of Henry.

known that he had taken refuge in Brussels, and then in London. Colonel Henry's avowal gravely affected General Boisdeffre's position, for he had publicly proclaimed and affirmed to the minister the authenticity of the document. He immediately tendered his resignation as head of the staff, and, despite Cavaignac's entreaties, insisted on its acceptance.

This double "coup de théâtre," at once made public, created a tremendous sensation at first. The enemies of revision were overwhelmed; it was several days before they had sufficiently recovered to rally round the theory of the "patriotic forgery" imagined by a contributor to the "Gazette de France," Charles Maurras. According to him, Henry had forged this document as a sort of résumé for the public, because the "real proofs" could not be revealed without danger. This absurd theory (for if ever a document were intended exclusively for "internal use," as Pressensé put it, it was that one!) was generally accepted by the Nationalists.

But public opinion had changed considerably, or was at least shaken. The revision of the Dreyfus case thenceforward seemed inevitable; the council of ministers investigated the matter. It was evident that if Colonel Henry had been obliged to forge a false proof of the guilt of Dreyfus in 1896, the dossier did not contain a single one that could be considered as decisive. Cavaignac refused to draw this inference—too honest to hush up Henry's forgery, he was too obstinate to retract his speech of July 7. He declared that he was more convinced than ever of Dreyfus' guilt, and tendered his resignation, led to this decision by Brisson's firmly expressed determination to take steps toward revision (Sept. 4).

Zurlinden Succeeds Cavaignac.

General Zurlinden, governor of Paris, accepted the vacant post in the War Office at the personal request of the president of the republic. He was an honest soldier, but narrow-minded; the press of the staff loaded him with insults, which did not fail to affect him. The revision founded upon the discovery of a "new fact" could only be demanded by the keeper of the seals. As early as Sept. 3 Madame Dreyfus had laid before him a request to take this initiative. She alleged two "new facts": (1) the expert's examination of the bordereau, which she was informed had not given the same results as in 1894; (2) the confession of Henry's crime, which consequently annulled his all-important evidence in the action against her husband. As a result of this claim the keeper of the seals, Sarrien, demanded that the secretary of war should communicate the Dreyfus dossier. To the general surprise, Zurlinden sent it to him with a long notice unfavorable to revision. However, after a prolonged discussion, the ministry decided to proceed and to lay the matter before the judicial commission, which they were bound to consult in such a case. Thereupon Zurlinden tendered his resignation, and was followed in his retirement by the minister of public works, Tillaye (Sept. 17). Zurlinden was reinstated as governor of Paris; General Chanoine inherited his position in the War Office, as well as the insults of the anti-Revisionist press. During his short term of office Zurlinden, with an impartiality that showed more uprightness than discretion, had smitten two of the principal actors of the drama. It resulted from Esterhazy's declarations before his council of discipline, and from an inquiry opened in consequence, that Colonel Du Paty de Clam had sided with Esterhazy before and during his action. Du Paty took upon himself all the responsibility for his conduct, and asserted that he had acted without reference to his chiefs; this was chivalrous, but only half true. However that may be, the assistance thus given to Esterhazy was judged "reprehensible from a military point of view": Du Paty was retired and put on half-pay for punishment (Sept. 12). After Du Paty came Picquart. Zurlinden, having become acquainted with his dossier, proposed to the council of ministers to arraign Picquart before a court martial on the charge, already drawn up by Esterhazy, of having fabricated the "petit bleu." The only possible basis for such an accusation consisted in certain signs of erasure in the document which had not existed in the photographs taken of it in 1896. The council appeared little in favor of these proceedings, but Zurlinden, acting as governor of Paris, almost immediately after tendering his resignation, presented to his successor a warrant of inquiry, which the latter signed without paying much attention to it. The reason of this haste was that the keeper of seals had asked Picquart for a "mémoir" on the fitness of revision; the military party was therefore eager to discredit his testimony by a charge of forgery. On Sept. 21, the day on which the case of Picquart and Leblois was brought before the "tribunal correctionnel," the government attorney demanded the adjournment of the affair, first, on account of the Dreyfus revision, which might modify the aspect of the deeds with which Picquart was charged; and secondly, on account of the new and serious accusation which had been brought against the latter. Picquart then rose and warned his judges and the public, saying: "To-night perhaps I shall go to the Cherche-Midi, and this is probably the last time that I will be able to speak in public. I would have the world know that if there be found in my cell the rope of Lemercier-Picard or the razor of Henry, I shall have been assassinated. No man like myself can for a moment think of suicide." Lemercier-Picard was one of Henry's agents, whose real name was Leeman, and who had probably been concerned in the forgery of 1896; he had afterward hanged himself under mysterious circumstances from the window-fastening of a furnished house. The next day Picquart was taken from the civil prison of La Santé and enrolled on the register at the Cherche-Midi, where he was put into the strictest solitary confinement.

Ministerial Changes.

Some days after, the vote of the commission charged with giving a preliminary opinion upon the demand for a revision was made known: opinion was equally divided. This division legally inferred rejection; but the minister of war was not bound to accept the opinion of the commission. He wished, however, to shield himself behind a vote of the council of ministers. After four hours of deliberation it was decided, at the instance of Brisson, seconded by Bourgeois, that the keeper of the seals should lay the affair before the Court of Cassation.

Thus the proceedings for revision were definitely inaugurated (Sept. 27).

XV. Now that, thanks to the manly resolution of Brisson, the obstinate defenders of the work of 1894 had been deprived of support, their only remaining hope lay in the revolutionary action of the army, of the people, or of the Chamber of Deputies. It will be seen how they used successively each of these three means. They found help, on the one hand, in the thoughtless violence of certain apostles of revision who persisted in including the whole army in the fault committed by some of its chiefs. The most extreme of these was Urbain Gohier, who was prosecuted (under Dupuy's ministry) for his collection of articles, "The Army Against the Nation," and acquitted by a jury of the Seine. On the other hand, the anti-Revisionists were encouraged by the strange inactivity of the president of the republic. The day before the reopening of the Chamber of Deputies, sudden and suspicious strikes, noisy public meetings, struggles in the streets, reports of a military conspiracy, all contributed to overexcite the temper of the public. The very day of the reopening of the Chamber of Deputies (Oct. 25) Brisson's ministry was defeated on a motion which virtually accused the government of permitting the attacks upon the army, and it resigned forthwith.

Resignation of Brisson's Ministry.

It was replaced on Nov. 3 by a cabinet of "republican union" presided over by Charles Dupuy, with Freycinet at the War Office and Lebret keeper of the seals. The Criminal Chamber of the Court of Cassation, having the demand for a revision laid before it, held public audience on Oct. 27 and 28 to express its opinion upon the admissibility of the demand. The attorney-general Manau and the councilor Bard, the latter in a very remarkable report, both pronounced themselves in favor of the claim. They adopted the two motives for the request presented by Madame Dreyfus. The avowed forgery of Colonel Henry covered his evidence of 1894, and even the origin of the bordereau which had been through his hands, with justifiable suspicion; the report of the experts of 1897, the purport of which was revealed on this occasion, tended to establish the belief that the bordereau was not in Dreyfus' handwriting, as had been claimed in 1894, but was "a tracing of the writing of Esterhazy." The attorney-general, an old republican, was in favor of immediately annulling the sentence of 1894 and suspending the punishment of Dreyfus; the councilor Bard, taking into consideration the resistance of military authority, whose motives were enumerated in Zurlinden's letter, proposed simply that the Criminal Chamber should declare the claim "formally admissible" and should proceed to an inquiry which would throw further light on the matter and set people's minds at rest. It was this last expedient that commended itself to the Criminal Chamber (Oct. 29); and it was further decided (Nov. 3) that instead of appointing a special commission, the court as a whole should hold this supplementary examination. They began at once and heard, in greatest secrecy, a long series of witnesses, not excepting Esterhazy, who, having been threatened with an action for swindling his cousin Christian, obtained a safe-conduct to come to Paris without fear of being arrested. On Nov. 15 the Criminal Chamber decided that Dreyfus should be informed of the commencement of proceedings for the revision, and invited to present his means of defense. This was the first news that the unhappy man had heard of the campaign begun in his behalf.

Trial Before the Court of Cassation.

Before the Court of Cassation, as in the actions against both Esterhazy and Zola, the principal witness for the revision was to be Colonel Picquart. To weaken the importance of his evidence and to retaliate for the revision, the military party wished to force the colonel's condemnation beforehand. The inquiry into his case, entrusted to Captain Tavernier, was quickly ended. On Nov. 24 General Zurlinden, governor of Paris, signed the order demanding his trial before the court martial; he was charged with forging the "petit bleu," with using other forgeries, and with communicating secret documents concerning national defense. Numerous petitions from "intellectuels" protested against these hasty measures, and demanded that the judgment of Picquart should be delayed until the result of the inquiry in the Court of Cassation should have put in its true light the part he had played in all this affair. The same opinion was expressed in the Chamber of Deputies by the deputies Bos, Milleraud, and Poincaré, one of the ministers of 1894, who took advantage of this opportunity to "unburden his conscience."

Freycinet and Dupuy refused to postpone the court martial, but were willing to hamper it by allowing the Court of Cassation to claim the Picquart dossier. Finally, after a fruitless attempt by Waldeck-Rousseau to pass a law allowing the Supreme Court to suspend the case of Picquart, the colonel, who was awaiting trial before both the "tribunal correctionnel" and the court martial, applied to the Court of Cassation to rule the case. The court ordered that the two dossiers should be communicated to it, thus indefinitely postponing the meeting of the court martial. (After the close of the inquiry, on March 3, 1899, the court decided that the Civil Court alone was concerned with the chief accusations against Picquart, and he was transferred from the military prison at Cherche-Midi to the civil prison of La Santé.)

After having almost terminated the hearing of the witnesses, the Criminal Chamber insisted upon having the secret dossier, withheld by military authority, communicated to it. This request met with strenuous opposition; the matter was even taken before the Chamber of Deputies (Dec. 19). The government, however, before deciding, required guaranties of such a nature as to insure it from indiscreet publication; these guaranties, accepted by the Court of Cassation (Dec. 27), consisted in an officer of the War Office being charged to carry the dossier every day to the court and to bring it back to the War Office in the evening.

While the Criminal Court was proceeding with its inquiry, notwithstanding the secrecy with which all its movements were surrounded, the report was spread abroad that the decision would be favorable to the claim for revision. To avoid this catastro-

phe at any price, the enemies of revision commenced a violent campaign in the newspapers, defaming the magistrates of the Criminal Chamber, who were represented as having been required to sell themselves to the cause of Dreyfus. The Ligue de la Patrie Française, founded in Jan., 1899, under the auspices of the academicians François Coppée and Jules Lemaitre, energetically seconded this campaign and demanded that these "disqualified" judges should be discharged from the cognizance of the case. The president of the Civil Chamber of the court, Quesnay de Beaurepaire, was found ready to lend the support of his high dignity to these calumnies; he tendered his resignation as a judge (Jan. 8, 1899), and began in "L'Echo de Paris" a series of articles against his colleagues. His most serious charge was that President Loew, at the end of a long and tiring sitting, had sent Picquart a glass of hot grog.

Attacks on the Court.

The astonishment of the public was intensified when on Jan. 30 the government presented a bill demanding that the affair should be judged by the united sections of the whole Court of Cassation! Dupuy asserted that the bill was a measure of pacification; it was necessary that the decision—and why did the Revisionists fear that the whole Court of Cassation would disavow the Criminal Chamber?—should have such force that nobody but "fools or rebels" would be found to contest it. These arguments, and above all the fear of provoking a ministerial crisis, triumphed over the resistance of a part of the republicans. The "loi de dessaisissement" was passed by the Chamber of Deputies (Feb. 10), and a little later by the Senate (Feb. 28).

In the interval between the taking of these two votes an important event had occurred—the sudden death of the president, Félix Faure (Feb. 16). The congress which immediately assembled set aside the candidateship of all those who had been to a greater or less degree involved in the Dreyfus affair (Méline, Brisson, Dupuy), and fixed its choice on the president of the Senate, Emile Loubet, who had preserved up to that time, and who continued to preserve, a consistently neutral attitude. Nevertheless, as he was the choice of the Senate and of the Revisionists in the Chamber, his nomination awakened the fury of the Nationalists, anti-Semites, and reactionists. On different sides conspirators tried to take advantage of the general disorder and attempted a decisive stroke. The Orleanist pretender advanced closer to the frontier. At Félix Faure's funeral (Feb. 23) the leaders of the League of Patriots, Déroulède and Marcel Habert, tried to induce General Roget's brigade to proceed to the Elysée. The two agitators were arrested, brought before the jury of the Seine for "misdemeanor in the press," and acquitted (May 31).

The Death of Félix Faure.

The Criminal Chamber had terminated its inquiry on Feb. 9; immediately after the vote for the "loi de dessaisissement" the whole proceeding was turned over to the Court of Cassation. This latter accepted without question the results obtained, heard several new witnesses, and had the secret dossiers, both military and diplomatic, laid before it. It was still engaged in studying them when the "Figaro" succeeded in obtaining, and published, beginning with March 31, the complete reports of the proceedings of the inquiry which had been put in print for the private use of the councilors. The effect of this publication was wide-spread. For the first time the general public had all the factors of the case before its eyes and could reason out an opinion for itself. The characteristic result of the inquiry was the melting away of all the pretended proofs of the guilt of Dreyfus, inferred from the secret dossier: not a single one had withstood an impartial examination, and in the course of the inquiry many documents had been recognized as false or as having been tampered with.

The spokesmen of the Staff Office, General Roget, Major Cuignet, and Cavaignac, now returned to the bordereau, and struggled to show that the documents enumerated therein could have been betrayed only by Dreyfus. But the attributing of the bordereau to Dreyfus clashed with the declaration of the new experts appointed by the Criminal Chamber (Paul Meyer, Giry, Molinier), who were unanimous in attributing it to Esterhazy. Charavay, one of the experts of 1894 who had decided against Dreyfus, retracted his previous decision when Esterhazy's writing was put before him. Lastly, a search, made as early as the month of November, put the court in possession of two letters acknowledged by Esterhazy, written on the same "pelure" paper (foreign note-paper) as the bordereau; a search had been made in vain for samples of this paper in Dreyfus' house, and in 1897 Esterhazy had denied that he had ever used it.

Before the united courts the most remarkable incident was that of the Panizzardi telegram of Nov. 2, 1894. Instead of the true interpretation of this telegram, which quite exonerated Dreyfus, the secret military dossier communicated to the Court of Cassation contained only a false version of it, put together from memory in 1898 by Colonel Henry. In the course of his deposition Major Cuignet tried to justify this false version, and accused the Foreign Office of want of faith. A somewhat animated correspondence took place between the two ministries on this subject. However, the delegate of the Foreign Office, Paléologue, had no trouble in confounding his opponent, and on April 27 Cuignet and General Chamoin, in the name of the War Office, signed a warrant recognizing the accuracy of the official interpretation. This incident had a parliamentary echo. On May 5 De Freycinet tendered his resignation from the War Office rather abruptly. He was replaced by Krantz, until then minister of public works.

The Panizzardi Telegram.

Notwithstanding the remarkable prejudices of a considerable number of the councilors who were charged with the examination of the case, the inquiry of the united courts only confirmed in a striking manner the results of the inquiry of the Criminal Chamber. The president of the Civil Chamber, Ballot-Beaupré, was entrusted with the report, which he read in the open court on May 29. Visibly affected, he declared that the bordereau was the work of Esterhazy: this fact being proved, even if it did not

allow of Esterhazy's acquittal being overthrown, was sufficient to demonstrate Dreyfus' innocence; and this was, according to Ballot-Beaupré, the new fact required by the law. Manau, the attorney-general, in his address to the court brought forward a second "new fact"—Henry's forgery. After a masterly speech by Mornard, acting on behalf of the Dreyfus family, the Court of Cassation retired for deliberation. In their decision, rendered June 3, they set aside the "fins de non recevoir" (refusal to admittance) inferred either from the secret dossier or from the pretended confessions of Dreyfus, which they judged not proved and improbable. They retained two "new facts": one, recognized by all, the fresh attribution of the bordereau; the other, the secret communication made to the judges of Dreyfus, of the document "canaille de D . . .," now considered by every one as inapplicable to the prisoner. Accordingly, the Court of Cassation annulled the sentence of 1894, and ordered that Dreyfus be tried again before a court martial at Rennes.

The very day before this memorable decree Esterhazy declared to a reporter of "Le Matin" that he was indeed the author of the bordereau; but he asserted that he had written it "by order," to furnish his friend, Colonel Sandherr (whose secret agent he pretended to have been), with a material proof against the traitor Dreyfus.

The Court Martial at Rennes.

XVI. The presumptions that had been admitted by the Court of Cassation in favor of the innocence of Dreyfus, were so powerful that, according to general opinion, the judgment of the court martial at Rennes could be nothing but a mere formality, destined to procure for Dreyfus the supreme satisfaction of being rehabilitated by his peers. But after the lies, the hatred, the insults which had accumulated during the last two years, after the work of demoralization accomplished by the press of both parties, the overexcited army had now reached the point of identifying its own honor with the shame of Dreyfus. Its suspicions having been successfully roused against civil justice, it refused to bow down before the work of the latter, although it was so straightforward; and, as Renault Morlière had foretold, the only effect that the "loi de dessaisissement" had was to direct upon the whole Court of Cassation the suspicions and the invectives reserved up to this time for the Criminal Chamber alone.

The first victim of this fresh outburst of passion was the Dupuy ministry. This "ministère de bascule" (trimming ministry), after having done everything in its power to retard the work of justice, now seemed to accept it without any reserve, and to be ready to draw any inference from it. The cruiser "Sfax," stationed at La Martinique, had been ordered to bring Dreyfus back to France. Du Paty de Clam was arrested on the charge of having taken part in the Henry forgery, an accusation rashly made by Major Cuignet, and which was bound to be rejected for lack of evidence.

General Pellieux was brought before a council of inquiry for collusion with Esterhazy; Esterhazy himself was prosecuted for the affair of the "liberating document." The cabinet felt itself threatened by the indignation of all sections of the Republican party, and made fresh advances to the "Dreyfusards." On June 5 the Chamber of Deputies voted the public placarding of the decision of the Court of Cassation—a necessary step in view of similar action taken in the case of Cavaignac's speech. Still further, the cabinet proposed to the Chamber to bring before the Senate an action against General Mercier, on the ground of the secret communication made to the judges of 1894.

But the Chamber, which had acclaimed Cavaignac and overthrown Brisson, hesitated to start upon the course of retaliation into which Dupuy was urging it. It found a deputy (Ribot) to declare that the ministry was encroaching upon its prerogatives, and another (Pourquery de Boisserin) to propose the postponement of any decision until the court martial of Rennes had rendered its decree. This last proposition rallied the majority; nobody observed that, in thus connecting Mercier's safety with a fresh condemnation of Dreyfus, a false character was being given in advance to the trial at Rennes: out of a simple legal debate was being formed a duel between a captain and a general.

Defeat of Dupuy Ministry.

Dupuy's cabinet was finally overthrown (June 12), and the groups on the Left, in presence of the danger of a military pronunciamento that threatened them, decided to uphold nothing but a ministry of "Republican defense." On June 22 Waldeck-Rousseau succeeded in forming a cabinet, in which General the Marquis de Galliffet was minister of war.

The cruiser "Sfax" landed Dreyfus on July 1 at Port Houliguen, near Quiberon. Hurriedly disembarked on a stormy night, he was immediately transferred to the military prison of Rennes. After five years of physical and moral torture, which he had survived only by a miracle of will-power, the unhappy man had been reduced to a pitiable state of bodily and mental exhaustion. For five weeks the attorneys chosen by his family, Demange and Labori, were busy in acquainting him as far as was possible with the remarkable events that had occurred during his absence; his attitude while the trial was progressing proved the difficulty he had in realizing the situation.

His trial began on Aug. 7, in one of the rooms of the lycée at Rennes. The court martial was composed entirely of artillery officers, except the president, Colonel Jouaust, who belonged to the corps of engineers. The public prosecutor was Major Carrière, a retired gendarme, who at the age of sixty had begun to study law. In accordance with legal requirements, the indictment was in substance the same as at the previous trial; but the only question put to the court was whether Dreyfus had delivered up the documents enumerated in the bordereau. It appeared, therefore, that only witnesses who could give evidence on this point would be heard, and such, in fact, were the instructions given by the War Office to the government commissary; but these directions were not respected by him nor by the defense. Hence the Rennes trial was but a repetition of the interminable string of witnesses who had already been heard at Zola's trial and in the Court of

Cassation, the greater part of whom only brought forward opinions, suppositions, or tales absolutely foreign to the question. The generals, forming a compact group which this time worked under Mercier's personal direction, delivered regular harangues and interfered in the debate continually; the president, overawed by his superior officers, exhibited as much deference to them as he showed harshness and sharpness to Dreyfus. From beginning to end of the trial he made no pretense of keeping account of the facts duly established by the Court of Cassation. Esterhazy's avowals, intermixed, it is true, with lies, were held as being null and void. The voluminous correspondence which he addressed to Jouaust and to Carrière was thrown into the waste-paper basket. The questions asked by one of the judges indicated that some one had spoken to him of the pretended "original bordereau," said to have been annotated by the Emperor William, and of which *the* bordereau was simply a copy by Esterhazy.

The examination of Dreyfus himself was without interest; he confined himself to denials, and preserved an entirely military attitude, the exaggerated correctness of which did not arouse any sympathy. Several hearings with closed doors were devoted to the examination of the military and diplomatic secret dossiers. General Chamoin, delegate of the War Office, had (as explained by him later, through inadvertence) incorporated in them again the false rendering of the Panizzardi telegram, together with a commentary from Du Paty.

General Mercier's evidence (Aug. 12), which had been announced with much parade and bustle, was put forward in a clever speech, but brought out nothing new, unless it were a note from the Austrian military attaché, Schneider, which Mercier had procured by unavowed means. In this note the Austrian diplomat declared that he persisted in "believing" in the guilt of Dreyfus. The note was of the year 1895 or 1896; but a false date had been written on the copy, "Nov. 30, 1897"—a date later than the discovery of Esterbazy's handwriting, and at which, as a matter of fact, Schneider had completely changed his opinion! Called upon to explain the part he played in 1894, Mercier admitted, this time without hesitation, the communication of the secret dossier, took the credit of it to himself, and declared that if necessary he was ready to do it again.

Labori Shot.

On Aug. 14 an unknown person, who succeeded in escaping, fired a revolver at Labori and wounded him severely in the back. For more than a week the intrepid advocate was prevented from attending the hearing.

One can not enter into the endless details of all the evidence, which continued for nearly a month longer at the rate of two sittings a day. The most notable witnesses were Casimir-Perier, Commander Freystaetter (one of the judges of 1894)—both in violent opposition to Mercier—Charavay, who, though seriously ill, came loyally forward to acknowledge his error of 1894, and Bertillon, who repeated his claims as to the "autoforgery" of the bordereau, together with fresh complications. At the last moment Colonel Jouaust, using his discretionary power, heard with closed doors, and without putting him on his oath, a Servian named Czernucki, formerly an Austrian officer. This man, who was generally considered to be half-mad, related in an obscure way that a civil official and an officer of the staff "of a power of central Europe" had certified to him that Dreyfus was a spy. Although this story was of no value, Labori took advantage of it to demand in turn that the evidence of Schwarzkoppen and Panizzardi should be received. This was refused. However, the German government inserted a notice in the official newspaper of Berlin (Sept. 8), repeating in formal terms the declaration made by the chancellor Von Bülow on Jan. 24, 1898 before a commission of the Reichstag, and proclaiming that the government had never had any dealings whatever with Dreyfus.

Major Carrière's address to the court assumed that Dreyfus was guilty. He affirmed that at the beginning of the trial he had hoped to be able to demonstrate his innocence, but "this mass of witnesses who have come to give us information and personal opinions" had destroyed that hope. Of Dreyfus' two attorneys only Demange addressed the court. His speech was long, well reasoned, and touching, but he weakened it by making it too polite and by speaking too gently of all the officers, not excepting the late Colonel Henry.

In his rejoinder Carrière asked the judges to group the witnesses into two divisions and to weigh them. Demange begged them not to raise to the dignity of proof such "possibilities of presumptions" as had been brought to them. Finally, Dreyfus uttered these simple words:

"I am absolutely sure, I affirm before my country and before the army, that I am innocent. It is with the sole aim of saving the honor of my name, and of the name that my children bear, that for five years I have undergone the most frightful tortures. I am convinced that I shall attain this aim to-day, thanks to your honesty and to your sense of justice."

The Verdict.

An hour later he heard the verdict that ruined all his hopes and those of justice: by five votes to two the court martial declared him guilty. It was asserted that the two votes were those of Colonel Jouaust (who throughout the trial had carefully concealed his opinion) and of Lieutenant-Colonel de Bréon, a fervent Catholic, the brother of a Paris curate. As if, however, to acknowledge its doubts, the court admitted that there were "extenuating circumstances"—a thing unheard of and incomprehensible in a matter of treason. The sentence pronounced was detention for ten years: it was known that the judges had recommended the condemned man to the indulgence of the War Office (Sept. 9, 1899).

XVII. The whole of the civilized world was amazed and indignant on the announcement of the sentence. In France itself nobody was satisfied, except General Mercier, who was delivered by this halting pronouncement from all fear of punishment. For several days the ministry hesitated as to what course to pursue. Finally, the idea of immediately pardoning Dreyfus, started by some of the prisoner's friends, who were alarmed at his state of health, prevailed in the government councils. They had some trouble in inducing the president of the republic to grant the pardon, and Dreyfus to accept it; for in order to avail himself of it the prisoner was

forced to withdraw the appeal he had laid before the council of revision. Later on, the disingenuousness of political parties saw in this relinquishment the avowal of his crime! On Sept. 19, the very day on which Scheurer-Kestner died, appeared the presidential decree remitting the whole of the punishment of Dreyfus, including the military degradation. The decree was preceded by a report from the minister of war, reciting various reasons for clemency. Then by an "ordre du jour," which he did not communicate even to the president of the council, General Galliffet announced to the army that the incident was closed.

On Sept. 20 Dreyfus was set at liberty. He immediately wrote to the president of the republic a letter in which he declared anew his innocence, together with his resolve to know no rest or peace until his honor was restored. He retired with his family to Carpentras, then to Geneva, and finally went back to settle in Paris, without causing the slightest public demonstration. Thus ended in a paradoxical result this long struggle for right. Dreyfus, liberated and restored to his family, innocent in the eyes of the world, remained excluded from the army and legally dishonored. In the senatorial elections of 1900 all the notable "Dreyfusards" (Ranc, Siegfried, Thévenet) remained unelected; it was only at the legislative elections of 1902 that the tide began to turn and some of the champions of revision (Pressensé, Jaurès, Buisson) were returned to the Chamber of Deputies.

Pardon and Amnesty.

The sentence of Rennes left unsettled several actions which were more or less connected with the Dreyfus case: proceedings against Picquart for infraction of the law against espionage; an action for libel by Henry's widow against Joseph Reinach; an action against Zola (whose condemnation by default was not definitive); eventual proceedings against General Mercier, etc. Waldeck-Rousseau's ministry considered that the people were tired of an "affaire" that had paralyzed the business of the country, and had brought it to the brink of a civil war; for it had become known that if Dreyfus had been acquitted the leaders of the anti-Revisionists—Déroulède, Marcel Habert, Jules Guérin—had determined on a "coup." To prevent this they had been arrested (Aug. 12) for conspiracy against the state, and condemned to banishment or prison. The ministry reported a bill which declared that all actions for matters connected with the Dreyfus affair, excepting those for the crimes of murder and treason, were canceled. It was the "policy of the sponge" praised by the journalist Cornély. It met with keen opposition from the convinced adherents of Dreyfus; they saw in it an immoral stifling of justice, and they succeeded in protracting the discussion of the bill. In the mean time all the actions remained unsettled. But events convinced Waldeck-Rousseau still further of the necessity for the pacific measure. In the month of May, 1900, the mere insinuation of a revival of the "affaire" had favored the success of the Nationalist candidates in the municipal elections of Paris. The resignation of General Galliffet, May 30, 1900, on a side issue of the "affaire," and the almost unanimous vote by the Chamber of an "ordre du jour" against the reopening of the case, encouraged the government to insist on the voting for the bill. After long debate it was definitely adopted on Dec. 24, 1900.

In the course of the discussion Waldeck-Rousseau had stigmatized General Mercier's conduct in 1894, and consoled the defenders of Dreyfus by making appeal to the justice of history. Of the three most notable champions of revision, Scheurer-Kestner had already gone to the grave; Zola returned to France, where he died from an accident Sept. 29, 1902; as to Colonel Picquart, indignant at the law of amnesty, he abandoned the appeal that he had lodged against the decision—very much open to criticism—of the council of inquiry which had struck him from the lists, and definitely left the army by way of protestation.

The Dreyfus case has rendered one service to the French democracy by bringing into full light the danger of an alliance between anti-Semitism, nationalism, militarism, clericalism—different terms which express the various forms of the spirit of intolerance and counter-revolution. It has, besides, been a lesson to the whole world of the danger of letting religious prejudice interfere with the sacred prerogative of justice.

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The principal polemical writings are those of Bernard Lazare, Jean Jaurès (*Les Preuves*), Joseph Reinach ("Junius"; *Les Faussaires*; *Tout le Crime*, etc.), E. Zola (*La Vérité en Marche*), G. Clémenceau, J. Cornély, Jean Ajalbert, A. Réville, Urbain Gohier, Yves Guyot, E. Duclaux ("Un Intellectuel": *Gonse Pilate*), Michel Colline, P. Quillard (*Le Monument Henry*), all favorable to Dreyfus; on the opposite side there are hardly any to name, except the collection of articles of Maurice Barrès. The work of E. de Haime (pseudonym), *Les Faits Acquis à l'Histoire* (Paris, 1898), contains letters and declarations from various publicists.

The histories of the affair which appeared during its course can not be much relied on. These are: in French, the volumes signed "Captain Paul Marin" and "Ch. Dubois" (translated into Italian); in English, those of F. Conybeare and of G. Barlow. Mention may also be made of F. de Pressensé, *Un Héros, le Lieutenant-Colonel Picquart* (Paris, 1898), and Esterhazy, *Les Dessous de l'Affaire Dreyfus* (1899). The standard work is the *Histoire de l'Affaire Dreyfus*, by Joseph Reinach, in course of publication (tome i., *Le Procès de 1894*, 1901; tome ii., *Esterhazy*, Paris, 1903). The complete work will be in five volumes.

As short epitomes may be mentioned: Pierre Molé, *Exposé Impartial de l'Affaire Dreyfus* (1898); Sir Godfrey Lushington, *The Conspiracy Against Captain Dreyfus* (*National Review*, June, 1899). Consult also Lavalée's *L'Histoire des Français*, ed. F. Lock and M. Dreyfous, vol. vii., Paris, 1901, and several volumes of André Daniel's (Lebon's) *Année Politique* (Charpentier); Docteur Eyon, *Résumé*, etc., 1903.

J. *

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